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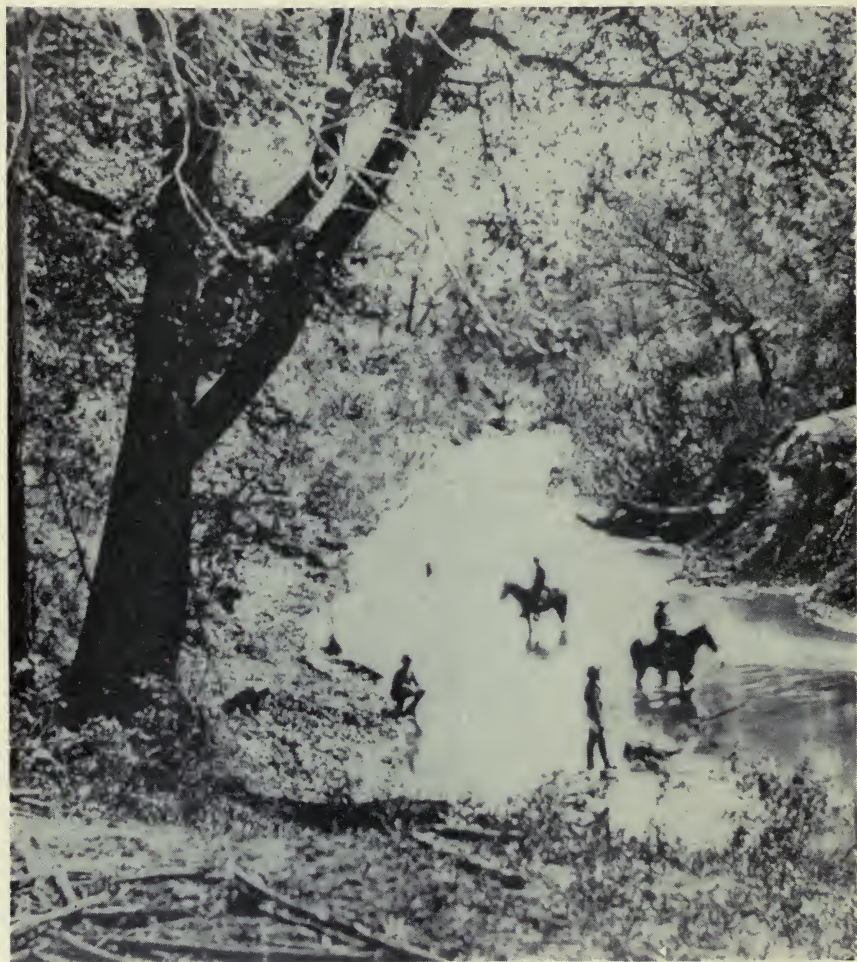
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THE COVER

A rare photograph taken in the spring of 1859 by Albert Bierstadt showing emigrant wagons in the bustling town of Bellemont, Doniphan county. It was located on the Missouri river, 1½ miles north of Wathena. Bellemont failed to survive, and the townsite was officially abandoned in 1876.



Pike's Peak emigrants preparing to shove off from St. Joseph, Mo., in the spring of 1859. This is another of the rare Bierstadt photographs recently acquired by the Kansas State Historical Society (see pp. 1-5).



Bierstadt labelled this scene, "Wolf River Ford, Kansas." It was an Oregon trail crossing of the Wolf river in northwest Doniphan county in 1859.

THE KANSAS HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

Volume XXIV

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Number 1

Some Rare Western Photographs by Albert Bierstadt Now in the Historical Society Collections

JOSEPH W. SNELL

RECENTLY the Kansas State Historical Society acquired five rare photographs of the West which have been lost to the public for nearly 100 years. They are part of a large group of stereoscopic views which Albert Bierstadt, the noted artist, made in the spring and summer of 1859. Three of these pictures are featured in this issue of the *Quarterly* and are being published probably for the first time anywhere.

The scene on the cover of the *Quarterly* was taken by Bierstadt in the now extinct town of Bellemont, Doniphan county, probably in early May, 1859. At that time Bellemont was one of the major outfitting points for emigrants to Pike's Peak and the West. One writer said that Bellemont was the busiest town in Doniphan county during the Pike's Peak gold rush.¹ Today the town does not exist, but this photograph provides excellent physical evidence of its appearance during its heyday.² Also reprinted are two other photographs taken about the same time. One shows a group of Pike's Peak emigrants waiting on the banks of the Missouri at St. Joseph for the steam ferry which would carry them across the river, perhaps to Bellemont. The third picture is a view of a ford on Wolf river in northwest Doniphan county, but the exact location has not been determined conclusively.³

JOSEPH W. SNELL is a member of the staff of the Kansas State Historical Society.

1. *Historical Plat Book of Doniphan County, Kansas* (Chicago, 1882), pp. 43, 44.

2. Bellemont had its beginnings in 1852 with the establishment of a trading post on the west shore of the Missouri river in present Kansas by John H. and James R. Whitehead. For many years the place was known as both Whitehead and Bellemont. In the spring of 1855 the Whitehead Town Company was organized, land was purchased and settlement began. In 1855 the territorial legislature authorized James R. Whitehead to operate a ferry across the Missouri. This act was repealed in 1859 and a new ferry company was organized. This company obtained a steam ferry boat and the trip from Bellemont to St. Joseph was made twice daily. This ferry was discontinued after two years of service. The town of Bellemont was incorporated on February 18, 1860, and the Whitehead Town Company changed its name to the Bellemont Town Company a few days later. In 1876 the townsite was officially abandoned by an act of the state legislature. Bellemont was located in the SW¹/₄, Sec. 15, T 3 S, R 22 E, or on the Missouri river 1½ miles north of Wathena.—*Ibid.*; *The Statutes of the Territory of Kansas*, 1855, pp. 773, 853; *Private Laws of the Territory of Kansas* . . . , 1859, pp. 97-99; *ibid.*, 1860, pp. 76-78, 224, 225; *The Session Laws of 1876* . . . , Kansas, p. 326; St. Joseph (Mo.) *Weekly West*, June 12, 1859.

3. The two photographs which are not reprinted are pictures of a Shoshone warrior in Nebraska and an Indian pony somewhere in Kansas.

The date of these pictures suggests that they may be the earliest photographs extant which show this Kansas branch of the Oregon trail. Kansans will be interested in the fact that the only other Kansas photograph—excluding portraits—in the collections of the Historical Society which predates these is a daguerreotype of a Free-State cannon and its crew taken in Topeka in 1856. In fact, the Society in all of its over 33,000 pictures, has only three other photographic scenes of territorial Kansas. One of these, the Doy rescue party, was portrayed on ambrotypes⁴ by A. G. DaLee of Lawrence in July, 1859, and another, a Manhattan street scene of 1860, was made by a photographer, now unidentified. The third scene shows the office of the *Neosho Valley Register*, Burlington, probably late in 1859. (Three photographs of street scenes in Atchison are borderline cases but they have not yet been positively identified as dating from the territorial period.) So these new Bierstadt photographs are important to the history of Kansas in two respects—they are “firsts” of the northern branch of the Kansas portion of the Oregon trail and they add to the meager number of Kansas territorial views.⁵

Albert Bierstadt, widely known today for his huge canvasses of Western Americana, is less well known as a photographer. At the time of his first trip west he was a young man just home from art study in Europe. The object of his journey was to make sketches and photograph scenery for later paintings. Bierstadt took a great many pictures on the trip, a fact which is remarkable in itself when one considers the bulky equipment and the technical difficulties inherent in photography in those days. He may have taken as many as 100 photographs though only 51 have been listed. Bierstadt wrote “we have taken many stereoscopic views, but not so many of mountain scenery as I could wish, owing to various obstacles attached to the process, but still a goodly number.”⁶ The artist photographed many Indians for he realized that the race was disappearing and he felt it his duty to record as much of the vanishing culture as possible.⁷

4. The daguerreotype and ambrotype are considered photographs since they fall within the definition of photography: the production of an image on a sensitized surface by the action of light or other form of radiant energy.

5. The Bierstadt photographs were obtained through the generous assistance of Mrs. Byron Dexter of South Woodstock, Vt., who for years has been interested in photographs and stereoscopic views of the American scene. Mrs. Dexter also sent a list of Bierstadt stereos from an 1860 catalogue.

6. E. S. Wallace, “Albert Bierstadt, Artist,” *The Westerners-New York Posse Brand Book*, New York, v. 2 (1955), no. 1, p. 20, from *The Crayon*, New York, September, 1859, p. 287.

7. *Ibid.*

Bierstadt did not travel west alone. At St. Joseph he and several other Eastern artists joined the surveying expedition of Col. Frederick West Lander. Colonel Lander was then superintendent of the Fort Kearny, South Pass and Honey Lake (California) wagon road and the trip was designed to relocate certain portions of the emigrant route as well as to survey the road. Bierstadt and the other artists traveled with the train only for protection; they paid their own expenses and were not officially connected with the expedition.⁸

The Lander train left St. Joseph during the first week of May, 1859,⁹ traveling through the northern tier of Kansas counties to the upper crossing of the Big Blue and then northwest toward Fort Kearny and the Platte emigrant route. Bierstadt took pictures all along the way. Several other photos were made of St. Joseph and Bellemont as well as views of Troy and the fords of the Little and Big Blue rivers. He also photographed a ferry on the Big Blue but failed to indicate its identity. If this were Francis J. Marshall's ferry at Marysville, which was used by thousands of travelers on the Oregon trail, then this picture, too, would be of unusual historical interest. Unfortunately it is among the many Bierstadt photographs which have disappeared.¹⁰ In Nebraska territory Bierstadt photographed natural landmarks, Sioux and Shoshone Indians, and the Lander expedition's train. At South Pass he and two companions turned back. The artist returned to his home in New Bedford, Mass., where a few months later, in 1860, a company consisting of his two brothers, who were stereographic photographers, placed copies of his Western views on the market. Their catalogue stated that "these views were procured at great expense, and as far as we know are the only views on the market giving a true representation of Western Life and Western Scenery."

Today, 99 years later, only five of the Bierstadt stereos—those purchased by the Historical Society—have been located. What became of the others has long been a mystery. Leading depositories of historical photographs have no information of their whereabouts. Should anyone find others, the Society will be interested in hearing about them.

8. "Maps and Reports of the Fort Kearney, South Pass, and Honey Lake Wagon Road," *House Ex. Doc. No. 64*, 36th Cong., 2d Sess. (1860-1861), p. 5.

9. St. Joseph (Mo.) *Weekly West*, May 8, 1859.

10. For information on the ferries operated by Marshall on the Big Blue see George A. Root, "Ferries in Kansas: Part III—Blue River," in *The Kansas Historical Quarterly*, v. 3 (1934), pp. 137-142.

The following list of Bierstadt's 51 Western pictures is taken from the 1860 catalogue. Asterisks indicate the five photographs purchased by the Society. Missing numbers between 50 and 150 were blank, so it is not known if they were Western photos or scenes in other areas.

53. Oglala Sioux, Fort Laramie, Nebraska.
54. Colonel Lander's train.
56. Emigrant team, St. Joseph, Mo.
58. Cheyenne Village, Platte river, Nebraska.
63. Bellemont ferry-boat, Kansas.
64. Devil's Gate from above, Nebraska.
65. Market place, St. Joseph, Mo.
- * 66. Shoshone warrior.
67. St. Joseph, Mo.
69. Salt river valley.
72. Sioux village near Fort Laramie, Nebraska.
73. Study of horses, Missouri.
75. Devil's Gate, passage of the Sweet Water river, Nebraska.
77. Part of Colonel Lander's men.
81. Emigrants waiting for the ferry, St. Joseph, Mo.
82. Shanty in Bellemont, Kan.
83. Ford of the Big Blue, Kansas.
- * 84. Bellemont, Kan.
85. Unpacking Indian goods, Nebraska.
86. Waiting for the ferry, St. Joseph, Mo.
87. Bellemont, Missouri river, Kansas.
88. Emigrant train on the Big Sandy river, Oregon.
89. Near Troy, Kan.
90. Shoshone children, Nebraska.
91. Ferry on the Big Blue, Kansas.
92. Ford of the Little Blue, Kansas.
93. Log cabin, Kansas.
94. Oglala Sioux, Horse creek, Nebraska.
- * 95. Indian pony, Kansas.
- * 96. Wolf river ford, Kansas.
97. Shoshone Indians, Nebraska.
98. Oglala Sioux village, North fork of the Platte, Nebraska.
99. Sioux lodge, Nebraska.
101. Shoshone family, Nebraska.
102. Sioux Indians, Nebraska.
103. Warrior.
106. U. S. train in camp, Nebraska.
107. Shoshone warriors, mounted, Nebraska.
116. Shoshone guide, Nebraska.
118. Indian interpreter, Nebraska.
119. Emigrants traveling on the plains, Nebraska.
122. Oglala Sioux, the Indian Queen, Nebraska.

- 123. Colonel Lander's ambulance on the plains, Nebraska.
- 124. Culinary art on the plains, Nebraska.
- 125. Cottonwood trees, near Boiling Springs, Nebraska.
- 126. Cottonwood Springs, Platte river, Nebraska.
- 128. Colonel Lander's men among the Rocky Mountains.
- 131. Shoshone village, Nebraska.
- 132. Lander's train camping on the Colorado.
- * 134. Pike's Peak emigrants, St. Joseph, Mo.
- 138. Rocky Mountain trapper.

Letters of Daniel R. Anthony, 1857-1862

Edited by EDGAR LANGSDORF and R. W. RICHMOND

PART ONE, 1857

I. INTRODUCTION

IN June, 1957, D. R. Anthony, III, of Leavenworth lent to the State Historical Society 122 manuscripts of his grandfather, the first Daniel Read Anthony, most of them dated from 1857 through 1862. With a few exceptions, these papers are letters written by Anthony to his father, Daniel; to his sister, Susan B., who later became nationally prominent as a leader of the woman suffrage movement; to his sister, Mary; and to Aaron McLean, husband of his eldest sister, Guelma. Because of their general interest, and particularly for their description of business activities in early Leavenworth, selected letters will be printed in this and the Summer numbers of the *Quarterly*. Other letters, dealing with Anthony's military service during the Civil War, will appear in the Autumn and Winter numbers.

Born August 22, 1824, at South Adams, Mass., the first son of Daniel and Lucy Read Anthony, young Daniel was one of seven children. He had one brother, Jacob Merritt, the youngest of the family, and five sisters, of whom only Susan and Mary figure in this correspondence. Daniel attended common school at Battenville, N. Y., and completed his formal education with a six-month term at the academy in Union Village, N. Y. His father was a partner in the cotton manufacturing firm of Anthony, McLean & Co., and Daniel worked for some time with him. When the business failed, like many others, during the panic of 1837—"which condition of things," Anthony wrote many years later, "was brought about by Democratic rule and free trade"¹—he worked at various jobs until he moved to Rochester in 1847. There he taught a country school for two winters before going into the insurance business.²

In 1854, having become interested in Kansas, he joined the Emigrant Aid Company's pioneer party. This group reached Kansas

EDGAR LANGSDORF is assistant secretary and ROBERT W. RICHMOND is the state archivist of the Kansas State Historical Society.

1. Kansas City *Tribune*, August 27, 1897.

2. There are many chronological and factual conflicts in accounts of Anthony's early life. Dates and events given here are those which seem to follow most logically.

City on July 28 and on August 1 encamped on present Mount Oread. Thus Anthony may be numbered among the founders of Lawrence, even though he left the territory within a short time. Returning to Rochester, he engaged in the insurance business for three years before deciding to go west again.

Arriving at Leavenworth in June, 1857, Anthony went into business there and made that city his home for the rest of his long life. He played a leading role in local affairs both business and political, as well as in the larger field of state politics. He was nominated seven times for the office of mayor and elected three times, nominated twice for the state legislature and elected once, served as a delegate to innumerable Republican state conventions and several times as chairman of the state central committee, and was three times a presidential elector. He was appointed postmaster of Leavenworth five times, holding the position nearly 16 years. The prize which he desired most, the governorship, eluded him, although he was twice a candidate for the Republican nomination, in 1870 and again in 1888. His brief, though interesting, career as a lieutenant colonel of Kansas volunteers in the Civil War will be discussed in later installments.

Anthony is best known in his role of newspaper publisher. He established the *Leavenworth Conservative*, a daily, with D. W. Wilder as editor, and published the first issue on January 28, 1861. Next day the *Conservative* printed an extra containing the most glorious "scoop" in Kansas newspaper history, the news of the territory's admission to the union. A legend of Kansas journalism is that Anthony himself carried copies of the paper on horseback from Leavenworth to Lawrence to bring the news to the legislature which was in session there.

His career as an editor and publisher was interrupted by the Civil War and later by other business interests. In November, 1861, he sold the *Conservative* to D. W. Wilder, and with the exception of a period from September, 1864, to August, 1865, when he published the *Leavenworth Bulletin*, he did not enter the newspaper business again for nearly ten years. In May, 1871, he purchased the *Leavenworth Times*, which meantime had absorbed both the *Conservative* and the *Bulletin*. The *Times* today has the distinction of being the oldest newspaper in Kansas still published under its original name. Other Leavenworth newspapers were later acquired and also merged with the *Times*, until Anthony had obtained a monopoly in the Leavenworth daily newspaper field.

Throughout his life Anthony was a fighter, a man of strong opinions who never hesitated to speak his mind and one who took delight in any contest of strength and wits. A fellow journalist, Milton W. Reynolds, who knew Anthony well, wrote that his work showed a personality and individuality of character possessed by no other man in the state except Jim Lane, who was a person of "weird, unique and peculiar nature." Anthony's blood "boiled on a minute's notice," said Reynolds. He had "the most powerful enemies of any man in the state. He has always had them; he always will."³

His outspokenness and his violent temper caused him to be involved in at least nine reported physical encounters. The first is said to have occurred immediately upon his arrival in Leavenworth in 1857, when he made such a radical speech at a "Free Soil" meeting that he was shot at by Border Ruffians three times that night. In 1861 he killed R. C. Satterlee, a printer, and later exchanged shots with Charles R. Jennison, the notorious Jayhawker who figures prominently in the last two installments of these letters. In other incidents he beat former Sen. E. G. Ross with a cane, and in turn was reportedly spit at, shot at on two occasions, beaten with an umbrella, and finally horse-whipped, the latter fracas taking place when he was 67 years old. A majority of these affrays were with printers or editors, or in one way or another were results of Anthony's journalistic activities, and in his case may therefore be classed as occupational hazards.

Anthony was married January 21, 1864, to Anna E. Osborn of Edgarton, Mass. Four daughters and a son were born to them, but only Maude, the oldest child, and Daniel R. Anthony, Jr., survived their father. Colonel Anthony died November 12, 1904, in his 80th year. His wife, who lived to be 86, died October 20, 1930.

II. THE LETTERS

*Boat F H Aubry*⁴

Friday 6 P. M.

June 5, 1857

JEFFERSON CITY

DEAR FATHER

I reached here this day at 3 P M leave at 3½ P. M. by this boat for Leavenworth— will reach there at about Monday noon if we

3. Article by "Kicking Bird," in *Kansas City (Mo.) Times*, October 18, 1886.

4. The *F. X. Aubrey*, a Missouri river steamboat, was in service during the years 1853-1860 and called regularly at Kansas ports during the latter 1850's. The boat was named in honor of Francis X. Aubrey, who gained fame as the result of a daring horseback ride over the Santa Fe trail.

[don't] run on too many sand bars— It now looks as though the boat would be crowded—nearly full now and the St. Louis Express has not yet arrived— Most of the passengers are Kansas bound—very few are going to Nebraska— A Leavenworth man on board says Leavenworth now has a population of nearly 5,000 Suppose he enlarges some upon the fact—he says there are already four or five Banking offices there—

The general opinion seems to be that it will be the largest town in Kansas I have no doubt I can make a good thing out of the money operation I talked of— Drafts were selling at 1% discount only four weeks ago—but this cannot last long—

My Pas[s] was good to this point. It costs me \$10. from here to L[eavenworth]— The Baggage man at Chicago weighed my Packing Trunk filled with Stationary & Insurance paper—it weighed 215 pounds— he was going to charge me one dollar extra to St Louis—but concluded on my showing my ticket to let it pass without extra charge.—

I have this afternoon visited the Capitol—Penitentiary and Jefferson City generally— it has only 3000 people—and looks like a very slow town—

Tea is nearly ready

Yours &
D R ANTHONY

LEAVENWORTH No 1

June 10 1857

LEAVENWORTH CITY K. T.

DEAR FATHER

Here I am in the land of Border Ruffians. Arrived here Monday morning June 8th at 10 O'clock Safe & Sound Stop at the Planters House, a good 5 Story brick building.⁵ Sleep 4 to 8 in a room—board \$2.00 per day at that— Am going out to Squat with A. C. Wilder & Scott J Anthony an old resident of this city.⁶ Am going

5. The Planters' House, opened in 1856 and intended originally to serve only Pro-slavery patrons, was once one of the most popular and elegant hosteleries of the West. It stood until 1958 at the northeast corner of Shawnee and Main streets.

6. Abel Carter Wilder, 1828-1875, came to Kansas in March, 1857, engaging in the land business at Leavenworth. He was a supporter of the Free-State cause and was one of the organizers of the Republican party in Kansas. He served as a member of the Kansas delegation in the 38th congress but left the state to return to Rochester, N. Y., in the fall of 1865.

Scott J. Anthony, a cousin of D. R. Anthony, was a native of New York. He came to Leavenworth in 1854, where he became a member of the merchandising firm of Bailey, Anthony & Co., and an active Free-State partisan. In 1860, following the announcement of rich gold strikes at Leadville, he went to Colorado, where he won success as a soldier and businessman.

for the Sovereignty principle.⁷ Am well satisfied Leavenworth City is the most enterprising city in all Kansas—but lots are high, high, high, wouldn't touch them at half what is asked for them—Lots as far from the center of business as Adams Street & Chatham Street in Rochester they here ask \$30. per foot front 140 feet deep—Every body is a land agent—and most every body owns land— I won't touch anything but lands at first prices or nearly so—

This town is very much like St Paul Minnesota T[erritory]— It has from 3,000 to 5,000 people— mostly young men—and fast men— they call me an old “fogy” already— Scott J. Anthony is a first rate man O. K. and said to be perfectly reliable in all respects— Wilder has been making some money since he has been here— If I had invested \$1,000 here six months ago it would have been worth \$10,000 now—but that time is past— I think city property will decline this winter and in the spring before the emigration commences. I think a good speculation can be made— money is worth from 3 to 5 per cent a month—but it can be used to much better profit buying lands—at least so I think—

If Aaron wants to invest that \$400. in the Union Savings Bank let him send on the Gold at once—so that it will reach here by the 10th of July— the sales are on the 15th July—

Sell that \$1400. & the \$600. mortgage if you possibly can— I think the money could be doubled in less than one year. I shall not do any thing at loaning Money—but if I had it would buy drafts on New York, and could make enough to more than pay express charges— The charge for expressing currency to Leavenworth city is \$3.50 per \$1,000 and less when you contract— Gold costs more— Gold is worth more than currency—

I have seen Gen Harney at Fort Leavenworth—⁸ Saw “Sheriff Saml J Jones” the man who was shot—he is very docile now—indeed many of the Border Ruffians now say Kansas must be a Free State—⁹ When it was announced that Adams “Free State” was elected Mayor of this city they said property rose 25 per cent—

Judge Lecompte is holding court here— Charles Fugett is on trial for the murder of Hopps— They have been at work two days and got only six jurors— over 60 had formed an opinion and many were challenged by Fugetts council They (the counsell)

7. The principle of “Squatter Sovereignty,” as stated in the Kansas-Nebraska act of 1854, provided that the actual settlers should decide by majority vote whether or not slavery would be permitted in the territory.

8. Maj. Gen. William S. Harney, 1800-1889, gained fame as an officer in the Mexican War and on the Indian frontier. During 1857-1858 he was in Kansas to help quiet the difficulties between Proslavery and Free-State partisans.

9. Samuel J. Jones, Proslavery sheriff of Douglas county, 1855-1857, was wounded by Free-Staters at Lawrence in April, 1856.

accept none but "B[order]. R[uffian].s" full blooded— Lecompte, Marshall & District Atty have thus far acted fairly in this trial— But Lecompte is a thick headed *Jack ass* and acts as though he was afraid of his own shadow— he is a coward—almost yes every man says Fugett murdered and then scalped Hopps in cold blood— one young man said to me that he would be cleared as he had only killed a damned abolitionist—¹⁰ The Free State men speak right out plain. They will not vote at this election— Scott J Anthony was driven out of town last summer for his Free state principles, and this spring the Deputy Marshall gave his Revolver to Scott and wanted him to assist in arresting Fugett— Scott laid hold of him first—this shows a change

I shall go and see Merritt next Monday and stay there two weeks and attend the "*Wea Trust Land Sales*"¹¹ Scott has gone this day— Wilder goes with me Monday— Tell Mary to send her money also and I will buy her 160 acres—which will cost about \$300. to \$325. These lands are priced at 1.50 to 2.50 per acre— Insurance is going to be a good business here— many good buildings are already built & being built.

I shall want to get that note discounted for 2000 or 3000— \$1,000—2 or \$10,000 even is small to operate in city Lots— The Planters House was sold for \$50,000 a few weeks ago— They are making money fast— I don't think trade is very good— If you can get the agency of the Aetna for Lawrence you might move out— I write this on my knee in the Hotel office we now have a daily mail from & too this city—

Yours &c

D R ANTHONY

#35 Miles west of LEAVENWORTH
Delaware Trust Lands K. T. Near
the South East Corner of the Kickapoo
Reservation

DANIEL ANTHONY 5 P. M. Thursday June 11, 1857

DEAR FATHER

These lands are comeing into ma[r]ket July 15th Send on the \$800, or 1,000 in the Union Savings Bank for the Empire Co or

10. On August 19, 1856, Charles Fugit murdered a settler named Hoppe on the outskirts of Leavenworth. He was not brought to trial until June, 1857, and was acquitted June 23. Samuel D. Lecompte, who had been appointed chief justice of the territorial supreme court in 1854, was the presiding judge. The trial and acquittal were bitterly criticized by the Free-State faction in Kansas.

11. Anthony's young brother, Jacob Merritt Anthony, had come to Kansas in 1856, when he was 22 years old, and settled at Osawatimie. The public sale of the Wea Indian lands began at Paola on June 24, 1857.

get \$1,000 discounted on the strength of it for three months— Send gold—or send their notes if they much prefer to do so.

There is money in these lands— Speculation among the Squatters rages high— I shall go down to the Wea lands near where Merritt is about next Monday the 15th—those lands come into market at that time— I have made a small investment and expect to make a claim good— The whole land is overrun with Squatters They are the greatest speculators in the country— The lands here are as good as any in the county— Claims are selling from 50 to \$2000 each—and nothing but a Squatters right at that.

Make a note payable as Mr. Erickson may direct—for \$2,000 and express his Bank notes to me at Leavenworth K. T. v[i]a American Express to St Louis thence by Ritchardsons Mo Express to Leavenworth— Money will have a good circulation here— I am fully convinced that money is made here in buying Lands at first prices— I enclose a blank note which you can fill out.

Mr. Erickson said he would want your name & Aarons on the note— I can get a note discounted at the Canajoharie Bank to pay—if not the Lands can be sold any day to I wish to dispose of them— Money loans at 5 per cent a month—but I am fully Satisfied that a larger per cent can be made in these trust lands and be perfectly safe— I am now engaged in securing claims and will want the money to pay for them by the 10th July— I know you are not posted in regard to these land speculations, but I am pretty well acquainted already—

This note is written in a log shanty with rived shingle roof— cracks all open Hay for flooring—one small Box for furniture & Blankets for Bedding— I am writing on my memorandum Book—which rests on my knee—while I am sitting flat on the ground Wilder is sitting on the Door Sill—(no door) making a memorandum in his book— he takes this letter to Leavenworth city on Friday—& returns on Monday when I go with him & Scott J. Anthony to the Wea Lands— I hope you wont fail of sending me at l[e]ast \$2,000 by July 11

Missourians, Border Ruffians, Virginians, Indianans and three New Yorkers are stoping in this hut— We live on crackers, Ham Tea Sugar Molasses & “*whiskey*” the latter the only staple article of living. It is said no Squatter can have his claim unless he has Flour & whiskey in his cabin— I am on the Grasshopper

creek bank (East bank) about 11 miles north of Grasshopper Falls town—¹² I wrote you once from Leavenworth—

Yours &c

D R ANTHONY

LEAVENWORTH CITY K. T July 3, 57

DEAR FATHER

I have this P M arrived here from Ossawottamie & Paoli—the latter place the Wea Trust lands are now selling and have been since the 25th June— Webb Wilder a brother of A. C. Wilder & a Mr Achilles are here from Rochester, all well—¹³

Wilder, his brother Webb, Achilles & myself go to the Delaware Lands to morrow to attend to our claims. I have as yet made no money but have done enough to pay my expenses since my arrival here— I am so busy that I cannot tell you fully all I have been doing and what I intend doing but shall buy some of the Delaware Lands—

Lands at Paoli sold mostly to settlers, (bogus) at the appraisal which was from \$1.50 \$1.75, \$2.00 \$2.25 for the best—and at least one half was afterwards sold by the Settlers to Speculators at prices ranging from \$2.00 to 5.00 per acre—and some few very choice lots more— I cannot now explain the "*Modus operandi*" nor give you the definition of "Settler" "*Squatter*" and *Speculator*— You will call on Mr Mann of Wilder Case & Co and he will explain or rather post you up in what we are doing

I am engaged with Wilder, not in partnership. I think I shall make something this month Susans & Marys money is recd together with two letters from you & one from Susan—

You entirely misapprehend the manner in which I want to you use the funds. If I had had \$100,000 at Paoli I could have made from 1 to \$2,000 in ten days with it and could do the same thing at the Osaukee Land Sale of the Delaware trust lands—but it is now to late— You cannot understand how matters stand here— I shall attend to other matters when the sales are over—

I know (and others think with me) that speculation runs high here—

12. Grasshopper creek is now called the Delaware river. Grasshopper Falls is present Valley Falls in Jefferson county.

13. "Webb" Wilder was Daniel W. Wilder, 1832-1911, who became prominent as a Kansas newspaperman, author, and public official. Achilles has not been identified.

LEAVENWORTH K. T. July 13, 1857

DEAR SISTER [SUSAN]

Your letter of the 29th UIt was recd by me this day It probably reached this city some days ago. I have just returned from the Grasshopper River where I went one week ago. I leave again to night for Osaukee 30 miles west from Leavenworth with Mr. Wilder— The Land sales commence on the 15th Inst¹⁴ I shall go to Topeka on Tuesday to attend the convention of the Free State Party having been delegated by the people of Atchinson Co where for the present I hail from—¹⁵

My land will not be sold before the 20th to the 25th July— there is from 300,000 to 400,000 acres to be sold. 160 acres will cost from \$300 to \$3,000. Lands here are very high and city property enormously high—the latter so high that I would not touch it at any price for which it could be had— I think many people coming here will make money and many more will loose I think it almost impossible for one to write a statement plain enough to give eastern people a correct idea of the political and speculation condition of this Territory.

I shall return to this city about August 1st when I shall be stationary for a while at least— I have made arrangements to have my letters sent to me at Osaukee. I have one or two chances to invest your \$300, but cannot yet decide—will see at Osaukee what is best— I shall probably see Merritt at Osaukee I have heard from him since I left the Wea Lands he'd bid off his land and so has made the \$125. out of it— I think his chances for making more than his expenses at Osaukee are very small but I will assist him all I can—

I shall endeavor not to loan anything, and from present appearances shall not when I close up, can most likely tell more about it— The more I see of the West the more I am convinced it is the place for me. Although I cannot say that the life I have led the last 5 weeks has been the pleasantest. that I have the most cream in my coffee and slept in the best of beds— Yet my living temporarily on Bread—Coffee & Ham fried by some of our boys Sleeping on the Ground—in the waggon many times and but once in a good bed—and not once in a clean bed— I have now hired a room with A C Wilder and hereafter when in the city shall have a good room and bed—better that the Planter Hotel can afford—

14. The reference is to the sale of the Delaware trust lands, which took place at Ozawkie.

15. This convention, held July 15 and 16, was for the purpose of nominating officers under the Free-State Topeka constitution.

My new cousin Scott J Anthony I like very much— he is highly esteemed here, although quite young— Our party from here to Osaukee consists of A. C. Wilder, D W Wilder, C P Achilles, Brown & Coman and myself—

LEAVENWORTH CITY KANSAS

August 7th 1857

DEAR SISTER [SUSAN]

Your letter of the 20th Ult I found on my table here yesterday— I have been to the Osaukee Sale of the Delaware Trust Lands found Merritt there. Staid there until the 30th then went [to] Grasshopper Falls, then to my claim— then to visit the piece of Land which I bought for you (the recpt is in your name the Government would not have two names in the assignment) the 86 acres I bought for you is on the Delaware trust Lands adjoin[ing] the Kickapoo Preemption Lands— I have made arrangements to buy the fractional quarter east of it 33 acres for Mary—(expect it was bid in for her yesterday at Osaukee)—

Merritt and I have built cabins on the two fractional quarters on the Kickapoo preemption lands so that you or some one else can preempt them at \$1.25 per acre—or buy a 120 and an 80 acre warrant and get it for about \$1.00 per acre besides expenses of preemption I paid \$3.00 per acre for your 86 acres and am to pay the same for the 33 acres for Mary It is A no 1 Prairie Land But if you do not like the investment I will take it off your hands—at any time— Merritt says the Land is the best kind— We have built on the Kickapoo side two good firm cabins which will prevent any one from taking them at present— I send you a diagram of your Land—also a copy of the recpt which I hold— I do not send the recpt itself as I may need it.

I bought the Land from Mr. Willis at \$3.00 per acre— An the cabin which he had on it I have removed on the fraction of same quarter right north—

I have just seen Wilder who has just come from Osaukee and he gives me M S. Anthony recpt— I managed to have Marys bid of in her name— She is a Settler, Bona fide She is now undoubtedly tilling her 40 acres of Land— I had to pay \$30. to the man who built the cabin on her claim & which will make her 39 acres cost \$78.70—and she will have 121 $\frac{4}{100}$ acres to preempt at \$1.25— You will see by the diagram the two claims join each other— Wilder owns the claim west of Susans—

It would be impossible for me to explain the manner in which

all this business is done— These Delaware Lands are sold by Gov for the Indians they are appraised at from \$1.25 to \$4.50 per acre none are sold below the appraisal and Actual settlers can have them at that price—but most every one manages to evade the Law of the commissioner of sales— The cost of putting up cabins for you and Mary on the Kickapoo claims is about \$50.— I think you can send me \$80, which will answer until your preem[p]tion Land wants to be paid for which will be in November next or later—

S B & M S Credit By cash \$300.

Dr

To Express charges	\$ 2.00
To S B A 86 73/100 Land at \$3.	260.19
To Cost of putting up two cabins for S B A & M S A on the Kickapoo Land—Say	39.11
To M S A Land recpt 38 96/100 acre at 1.25	48.70
To paid Mr Osborn for putting cabin & for his interest in the claim—	30.00
Balance due	80.
	<hr/> \$380.00 \$380. <hr/>

Merritt & I throw in our time & labor putting up cabins—and I have drawn one of my cabins on to your Kickapoo claim

LEAVENWORTH CITY KANSAS

August 8, 1857

DEAR SISTER [SUSAN]

Yours of the 29th come to hand this day— . . . You speak of coming to Kansas It may be (if the Land office opens in October or November) best for you to come out and buy your own land on the preemption tract— You will understand that the dividing line between the Kickapoo & preemption Lands and the Delaware Trust Lands runs diagonally through about the center of your 160 acres and through the South part of Marys— . . .

So you will see that on the south of the diagonal line you have a title from Government for 86 73/100 acres—and will have to preempt or buy from Gov. the balance of 73 23/100 acres when the land office opens which will be in Oct or Nov they say— Mary has a title to 38 96/100 acres and will have to buy the 121 04/100 of Gov same as you do—providing you wish to buy it— You are not obliged to buy it— And in order to hold it I have had to build two good firm matched lumber cabins & will have some plowing



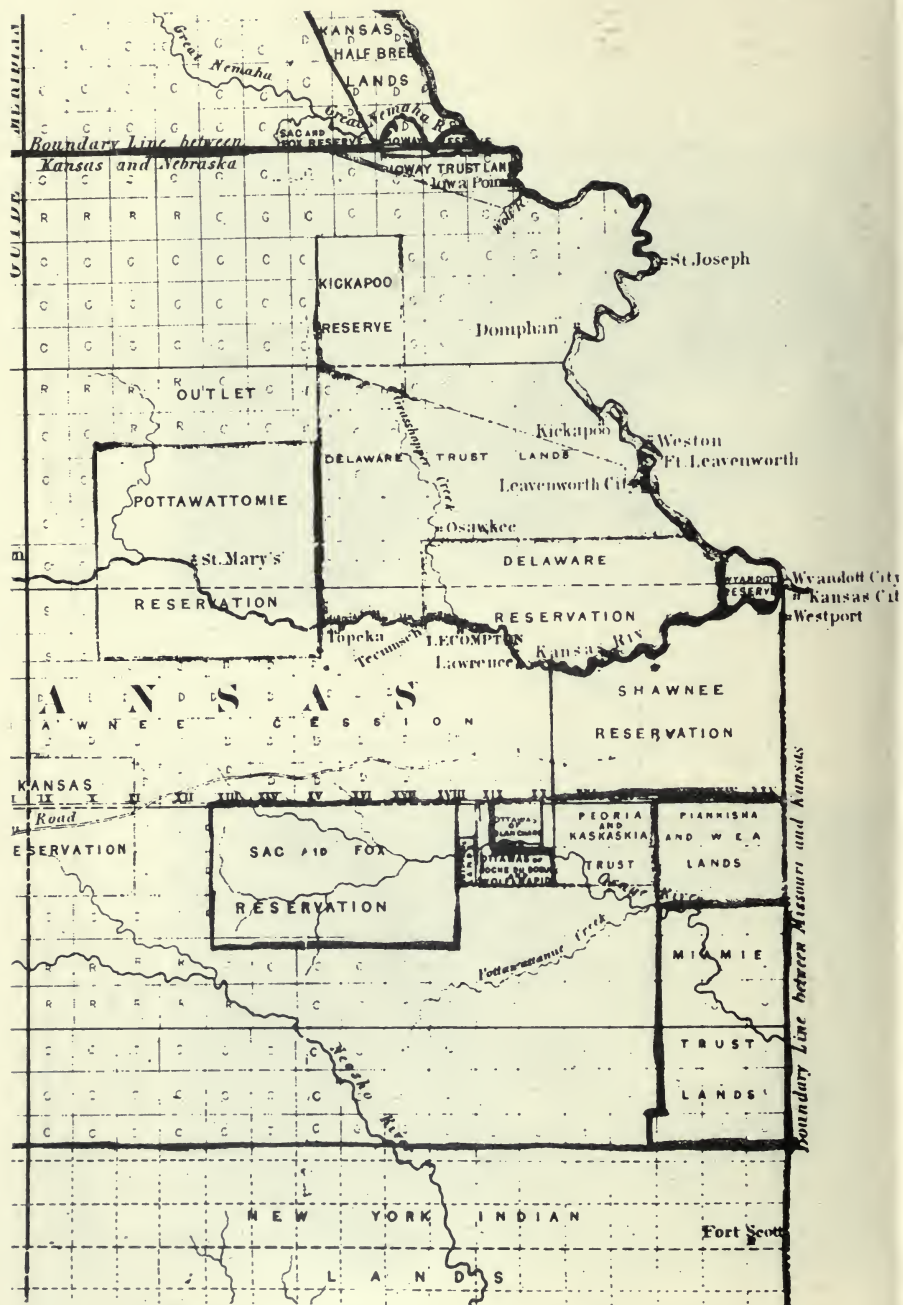
Daniel Anthony
(1794-1862)

of Rochester, N. Y., was the father of Daniel R. and Susan B. Anthony.



Daniel Read Anthony
(1824-1904)

was a Leavenworth journalist long active in civic and state affairs.



EASTERN KANSAS IN 1857 SHOWING THE INDIAN LANDS
 A reproduction of a portion of a map accompanying the
 Annual Report of the Surveyor General (1857).

done on both of them—it is better to have the whole 160 acres then you & Mary will have 160 each—

LEAVENWORTH Aug. 17, 1857

DEAR FATHER

Can you negotiate one of those bonds & mortgages I may want 4 Land Warrants in October or November I wish you would write me what has been done. I have written once or twice but you forget to answer—

I think something could be raised from them without looseing much. I would give 10 pr cent off to get them cashed— Mary need not sent the \$80. now unless she wishes— if She sends it— send draft on New York or your check— Drafts are par checks would cost $\frac{1}{2}\%$ to collect— I don't know as the Doniphan Land office will be open before November— I want to enter the 4 quarters on the Kickapoo lands as soon as the office opens and allow us to preempt— when they do open I may want two or three of you to make Kansas a visit— Merritt has gone to Ossawottomie— I may go down there again in a week or two— He will come up again to our Kickapoo claims in 4 or 6 weeks— It will depend on the time the Land office opens— The Land office at Lecompton has not opened yet— Merritt will have to enter his Ossawottomie Land there— I think if three or four were to go into Ossawottomie Money could be made there— I hardly think further troubles need be apprehended here— Walker dont know what to do— he has surrendered himself almost entirely to the Pro Slavery Party.¹⁶

Yours of Aug 3rd is recd.

Yours Truly

D R ANTHONY

LEAVENWORTH K. T. Aug 17 1857

Monday 12 Oclock

DEAR BROTHER

I returned on Sunday at 1½ P. M. from a exploration trip— A. C. Wilder Glenny & myself left Leavenworth on Monday August 10th at 1 P. M. in a good Rockaway carriage with a good span of Black Horses— traveled west that night about 20 miles on the Fort Riley road stopped & got a good chicken supper. then went on 10

16. Robert J. Walker, although a Democratic appointee to the office of territorial governor, suffered criticism from both Proslavery and Free-State elements, as did other members of the territorial administration. Walker was especially criticized by Free-Staters because he sent troops to Lawrence in July, 1857, after that town had set up an independent city government, an act which he considered illegal.

miles further, turned our horses loose on the Praries, laid our blankets on the Ground, pulled off our boots wrapped a blanket around each of us and went to sleep— Slept quite sound in the morning woke up nearly wet through with the dew—harnassed up and drove 9 miles to Osaukee. 8 A. M. got a 50 cent breakfast of nothing eatable— Staid at the sales until 2 P M then went north to Grasshopper Falls. thence north 10 miles to our claims— thence west $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles to Kapioma city¹⁷ Got stuck in the mud crossing the Grasshopper. left our waggon. Went up to Godwins house— (Brother of Parke Godwin) had Bacon and biscuit for Tea. Slept on a matrass on the floor with our blankets over us— enormous ground bugs were crawling over us all night the log house was full of them—

In the morning had Mackerel, Soda Crackers & Tea & vilanous coffee for breakfast— Godwin is not the housekeeper just now— he had but just arrived— Then hauled our Waggon out of the creek, harnassed up and travelled over rolling Praries & across creeks for ten or fifteen [miles] west to Eureka, Pleasent View &c—¹⁸ got back to Kapioma City about 5 P. M. but concluded to come 10 miles further East to Monrovia. got there about 9 P. M. ordered a good Supper had chicken, milk Toast &c all O. K. they live in a tent have about 20 boarders— live the best of any place or hotel yet— Slept on a matrass on the floor, wrapped up in our blankets—good breakfast in the morning bill \$1.00 per head— traveled east 4 miles to the Great Fort Leavenworth & Fort Larimie Military Road—thence north 6 miles to my claims.¹⁹ found Merritt had finished the cabins and gone to Ossawottomie via Leavenworth, so I shall miss him this trip— took in a cabin built on a claim of 160 acres bought by A. W. McLean of John Gray— I have been asked who & where McLean is “I gues he is in Leavenworth now or there or there”—²⁰

After feeding men & horses—traveled north over an unknown Prarie—without compas or guide—a very comfortable feeling when you dont know whether you go right or wrong— A man cant travel in this country with a carriage unless he knows where “fording places” are— After 6 miles travel we come to the St Joseph

17. Kapioma City was located at the mouth of Straight creek in western Atchison county, south of present Muscotah.

18. Eureka (present Jackson county), which changed its location and its name before its death in the 1870's, was 32 miles west of Atchison when Anthony visited it. Pleasant View has not been located.

19. This route, another of the many branches of the Oregon or California trail, was also known as the Fort Leavenworth-Fort Kearny road.

20. The mysterious McLean was Aaron McLean, of Rochester, N. Y., Anthony's brother-in-law, to whom this letter presumably was addressed.

& Kennekuk road²¹ took that east and after traveling 10 miles found water 10 miles further brought us to the house of Mr Mathews—a proSlavery man—a first rate fellow who believes Slavery is a divine institution and that it will yet be established in Kansas— He has an A no 1 Black cook—gave us good coffee Tea—Chicken Ham Biscuit & Butter for Tea & Same with corn cakes for Breakfast— also Christian Bed's— Bill \$1.00 per head— traveled over the best country I have yet seen in Kansas—from the time we struck the Military Road so up along between the sources on [of] the Grasshopper on the west and the sources of Independence Creek on the East and Wolf river on the north—a high divide all the way—

Left Mathews at 7 a. m. with blessings on the beloved institution of Black cooks and reached Elwood City at 9 a.m. (10 miles) A new town of 40 houses—great chances for Speculation— Humbug all over—bought a Subdivision Share of the city ten Lots for \$3.50 and left at 6 P M Same day—disgusted with the city—(we crossed over to St Joseph it is one of the largest of the towns (8000) on the Missouri River)—but like all of them has a dilapidated look— The Hannibal and St. Joseph will help it and Elwood also²²—that night reached Palermo ten miles south²³—“Wilder swearing that it was all damn foolishness to drive in the dark over the damn precipices— that we would get into Missouri &c but we come around at the Palermo Hotel safe and sound at 9 P. m— poor bed— poor breakfast— rained all night until 11 a.m.

After hunting a long time found our horses—got wet through—got our carriage mended and started south over hills and down precipices— The River Roads are almost impassible particularly after a rain— passed Geary City in 10 miles—40 houses²⁴—10 miles further passed Doniphan 60 or 70 houses two Sawmills &c. has a Pro Slavery look— this is the town bought by Jim Lane— we called on the General but he was not a[t] home— He is just the man for the times. The Free State Boys *love* him— The National Democrats *hate* him and the Missourians & Border Ruffians generally *fear* him— thence 5 miles south to Atchison of 100 or 200 houses— and 20 Stores will make a town some time

21. Three years later the Pony Express followed this road across Doniphan and southeastern Brown counties.

22. The Hannibal and St. Joseph railroad, which reached St. Joseph February 23, 1859, gave Elwood a rail connection with the East, although no railroad was to bridge the Missouri for several years.

23. Palermo, in Doniphan county, was on the Missouri river, two miles southwest of Wathena.

24. Geary City, in Doniphan county, was on the Missouri river, ten miles south of Troy.

then we went 8 miles out on the Military road again a few miles below South of where we crossed it on the Thursday before— Stayed all night with a Missourian—8 or ten men 3 women slept side by side on the floor in our room in an old log hut— had a nasty breakfast— rained in the morning got away at 8 a m and reached Leavenworth on Sunday at 1½ P. M. whole expense for the 6 days about \$50— this is an excellent place to spend money—

You have above a hasty account of life in Kansas I am now well— I nearly starved my self on the trip, and it had a good affect upon my digestive organs. On the whole I am pleased with Kansas life thus far— I am fully convinced it is the place to make money—no man can help making money here providing he is willing to "*rough*" it—and is economical and will not expend to much time in looking about the country— many people come here who travel all over the country and after all cannot make up their minds which is the best point and loose all the best chances—

For myself I made up my mind to pitch in a little here and a little there and come out some where—but I have no fear of the result— A man could hardly go amiss— Any business will pay here except doing nothing— That will not pay except to dead politicians like Shannon &c who offer their influence in the market for a consideration²⁵

Most of Buchanans office holders here are hard drinkers and Gamblers— The Free State Party in refusing to vote last year did the very best thing The National Democracy and the Pro Slavery Party and Gov Walker are all one— Walker attempted to deceive and cajole the people—he failed in that—then he tried to intimidate them. he failed in that— The people laugh at him— He is mad with himself and with every body except Brown of the Herald of Freedom and Cory correspondent of the New York Times—²⁶ Little Walker is dead— his influence here is gone forever— his intrigues to make Kansas a National Democratic State did not work The people despise him for his trickery it was unworthy of any man—

The two men hung here two weeks ago were National Democrats—the two in Prison are National Democrats—²⁷ There is

25. Wilson Shannon, a Democrat and Proslavery sympathizer, was the second governor of Kansas territory.

26. George W. Brown, editor of the Lawrence *Herald of Freedom* was not as critical of Governor Walker as most of his fellow Free-State newspapermen. The New York *Times* also was less critical than other Eastern papers. No information has been found on Cory.

27. On July 31, 1857, James Stevens was murdered by John C. Quarles and W. M. Bays. The two were hanged by citizens of Leavenworth on August 1. William Knighten and Bill Woods, arrested as accomplices in the murder, were jailed in Delaware City.

something about an honest Pro Slavery man I like— he is frank and honest with you— but a National Democrat will lie will do anything mean— Little Walker has nothing to do— the bogus laws are now not enforced (in general I mean) indeed all the government officials are supernumerarys— unless it is the Land offices and Post Masters—

I dont know whether any more difficulties will occur here or not— but if they do come—it will be a fight such as has never occurred here before— Men of property do not regard money at all in respect to this continually infringing upon their God given rights— Time will tell the story and Kansas will be Free— The Pro Slavery still cling to idea of making it a Slave State—

Write me all the Rochester and Washington county news—

Yours truly

D R ANTHONY

LEAVENWORTH CITY KANSAS

October 1, 1857

DEAR FATHER,

I have written home several times but have heard nothing from any of you in two or three weeks. Merritt wrote me on the 27th Ultimo saying he had heard nothing in some time.

I see by the papers you are having a great panic in money matters with all care on your part you can Shun the Shoals—give no credit to any man who is doubtful. in any case or for any reason, demand prompt payment. better loose some business than to run any hazard. Always make them pay up before the month is up—

I had one case of 37.50 premium the man wanted me to wait a few days I told him I could not & canceled his policy instanter— I shall do a good business for one or two months this fall— In the month of September I issued 15 policies premiums \$792.45 profits on same 10 per cent & policies & Surveys making about \$100. pretty well for the first month— I write \$10,000. in one risk one premium which I took amounted to \$225. one 162.50 one 73.50 one 52.50 one 60. and lesser ones—

I wrote you very urgently for funds—but if you cannot get them—why I must do without, but now is the time [to] buy here—say about January or February next—

I have made arrangements here so that I can get Land Warrants to enter 4 quarters this fall— I loaned \$300. last week 90 days 5 per cent per month and took a deed of 160 acres of land and a good note into the bargain. I could loan any amount almost at same rate—

Merritt expects to come up again after election. The Charter Oak Co offer me their agency— I have written the Home Co all I have got to do is to stick to my business here— I am *the agent* and *command the best* business in town I have the power to appoint Surveyors in all the towns (except Lawrence) in the Territory for the Aetna. I hope you will write me fully about the business. I don't like to be in the dark— My office is nearly finished. I move into it about the 10th Oct.

Marcus J Parrott will be elected to congress by a large majority as to the result in the council & lower House can not tell. A great effort is made by the Pro Slavery party to carry this election all depends upon the frauds which may be perpetrated.

I have little confidence in Walker or the honesty of any of the party. Their officials here are not men of common honesty— during the troubles here last fall our *post master* stood on the Levee with a axe saying he would kill any God Damn Yankee who dare land from the Steam Boat— The whole Party is as corrupt as *Hell* itself— What the Democratic Party deny at the east is here openly advocated by the Nationals— Well I hope the *good Pious Christians* at the East who support the Democratic Party will Some day have the pleasure of associating with their allies here— God Almighty has written on their faces in legible characters the words Scoundrels— But then the time is coming when these men cannot live in Kansas, and they know it and consequently the desperate effort they now make

Write soon

D. R. ANTHONY

LEAVENWORTH KANSAS

Wednesday Oct. 14th 1857

DEAR FATHER

Yours of the 20nd Inst has this day come to hand. . . .

Business this month not as good as last— Our Free State men are very much depressed on account of the frauds in the last election. They are more glaring than ever before—²⁸ I will write you more fully in a few days. I wrote you a letter of 5 pages a few days ago. Many letters are lost or stolen on the route somewhere— The clerks in this office I think are honest—but I cannot say as much for the Post master himself

28. On October 5-6 an election was held for territorial delegate to congress and for members of the territorial legislature. Despite the frauds referred to, the Free-State party won a decisive victory, electing 9 of 13 members of the territorial council and 24 of the 39 members of the lower house. In addition, Marcus J. Parrott, the Free-State candidate for delegate to congress, defeated his Proslavery opponent 7,888 to 3,799.

The money panic affects us here to some extent—although nothing to what you describe—

Tis mainly the want of currency
Expect Merrit here in a few days

Yours Truly
D R ANTHONY

LEAVENWORTH CITY KANSAS
Tuesday Oct 20th 1857

DEAR SISTER [SUSAN]

Your letter dated at Westfield Oct 10th come to hand yesterday. our mails have been quite irregular for a few weeks. Am pleased to know our folks have had such a good Peach harvest and hope they will continue to be fruitfull. I always had confidence in fruit and wanted our folks to cultivate large orchards. As to your coming here to preempt I would advise it, If you was so situated that you could preempt but no single wooman can avail herself of that privilege unless she be a widow or a guardian, or has some one dependent on her for a support (what would be termed a family) Therefor I think it useless for you to come—and then you would have to remain here 6 weeks and by that time the River would be frozen up. I think your claim is safe, and if you can get a Land warrant I think I could get some one to preempt it for about \$600.

I have less faith than ever in preaching or Lecturing. The world is bound to go to the Devil anyway, and the easiest way is to slide along easy. I am infidel in almost everything. When an administration can not only sustain but boldly defend the flagrant frauds which have been perpetrated on this people for the last three years, I think that Satan has such a fast hold of them that [it] is entirely useless to endeavor to reclaim them.

When men who stood at the gang way plank with Broad Axe in hand threatning to cleave the Skull of any damned Northern man who attempted to Land from the Steamer on Kansas Soil, when men who have perpetrated cold blooded murder & who publicly boast of it, when men who with drawn sword flourished over the head of a lone woman Swearing if she did not leave the Country in so long a time he would cut out her heart, when almost every man who holds any important office in this Territory have been guilty of the above or Similar acts, when these men and these men alone are the men selected by an administration to fill the various Post offices Land offices, what is the use of talking? My God men who will approve and defend such mens acts, are not men to reason with. I

know many of them will not reason. The only argument is the strong arm of might. And were the people once to stand up and say we will have our rights, they would be granted at once— The Pro Slavery Border Ruffian Democracy never attack a man here who says he will defend himself. So I have been compelled to wear a knife and carry a Colts Revolver—and the consequence is no trouble will be made on my account. The hounds never attack a man single handed with very few exceptions they are cowardly dishonorable in all their intercourse with Free State men.

The Pro Slavery business men here are a better class of men. They denounce the Bullying course of some of their party but dare not speak for fear of losing their own Standing. When Kansas comes in Free, A large number of these scoundrels will leave the country and Kansas will then boast of as good a population as any State or Territory—

You probably get all the Election news The [New York] Tribune's report can be as fully relied on as any— The fact is the truth can not be had on the ground— We dont know what to believe we here are credulous enough to believe any thing may be perpetrated by the Pro Slavery Party no matter how absurd, or flagrant a wrong it may be— What can they do worse than they have in the last election Our Free State Congressman M J Parrott is elected—also a majority of both branches of our Territorial Legislature, but we do [not] believe it until we see the certificates, and the members actually take their Seats. If there had been common honesty the Free State men would have all—

My business looks, have very flattering prospects ahead— I may come home in December. Have not heard from Merritt in two or three weeks he was well then— Expect him here in a few days— Money matters here are more quiet [than] that east, no failures.

Hope to hear from you often

Yours Sincerely
D R ANTHONY

LEAVENWORTH CITY KANSAS
Wednesday Oct. 28, 1857

DEAR FATHER

I have been thinking over about my visiting home this winter, and can hardly come to a conclusion. If I go home my expenses

will not be less than \$100, and then I shall loose over a months business which will be over another \$100. So you see by visiting home I am \$200 or more poorer than I would be to stay here. And in these money Panic times one must economise as much as possible in Dress, traveling expenses, &c My Cigar, Whiskey, & Pleasure Bills generally are mere nothing for the last two months. And if I keep on improving in this way, I see no reason why I may not one day be a rich man. In this country one can most readily understand that [it] is far easier to make than to save money.

I hope you will send on the funds to use in Kansas. I can invest for you as you may think best. I would rather have one dollar now, than two after March next. In these close times, a much sharper lookout is required than in times when money is plenty. At the same time now is the time to make the most money, by a cautious investment in such manner that should one operation fail, all would not be lost. I am not one to believe that all the country will be ruined by this Panic. on the contrary now is the time for everyone having spare money to operate.

Could you have the agency of the Aetna company for Lawrence I would like to see you settled in that town. Lawrence contains the best population of any town in the Union—and is destined to become a large town. I think I could get you the agency for any other except that—but then no place unless it is this city will compete with it— but I suppose there is no chance to sell property in Rochester. I am sure Mother would be pleased with living in this country, and particularly in Lawrence, because there is such a unanimity of sentiment prevailing among all of them. I hope to hear by next letter that Mother is getting better. Also that she will write me a few words, as she has not written me since I left home.

LEAVENWORTH CITY KANSAS

October 30, 1857

DEAR FATHER

I notice by New York Tribune 22nd under head of "Commercial Matters" that Land warrants have been selling as low as 60 to 65 cents per acre, & are now worth 75 to 85 cts I think you can find 4 or 5 in Rochester for a very low figure, I wrote you fully about this a day or two ago. I can loan Land warrants here, for the purpose which I want them, but I will have to pay \$1.00 per acre and 3 per cent per month interest on same, six months time.—

You will readily see a good business in buying there and selling here at \$1.00 per acre. Have heard nothing from Merritt, tis not time—

I have issued ten fire policies this month prems \$557.75 and two Cargoe policies premiums \$6.22. I charge \$2.00 for policy and Survey on fire risks and \$1.50 on Inland— And am thinking of charging \$2.50 for policy & Survey on fire risks. business for November I think will be good. Made up and sent my report to company for October yesterday. So you see I am prompt. All Kinds of produce continues very high— Potatoes 75 cts. apples 1.00 to 1.25 and other things in same ratio. I wrote you yesterday 29th and also two or three days before that enclosing diagram of Susan & Marys land. I perhaps ought to number my letters as many people are satisfied that their mail matter is tampered with at the Post office here— . . .

Oct 31. Well another mail boat has come up—and shall get her mail tomorrow Sunday noon. We have to wait for slow men to distribute the mail Letters 1½ hours and papers from 6 to 48 hours. tis very negligently conducted—

I am satisfied that money can be made in buying stocks at present prices, although not as sure as loaning on lands—and then it takes too much money to dabble in stocks

Yours Truly
D R ANTHONY

LEAVENWORTH CITY, KANSAS
Monday November 2, 1857

DEAR FATHER

I am writing you almost every other day. I have now made arrangements for preempting Susan & Marys fractions. The cost of doing it will be one 160. acre Land warrant and \$150. cash, which will be needed at once—

I have made arrangements for the preempting of four quarters of land 640 acres. I preempt one quarter myself, and shall want for that 4. 160 acre warrants and \$300. cash.

My total wants are

5 Land Warrants 160 [acres], and \$450. cash. This Land is worth \$5.00 per acre as soon as title is perfected Hope you can arrange matters and forward funds & warrants immediately. . . . I have not many arrangements for any further outlay of funds and the above I know to be tip top.

My insurance . . . business opens well today for the first days business in Nov. have taken five risks as follows

\$250.	Rate 6	Prem \$15.	on Hearse in Stable
\$10,000.	" 1½	" 150.	Brick building \$5,000,
			Clothing 5,000
300	" 2	" 6.	Dwelling—expand 10 ft.
			to Dwelling
3000	" 6	" 180.	Groceries & Provisions
3,000.	" 1½	" 52.50	on Clothing
		\$403.50	total and

have charged \$9.50 for policies fees on them. Shall take over a \$1,000 prems this month.

My premiums for last month are all paid but \$2.22 and that is owing by one of our best merchants for a small river risk, and will be paid whenever I call— I dont give any time longer than the 20th of each month and then all prems must be paid at any rate— I have but very little bantering about rates, can do here much better in that line than you can in Rochester— The people do not value money so highly here and the money panic has not affected them much.

What arrangements are you making for next years business. If you could sell farm, and mother and all could be satisfied to move to Kansas say Lawrence, and you follow insurance there I have no doubt you would like it much better than Rochester They are the best set of men that ever breathed over in Lawrence—and our old Fogy conservative men here who have heretofore been denouncing Lawrence men—now unite in saying they have always taken the true stand, and to them is owing the privilege which we now enjoy, that of success. they are earnest men, no boys play, and report here says that Gov Walker would not have thrown out the Oxford returns had he not been laboring under a wholesome fear of his neck.²⁹ I never saw men more desperate than were the Free state men a few days after the Election. They were ready for any move—for open rebellion, and more— In fact I dont think it possible for Gov Walker to have recognized the fraud and preserved peace also—

Write soon.

Yours &c
D R ANTHONY

Nov 3

I think the Home Co have some thought of establishing an agency here This morning I recd a Statistical sheet from them and have

29. Oxford precinct in Johnson county polled 1,628 Proslavery votes in the October election. Most of them were illegal and were thrown out by order of Governor Walker—"for informality, not for fraud."—D. W. Wilder, *Annals of Kansas* (1886), p. 195.

filled it up and sent them. If I succeed in getting my Kickapoo land through all O. K. there will be 640. acres in a square body of as handsome land high rolling Prarie rich as rich can be. within 12 miles of Atchison on the Missouri River And it must be kept for years, as ten years hence 640 acres in that place lying in that shape will be valuable.

You had best keep business operation quiet— Weather very pleasant has been rainy during last month.

DRA

LEAVENWORTH CITY KANSAS

Saturday Nov 7, 1857

DEAR FATHER

I have heard nothing from you since Oct 15th— We have filed on 5 quarters of land and can prove up and preempt on the 4th of December when I shall want the 5. 160 [acre] warrants and \$300, or \$600, cash— *You need not send the cash* but give me orders to draw on you payable in current funds or Gold as you may prefer— Send warrants by Express. you ought to get them for 70 to 80 cents— If I can close my land matters before the River closes think I shall go to Rochester from the 7th to 15th December (Start then) for home)—

My business this month is good—have issued 9 fire & 1 River policy. Amt premiums a little over \$800.— one premium was \$240, one \$180, one \$150, one \$130. reckon you dont issue many such policies. I take all the desirable risks. Although there are 3 or 4 other agents, yet some how the damned Yankee does the business. best pro Slavery men give me business. insured one dwelling, \$5,000 on building & \$2500 on furniture & Clothing therein prem \$75 one year, can you beat that.

I must make some arrangements for money next year. It seems to bad not to have money to loan at 5% per month when it can be had east at 7 to 10 per cent per annum and on poorer security than we get here.

I see you are like all the world who have had no experience in the west. You look upon most everything as moonshine. You dont believe half [of] what I write. You think every body here is crazy and while you think so every body here is getting rich. Now is the time to dip in— Money wont be made here at this rate five years hence. dont allow any thing to prevent the prompt sending of those 5 warrants by the 20th Nov at farthest.

Business here this winter will be dull—insurance I mean. next year it must be good. I shall want to get back by Jan'y 20. to get

ready for River business &c and at that time the best bargains in Real Estate can be made—

Wilder has gone to the Doniphan Land office to enter Land for preemption or rather to Loan them Warrants.

Affairs here look well and if Buchanan would only turn a few of the Federal office holders out who have been guilty of murder & robbery, people would feel better, but it does grind them to have men controll Post offices & Land offices in whom nobody has any confidence— Not even the Ruffians themselves. The time will soon come when they also will get their deserts—

The Steamer "New Lucy" is now lying at the Levee, but I am to late to put this letter in her mail.

Write soon & fully—

Yours &c
D R ANTHONY

LEAVENWORTH KANSAS
Monday Dec. 1, 1857

DEAR FATHER

Your letter of the 12 & 14th Susans of the 9th & 10th with mothers letter enclosed, yours of the 17th and Susans & yours of the 11th Nov containing *two* Land Warrants, Power of Atty and much news from home were all received to day and Saturday in good order Warrants appear to be all right, shall probably use them this or next week.

Dont understand me as complaining in the least— I can get along and do well without any funds from home, and in case of necessity could assist you if required. I could sell the Land warrants to day for \$160, or could loan them one year for a note of \$280. and a deed of 160 acres of Land to secure the note. Dont you make any investments at home unless to improve the farm in the way of trees &c Am inclined to think you can do best on the farm. Would advise selling the whole business to Sheldon if Aaron could make up his mind to come to Kansas, and farm it, start a Lumber yard— wood & coal yard, Grist mill or any other business most, but I will not take the responsibility of advising again. I think any man who will come here and adopt the "go ahead" system will succeed.

As for my Self I consider a fixed fact, and dont want you to lay awake o' nights on my account, for I have confidence in my success ultimately— Am satisfied that thus far my business has equalled my anticipations and while I would and could use a large amount of funds in business could I obtain the article, yet I can work on a smaller scale— I have paid for my Kansas experience very

lightly in comparison with many. When title is obtained to Kickapo Lands I will give you statement of investments of your funds in Kansas— And let the times be good or bad I know the prices are for much less than others making for permanent investments. If I could have had two or three more land warrants at 76¢ the Kickapo Section would not cost over \$2.00 per acre, and a better section of 640 acres you never saw, A No 1 every inch of it— would sell for \$3.00 cash to day, \$5.00 next summer, and situated within 12 miles of Atchison & Doniphan, on the Missouri River and only 1½ mile south of the St Joseph & Fort Riley road ³⁰ & 1½ miles north of the Fort Leavenworth & Fort Laramie Road—both extensively traveled roads. I think the location desirable—

Our political matters remain very much mixed up the national "Democratic Constitutional Convention" has framed a constitution, as you will see by the Tribunes correspondent They may foment more trouble, and the administration may back them in their plans, as they do in retaining John Calhoun in office J J Clarkson Fred Emory & Clark and many others who have assisted in foisting the foul thing upon the people of Kansas.³¹ but you [see?] there are too many freemen here. Although many of them are of the milk and water kind yet there are enough good and true men on the Soil to put down the usurpation.

30. This is apparently another name for the route from St. Joseph to Kennekuk which had its junction with the Fort Leavenworth road at Kennekuk.

31. Anthony here refers to the Lecompton constitutional convention and the Proslavery instrument which it produced in November, 1857. John Calhoun, United States surveyor general for Kansas and Nebraska, was president of the convention. Frederick Emory, who was at various times a United States mail contractor and register of the Western land district at Ogden, made himself conspicuous during 1856-1857 as the leader of a gang of "regulators," or Border Ruffian vigilantes. Clark was probably George W. Clarke, a Proslavery Democrat who was employed for a time in the Fort Scott land office and who won notoriety as the murderer of the Free-State settler, Thomas Barber, in December, 1855, while he was United States agent to the Pottawatomie Indians. J. J. Clarkson has not been identified.

(Part Two, the D. R. Anthony Letters of 1858-1861, Will Appear in the Summer, 1958, Issue.)

Early Theatre at Fort Scott

JAMES C. MALIN

I. THE SETTING

THE setting for the beginning of theatre in Fort Scott and southeastern Kansas was quite different from that of Leavenworth and Atchison. Northeastern Kansas, as well as central and northwestern Missouri, had been served by the river traffic of the Missouri river. Several towns, four of which were of considerable size, Kansas City, Leavenworth, Atchison, and St. Joseph, afforded substantial patronage in their own right, and operated as bases for access to the near-by interior towns. But Fort Scott and southeastern Kansas were far removed from water navigation, and were served only by expensive animal-powered land communications. That is, until the coming of the railroads and associated services. Other factors, of course, contributed to the delay in settlement and development of the area, particularly southern Bourbon and Neosho counties, and those farther south. The Missouri-Kansas border wars, by 1865, had virtually depopulated the border tiers of counties on both sides of the state line. There were also controversies over Indian titles, and over land grants to railroads.

Just prior to the Civil War, the village of Fort Scott was visited by occasional entertainers, but not theatre. Professor Searl, magician and ventriloquist, in May, 1860; the New York Vocalists, in June, 1860; Seguar Ferrello, the "Italian Ole Bull," and Peabody, the banjo performer, at Williams' Hall, December, 1860, March, 1861; the Great Western Minstrels, in April, 1861.

In the latter part of 1862, when Union troops were concentrated at Fort Scott, soldier entertainment attracted attention. During most of August the "Union Opera and Variety Troupe" provided that type of diversion, and again the same organization reopened for the fall season late in September and continued through much or all of October. This was the "Varieties" combination that had become notorious at Leavenworth under the direction of the expansive and irrepressible Irish comedian, Ben Wheeler, at the American Concert Hall—derisively called the "Moral Show." In August Ben had with him the humorist, Oscar Willis, "the graceful M'lle

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Carolista and LaBelle Louise," the jig-dancer, Johnny Mitchell, and the violinist, A. G. Cooper. For the later engagement the balladist, Leon DeBerger, was featured in place of LaBelle Louise. As the *Bulletin* put it: "The Union Varieties are running gay. Ben Wheeler is a whole troupe in himself, and is 'well supported.'" Another group of entertainers were advertised as "Franklin and Baker's Amphitheatre." The components of this company had also appeared at Leavenworth in the "Variety" type of show: Baker, the Red Man of Agar, and his son Willie, Mr. and Mrs. Franklin, and Mr. and Mrs. (Kate) Navo.¹

After the war a limited assortment of miscellaneous entertainment visited Fort Scott by stage. But, allowing for certain kinds of diversions associated traditionally with saloons, gaming rooms, and dance halls, serving particularly the unattached population of a pioneer town, the citizens were thrown back mostly upon their own resources for amusement.²

II. THE NATIONAL THEATRE, 1870

The coming to Fort Scott of the first railroad, the Missouri River, Fort Scott and Gulf, in December, 1869, was long anticipated and worked a revolution in most all aspects of the activities of this city of about 4,000 population. Commercial entertainment, especially theatre, was a conspicuous beneficiary. Watching the advancing construction work on the railroad in Bourbon county, the *Monitor* wrote wishfully, May 12, 1869, that if the contractors at the north end did as well "we may expect the cars in Fort Scott by the 4th day of July." Not altogether by coincidence a few days later the *Monitor* described the new furnishings of McDonald Hall; new chairs, three chandeliers, eight side lamps—"It is now one of the

1. Fort Scott *Democrat*, May 19, June 23, 30, December 15, 1860; March 9, April 13, 20, 1861; Fort Scott *Bulletin*, August 9, 23, 30, September 27, October 4, 11, 1862.

James C. Malin, "Theatre in Kansas, 1858-1868: Background for the Coming of the Lord Dramatic Company to Kansas, 1869," *Kansas Historical Quarterly*, v. 23 (Spring, 1957), pp. 23-25; Leavenworth *Daily Conservative*, August 28, November 27, 1861.

Mrs. C. H. Haynes, "Early Theatricals in Fort Scott," Fort Scott *Daily Monitor*, April 8, 1895. In this article, primarily reminiscences, Mrs. Haynes said:

"The first traveling troupe that gave public entertainments in this city was a company from Leavenworth, whose 'advance agent' found great difficulty in obtaining a building. . . .—the only place available being an ice house, which was furnished for the purpose of the soldier shows with benches, a drop curtain, and candles with tin reflectors for foot-lights. She added:

"I cannot vouch for the quality of these first theatricals, as the ladies did not patronize them, for the reason, that we were not wanted, the performances being regular 'variety shows.'"

Mrs. Haynes dated this episode 1863, but it should have been a year earlier; also, this was "entertainment," but not theatre.

No contemporary verification has been found for the ice-house housing of these shows, but space was exceedingly short. The school house had been turned into a military hospital during the summer of 1862, and a citizens' drive to construct a temporary building for the fall opening of school failed.—Fort Scott *Bulletin*, June 7, 14, July 12, August 2, 9, 1862.

2. Charles W. Goodlander, *Memoirs and Recollections of C. W. Goodlander of the Early Days of Fort Scott* (Fort Scott, 1900). The author gave more attention than is usual in such reminiscences to the devices for self-amusement.

best halls in the State." But at year's end and the railroad a reality the owners went a step further; erected "a fine stage" and provided a "very tolerable scenic property." By this time the facilities were under contract to the National Theatre.³ McDonald Hall, named in honor of a former citizen, then carpet-bag Republican senator from Arkansas, Alexander McDonald, occupied the second floor of the annex, Main street side, of the Wilder House, the principal hotel and saloon, with billiard and pool rooms. This was Fort Scott's theatre until the Davidson Opera House was opened in January, 1875.⁴

In Fort Scott during the decade of the 1870's there was no more unanimity than in the 20th century about the nature of either entertainment or humor. In the public communications field they are inseparable and equally treacherous:

The individual who left three kittens, and a dog with a tin pan tied to his narrative, on our office stairs last night, can have them in a transfigured state by calling at the butcher shop. We would modestly suggest that we have no further call for such supplies.

Telephones had not yet arrived, but evidently the people made known their reactions immediately and in no uncertain terms. The next day a somewhat chastened (?) editor wrote in disillusionment and bewilderment, real or feigned:

Whenever people learn to walk upon their eye-brows, to balance ladders on their chins and climb to the tops of them—when fleas shall swallow elephants and elephants traverse space upon mosquitoes—then, and then only, will an Editor be found whose items give pleasure alike to rich and poor, honest and false, respectable and low.⁵

The railroad brought a somewhat greater assortment, but not necessarily a uniformly higher quality of entertainment—the railroad was a common carrier.

On January 17, 1870, the National Theatre opened in McDonald Hall for about six weeks, and undertook to play daily, except Sunday, and a matinee "for the especial accommodation of Ladies and children," extra on Saturday afternoon. A different piece was presented each day, allowing numerous repeat performances. Bancroft and Fessenden were lessees and proprietors, C. P. DeGroat, stage manager, O. H. Perry, leader of the orchestra: "This elegant place of amusement is now open for the regular season, with a First Class DRAMATIC COMPANY, Selected from the principal the-

3. Fort Scott *Daily Monitor*, January 16, 19, 1870.

4. Fort Scott *Monitor*, May 19, 1869; *Daily Monitor*, April 8, 1895.

5. *Ibid.*, March 16, 17, 1870.

atres of the East," among whom were Mary Preston, Edith Blande, Emma Stowe, and a male contingent that was headed by DeGroat, with O. H. Barr, etc., "The whole forming an array of talent second to none either east or west. . . ." ⁶

Lest the 20th century reader be misled into thinking that the National Theatre was a "going concern," certain discrete facts should be pointed out which the contemporary public may or may not have known at the beginning. Except, possibly, for a small nucleus the company was in prospect only. To be sure, actors had been engaged, but most, apparently, as individuals only. After their arrival rehearsals were necessary to train them into an effective group unity. They were to open Monday evening, January 17, but the Sunday morning *Monitor* announced that they had arrived on last night's train which had been delayed by "a heavy load and slippery track." Competition was announced at the same time: "The *can-can* opened last night at Rubicam & Dilworth's, and the Dramatic Troupe from Chicago opens tomorrow night at McDonald Hall." If the identification "from Chicago" was correct, then again the ubiquitous combination was in evidence: Chicago, railroads, and theatre. After the second performance the *Monitor* revealed: "We understand that if the management are successful, the hall is to be enlarged, and additions made to their stock company." Except for the use of the term "stock company" in the news item no other reference was made to the form of organization of this troupe, a resident theatre or a traveling company. The circumstances indicate the former. This was an era of transition, however, from the resident to the traveling company as had been illustrated at Leavenworth and Atchison.⁷ In practice, whatever the original intentions may have been, the Nationals soon took to the road as a traveling dramatic troupe.

On Monday night McDonald Hall was crowded, but the name of the play was not mentioned, possibly it was not important. The *Monitor* conceded that:

We were most agreeably surprised by the character of the entertainment. Knowing our limited population, the small size of our halls, and the utter impossibility of putting proper stage machinery into them, we were disposed to think that no company of any merit whatever could be persuaded to come here. And considering the inevitable drawbacks of an opening night, lack of acquaintance with the stage from short time for rehearsal, creaking machinery and poor entrances, we marvel that the company did so well.

6. Advertisement in *ibid.*, January 19, 1870 ff. Mary Preston was usually referred to thereafter as May.

7. James C. Malin, "Theatre in Kansas, 1858-1868. . . ." *Kansas Historical Quarterly*, v. 23 (Spring, 1957), pp. 15-20.

Mrs. Pontifex did not know her part, and the prompting was unartistically done. . . . Miss Mortimer (Preston *au billet*) swung out too much voice, forgetting the size of the hall, but modulated it with exceeding tact, and was throughout graceful, *piquante*, and versatile. Not the least interesting part of her performance was the by-play with the foot, hurt by the rough stage, and the deft way she went through the narrow crack left for an exit, or doubled herself up in a corner, when unable to get out. Of Lieut. Kingston (O. B. Barr) we did not see enough to judge—he appeared worn out.⁸

On Wednesday evening the opening play was repeated and “was much better rendered than at the first attempt . . . and Miss Mortimer (Preston) had donned a sparkle and life that carried her smoothly over poor support. In the sofa scene, Mr. Barr did nicely, and Miss Preston was—well, tantalizing.” The bad name associated with theatre even at its best had to be overcome, if possible, and the *Monitor* assured the public about the Nationals: “To their credit be it said that they confine themselves strictly within the limits of legitimate drama, and none need stay away through tenderness on that point.”⁹

In any case, the first week in which such a group worked together would be considered a breaking-in period. However, the situation in which the Nationals found themselves was not so simple. New personnel were trickling in during the second week, January 24-29. Edith Blande appeared for the first time on Monday, and Gaston and Frye wired that they would arrive on Tuesday to take their places on the stage the same evening. Thus, the *Monitor*, January 25 (Tuesday) explained to the public: “The management have labored under peculiar difficulties for the past few days;—coming players have failed to meet their engagements promptly, the best on hand have been sick, and changes in the programmes—so provoking to the audience—have been necessary.” Possibly it was out of kindness to the company that no reports on the shows of the latter part of the first week were printed. Also, stage properties were incomplete, and on January 27, Thursday of the second week, the new drop curtain was announced, painted by George Fessenden, artist of the theatrical company.

Miss Blande was billed to make her debut in “Asmodeus” on Monday of the second week, January 24, with the “Little Rebel” as an afterpiece. She was represented as an English girl, late of the Drury Lane Theatre, London, who had made her American debut October 4, 1869, at Baltimore: “We trust her foot and lips have not lost their cunning since she left the fostering care of Lydia

8. *Daily Monitor*, January 18, 1870.

9. *Ibid.*, January 19, 20, 1870.

Thompson." The *Monitor* of Tuesday was kindness itself in commentary upon the "Little Rebel"—she "dances as lightly as of yore." The play "Asmodeus" had not been presented Monday because a new actor, Mr. Gaston, did not arrive, but apparently was offered Tuesday. As reported, the Wednesday production, "Peter White's Wife" was rendered with more spirit and better effect than 'Asmodeus,' Miss Blande's dancing was especially pleasing. . . ." The "Black Eyed Susan" performance of Thursday "was undoubtedly the best they have yet given us." Miss Preston was "Su" and "Her fainting was very artistic; so was the last hook on her dress—[but] Miss Blande was evidently suffering from severe indisposition." For the ladies and children "Peter White's Wife" and "Pas de Fascination" were presented for the Saturday matinee—"chaste and unobjectionable entertainment." For the evening performances of Friday and Saturday, the bill was "The Ticket-of-Leave Man,"—"the most successful and satisfactory performance yet given. . . ." The spirited and effective acting of May Preston several times elicited hearty applause; she is a favorite, and grows in popularity with every appearance." The Sunday *Monitor*, January 30, was probably justified in its week-end summary: "The playing of the National company shows decided signs of improvement of late, and they have been rewarded for their efforts by excellent houses for several nights." ¹⁰

During the third week the Nationals appeared to have been somewhat stabilized. Monday's plays, "Caste" and "Nan, the Good-for-Nothing," were repeated Tuesday. DeGroat, the comedy man, made a hit, and Miss Preston appeared "in her customary animated and engaging manner." The lighter feminine lead was evidently gaining favor: "The blonde is generally acknowledged a very engaging style of beauty, but when the blonde is united with the Blande, the effect is absolutely irresistible." The "Serious Family" was coupled with "Pas de Fascination" on Wednesday and "Black Eyed Susan" with "Toodles" on Thursday night. Management was commended particularly

in the selection of pieces suited to the tastes of the people, as well as adapted to the special ability and talent of their troupe. The "Serious Family" and "Toodles," two as rich and laughable farces as the language affords, and entirely within the capacity of the company, we regard as among the best selections yet made. DeGroat, as "Aminidab Sleek," and "Timothy Toodles," is scarcely to be surpassed by any comedian now on the stage.

On Thursday "Black Eyed Susan" was coupled with "Toodles"—"The crowning attraction of the evening—DeGroat's incomparable

10. *Ibid.*, January 22, 23, 25, 27-30, 1870.

"Toodles" . . . must be seen to be appreciated." On Friday "Toodles" was again paired with the feature play, the "Marble Heart." In the latter:

Mr. Barr's "Rafael Duchalet" surpassed in true histrionic inspiration all his former characters. May Preston, as "Marco, the marble hearted" was truly artistic and effective. Miss Blande, as "Marie" surpassed herself. She has never appeared before with such grace and naturalness. Divested of a certain degree of affectation, which almost makes the spectator nervous, she has both the beauty and ability to become a charming actress. We were pleased to notice her improvement in this respect last evening.

Saturday's matinee pieces were the "Serious Family" and the "Little Rebel," repeating the "Marble Heart" and the "Little Rebel" in the evening: Miss Blande's "rope-skipping dance, in the second piece, is a truly delightful exhibition of grace and skill. . . ." ¹¹

The National's fourth week was disheartening. DeGroat became seriously ill and "All That Glitters Is Not Gold" gave way to "Asmodeus," but without one of the principal characters: "The entertainment closed with 'The Little Rebel,' but the previous mishaps of the evening has so thoroughly demoralized the *esprit* of the company that they did not do as well as usual. Miss Blande in great measure retrieved the misfortunes of the night by her excellent dancing." Performances for Tuesday and Wednesday were cancelled, and the *Monitor* explained: "It is but justice to the management to say that this unfortunate state of affairs was entirely beyond their control. Several actors with whom they have made engagements have failed to arrive." The hope was expressed that the new players, and DeGroat's recovery would enable the Nationals to offer "a better class of pieces than have heretofore been attempted."

Upon resumption of production Thursday, some reorganization had been effected in the orchestra, and D. K. Russell, a popular comedian made his first appearance. The following evening a new leading lady, Olive Kneass, was introduced. DeGroat was not back, and the *Monitor* had nothing to say about the Saturday performances. ¹²

If the fourth week was disheartening, the fifth week was disastrous to the Nationals. Monday's bill was the "Lady of Lyons," but internal differences erupted in open rebellion and both sides told the public their stories. The *Monitor* presented the management side:

The performance last night was sadly interfered with by an internicine strife among the subordinates of the company, evidently engendered for the

11. *Ibid.*, February 1-6, 1870.

12. *Ibid.*, February 8, 10, 11, 1870.

purpose of involving the management in so much difficulty as to render the production of the piece advertised for the evening an impossibility. According to Mr. Bancroft's statement, Mr. Barr, the leading man, since the illness of Mr. DeGroat, has taken advantage of the situation to make demands upon the management not warranted by their contract, and to which the management could not, in justice to themselves, accede. One of the other principal members of the company, Mr. Frye, so far espoused the cause of Mr. Barr as to refuse to appear unless his demands were complied with. Mr. Frye became so demonstrative as to make his arrest by the police necessary during the performance.

At this point in the story a diversion is desirable, in order to introduce one of the participants in the evening's bizarre activities. A local of the day reported that: "Gen. Darr, the genial host of the Wilder House, returned last evening from a Northern tour." He would scarcely have been in a position to know anything of the current status of the theatre. There would have been time for dinner and a drink or two at the bar "to swell the receipts" before the curtain rose. But to resume the *Monitor's* narrative:

When the cause of the difficulty became known the sympathies of the audience were warmly enlisted in behalf of the management. General Darr came promptly forward and volunteered to take the place of Mr. Frye, and although he was obliged to read the part, he acquitted himself right nobly; in fact, we think the audience derived more real pleasure from the novelty of the affair than they would have done had the original programme been carried out.

Mr. J. D. Thompson, of Leavenworth, kindly helped to rescue the management from their complications by taking Mr. Barr's place.

The play proceeded, in spite of all drawbacks—and they seemed at one time nearly insurmountable—and the audience retired entirely satisfied with the performance, and warm in their determination to support the management.

Mr. Barr is a meritorious actor, and was making many friends here; we should regret to do him any injustice, but it would seem from a candid statement of the facts, that he was endeavoring to take undue advantage of the circumstances which had already involved the very gentlemanly managers of the company in considerable trouble and expense. The conduct of Mr. Frye would appear entirely unjustifiable.

Barr's card challenged the accuracy of the *Monitor's* version: "It does me injustice by placing me in a false light before the public of Fort Scott." He insisted that he had "not only labored ardently and faithfully to discharge all duties," but had even "played various parts which were entirely uncalled for by the terms of my engagement." He maintained that the management had violated the contract and refused to pay the week's salary due: "My connection with them is severed because I would lend no further aid to imposition upon the public, by placing pieces upon the stage without

proper rehearsals—which proceeding can only end, as has been demonstrated on two or three occasions, in disgraceful performances.”

Monday's play was repeated Tuesday and: “Notwithstanding the difficulties under which the Company have labored, the rendering of ‘The Lady of Lyons’ last night was excellent. . . . We hope that the Company will not be disheartened by their many misfortunes, but hope for better times in the future.” Theatre was scarcely reported the remainder of the week, but on Saturday the *Monitor* reporter responded to the Nationals' persistence: “It is with much pleasure that we notice marked improvement in the work of the theatre, and the presentation of a bill that we can honestly commend.” The names of plays thus approved were not given. On Sunday, whether in the nature of a prod to the management, or a reality accurately reported, the *Monitor* said: “It is rumored that Miss Preston is to have a complimentary benefit. We hope that it may be soon, and that the hall may be crowded.”¹³

Belatedly, and justly, the sixth week of the National's run was May Preston's. “Honey Moon” was Monday's play: “The management have good reason to congratulate themselves upon the possession of Miss Preston. Throughout their many troubles she has never failed them, but alike in good and poor support, has filled her varied parts to the best of her ability, and that ability is far above the average.” On the day this was written, Tuesday, February 22, the reporter announced, with regret, that this was the last week of the National Theatre in Fort Scott. DeGroat returned to his place on Wednesday, recovered from his illness, but Miss Preston was ill and absent for the first time: “The play last evening showed powerfully the absence of its leading attraction—Miss Preston”—in “Under the Gaslight.” In keeping with the irony of this comedy of errors, the confirmation of the rumored benefit for Miss Preston revealed the probable cause of her illness:

Since her debut, which was highly successful, she has surely and steadily won her way in admiration and regard of all *habitués* of the theatre, until she has come to be the reigning favorite. Untiring in her efforts to administer to the amusement and entertainment of the public, she has nightly retired from the stage to assume the equally arduous duties of the sick room, and that she has been able to fill both duties so ably is as much a matter of surprise as of credit.

On Friday, after two days of illness, the *Monitor* announced: “Miss Preston, we are pleased to say, returns to the boards to-night,

13. *Ibid.*, February 15, 16, 19, 20, 1870.

as 'Juliana' in the comedy of 'The Honey-Moon'. . . . It will contrast well with her *tragic role* at her benefit Saturday night. . . ."

On Saturday morning the *Monitor* insisted: "Miss Preston has recovered from her illness and will appear in full force as 'Juliet' to-night." The play she had chosen for her benefit was Shakespeare's "Romeo and Juliet."

Although the *Monitor* did not make an issue of it, the probabilities are that this was really the first presentation of a Shakespeare play in Fort Scott. In any case the rarity of such an event focuses attention upon the manner of local reaction:

Shakespeare's sublime tragedy, will be produced at the theatre to-night, on the occasion of the benefit of Miss May Preston. Of the beauties of the play, it is almost unnecessary to speak. Our readers are, most of them, as well acquainted with it as school boys with their readers—but comparatively few have had the pleasure of witnessing it upon the stage, and as it may never be reproduced in this city, all should avail themselves of the opportunity. We shall see Miss Preston depart from us with regret, and have willingly given a large part of our space for the past few days in calling the attention of the public to the last tribute they can pay to her worth.

The next morning, February 27, the *Daily Monitor* reported:

An extremely crowded house at the theatre last night betokened that Miss Preston has made many friends in her short stay amongst us, and that her absence will not be unregretted.—Despite the drawbacks which attend Shakespeare's dramas upon any stage, and more particularly upon the provincial one, the play passed off easily and with sustained interest. Many parts of Miss Preston's acting were excellent—her tableau work was faultless, and the "potion scene"—one of the most difficult—was charmingly rendered. [Thompson, as Romeo, received only passing comment, but the nurse,] rarely well played, redounds more to Miss Stowe's credit than any representation she has yet given us.¹⁴

The next in the closing round of benefit performances was one for Miss Blande, Monday, February 28. She appeared as "Claude, the love-lorn hero" in "Claude Melnotte," a burlesque on the "Lady of Lyons." The Sunday *Monitor* explained the situation thus:

The roles in which she has been obliged to appear have been of a different character from those in which she has been accustomed to, and almost entirely foreign to the department of dramatic representation in which she has been schooled. For this reason she has not always appeared to that advantage which her merit should ensure her. The play selected for her benefit, however, is one of the class to which she is adapted both by nature and training, and one in which she is entirely at home.

In spite of the careful build-up, however, the Blande performance was a disappointment: "The fault lay not with Miss Blande" ac-

14. *Ibid.*, February 22, 24-27, 1870.

cording to the drama critic—"that Miss Blande carried herself through as well is more to her credit than success under other circumstances."

Three more performances by the company were scheduled. On Tuesday "Under the Gaslight" was pronounced good, and was to have been repeated on Wednesday, but Miss Preston was again too ill to appear, and, that the show might go on, farces were substituted. On Thursday, the closing night of the season for the Nationals in Fort Scott, Barr returned to the company and to his former position of leading man, the event being celebrated by a benefit performance for him—the play, "Under the Gaslight." The attendance was not large for a farewell occasion, but there was unusual competition, and "The play . . . did not go off with the same spirit as on Tuesday evening, the zest with which it was rendered previously not seeming to animate scarcely one of the performers." In spite of this reservation about the success of the evening, the critic continued that: "The re-union of Mr. Barr with the company adds very greatly to its character and force, furnishing just what the company has lacked since he left it." Of course, Miss Preston played "despite her indisposition" and her recovery seemed assured so that she could "give her almost indispensable support to the company . . . an *artiste* and true woman." Miss Blande was credited with "a more favorable impression . . . than almost any character she has previously undertaken."

On Friday, March 4, the Nationals went on tour, playing "Lady of Lyons" in Kansas City on Saturday. The chapter was not quite closed at Fort Scott, however, as announcement had been made Sunday, February 27, that:

On Friday evening, a select grand masquerade and fancy dress ball will take place at McDonald's Hall, for the benefit of the National Theatrical Company. The gentlemanly proprietors of the theatre have suffered considerable pecuniary loss in favoring our city with the first respectable dramatic entertainment we have had, and on this occasion our citizens should show their gratitude for their labors by making at least partial restitution of their pecuniary losses.

Mr. Bancroft remained behind to represent the Nationals at the ball on Friday night. The next day the *Monitor* reported that the receipts were "quite gratifying."¹⁵

The major competition with which the Nationals had to contend on their closing night in Fort Scott was a special excursion train carrying the Fort Scott delegation to "The Grand Celebration" of the coming of the Gulf railroad to Girard, the county seat of the

15. *Ibid.*, February 27, March 1-5, 1870.

county adjoining Bourbon on the south. Fort Scott had been the "end of the line" only about ten weeks. The coming of the railroad to Fort Scott had really brought the Nationals to the city, so the celebration of its extension, competing with their closing show, was a part of the "price of progress," which so often was two-edged. But as the *Monitor* pointed out, such railroad celebrations "are coming to be of almost weekly occurrence in Kansas. Towns in the interior are being connected with the balance of the world with such rapidity that we can scarcely keep tract of them."¹⁶

Although technically Fort Scott had now lost its position on the Gulf railroad as a dead-end town, nevertheless it and other towns on the road remained substantially in that condition so long as their one railroad ran no where in particular and had no connections with other roads at its southern end. Not until at least a second railroad came, and only when rails ran through Fort Scott to large towns to the south, to the east, and to the west could traveling troupes work out itineraries for continuous tours; going out on one line and returning to home base on another. Prior to the winter of 1875-1876 not much of that was possible.

III. THE SPRING INTERLUDE WITHOUT THEATRE, 1870

"The departure of the theatre has left our amusement seekers at a loss," complained the *Monitor*, March 6, 1870. "Some lectures from men of acknowledged eminence, would fill the gaps." A volunteer theatrical troupe was attempted under General Darr, who was like an old fire horse who responded to every alarm. The performance was reported poorly attended, 26 tickets including comps.¹⁷ A month later, with an ironical enthusiasm, the *Monitor* reviewed the prospects:

Fort Scott just now has a varied and liberal variety in her amusement line. The "Opera House" presents its peculiar attractions nightly; the Wizard Oil [patent medicine] men hold forth daily and nightly at the street corners—and their performances are by no means the least pleasing of the catalogue; the Stereopticon is setting the children wild with delight at McDonald Hall; Orton's Circus pitch their pavilion here on Friday; the Nationals will revisit us next week, and we shall have the fascinating and eloquent Olive Logan with her "Girls" on the 25th.¹⁸

The so-called "Opera House" received some unwelcome publicity, which nevertheless possesses historical importance as revealing aspects of competition in the amusement field and sidelights on the social scene: "Behind the scenes of the Opera House is a

16. *Ibid.*, March 3, 1870.

17. *Ibid.*, March 6, 13, 16, 1870.

18. *Ibid.*, April 21, 1870.

little apartment called the wine-room, where some of the privileged do nightly congregate, for a glass of wine and a closer acquaintance with the ballet dancers." This setting introduced the story of a man who visited the wine room drunk and woke up the next morning at home minus \$150. The aid of the police was solicited, a trap laid, and one of the "frail sisters" caught, and the unspent half of the money restored. Immediately the proprietor of the Opera House replied by "card" denying that the incident occurred in the wine room, but in the supper room of another establishment, the Magnolia. Furthermore, an entirely different version of the story was told, alleging that the money was given expressly for the purchase of a watch, the donor "being smitten," and that he admired the watch after the purchase. Only two or three days afterwards, they charged, did he, coward like, invent the story about losing the money, and obtained the co-operation of the police. The card closed with a defense of the "Opera House," good order being kept in every department and the place kept "'respectable' in every sense of the word." But unsavory tales continued to be associated with the institution: "A young farmer from the country sold grain yesterday for a handsome roll of bills; celebrated the 15th amendment; went to the Opera House, and came out delighted; visited the keno rooms,—and borrowed fifty cents for his night's lodging. *Sic transit gloria!*"¹⁹

The year 1870, the first under the railroad regime, introduced intense competition among hotels, saloons, billiard halls, and associated amusement facilities for entertaining the influx of traveling population as well as residents. Gunn's Domino Billiard Hall and Saloon was rearranged, and the Crystal Palace imported a new steward. The new hotel, the Gulf House, was opened to challenge the Wilder House. General Darr, wholesale liquors, with new business connections in Kansas City, was one of the proprietors of the Wilder House, and its Saloon and Billiard Hall. He was sure that with his new Kansas City connections "the 'receipts' will be 'swelled' enormously." The phrase "swell the receipts" had become a byword in Fort Scott and was peculiarly identified with General Darr, who supposedly, after each new guest had registered, suggested: "Let's go to the bar and swell the receipts."²⁰

Only a few fragments of biographical data have been available about Darr. The federal census enumeration of Fort Scott listed him as Joseph Darr, Jr., 40 years of age, single, born in Ohio of

19. *Ibid.*, March 5, 6, 10, 1870.

20. *Memoirs and Recollections of C. W. Goodlander of the Early Days of Fort Scott* (Fort Scott, 1900) p. 77.

foreign-born parents. He had a younger brother, George, 17 years of age, associated with him in the hotel as clerk. In 1867 Darr opened a music store in Leavenworth.²¹ Nobody appeared to question his right to use the title of "General," or to explain how he acquired such rank. No information was forthcoming either, about how he became a "veteran" theatrical manager. In pioneer communities it was sometimes best not to be too inquisitive about origins. In the case of Joseph Darr, his character was being gradually exposed to public view.

General Darr was determined to meet all competition in the spring of 1870, so "The Wilder House is undergoing a general purification by soap and water, paint, whitewash and new wall paper." Also, "The 'Delmonico' billiard hall is being repainted, newly papered, and generally burnished up for the summer campaign."²²

Another sign of spring was the dog notice announcing that after May 15 "all dogs found running at large" on which taxes had not been paid would be dealt with according to law. General Darr had a sense of humor comparable to that of the editor of the *Monitor*. He did not mix kittens with dogs, but the day following the city dog notice he did inaugurate the "Dog Lunch": "Gen. Darr yesterday regaled the habitués of the Wilder with a lunch of splendid, highly flavored Bologna sausage. The General calls it 'Dog Lunch,' and says it will be served regularly, every day at 10 A. M. All are invited." That was only one of his innovations. The next item on the list: "Darr's elegant piano in the Delmonico is being nightly punished by ambitious amateurs: it draws a big crowd." But that was only a by-product. An announcement headed: "Darr's Opera House" was explained in some detail:

General Darr is introducing some very seductive attractions at the Delmonico. A splendid piano, presided over by a first-class musician, is now operated daily and nightly, and a splendid violinist will soon be added. The General also informs us that he has engaged the professional services of a leading *prima donna* of one of the Eastern Opera troupes, who will shortly make her *debut* in Fort Scott. These attractions together with the "Dog Lunch," the General thinks will "swell the receipts" enormously.²³

Entertainment and improvement of young men had been the principal argument used in the library association discussions, but the *Monitor* reading room descriptions had credited George A. Crawford, the owner of the *Monitor*, with interest in provision for women as well. A *Monitor* editorial, November 24, 1869, on the

21. Leavenworth *Daily Times*, August 25, 1867; Leavenworth *Daily Conservative*, August 21, 27, September 5, 1867.

22. *Daily Monitor*, April 12, 13, 17, 22-24, 29, 1870.

23. *Ibid.*, April 29, May 5-7, 1870.

theme of "Long Evenings" asked what could and should be done with the long evenings between supper and bedtime; gambling, drinking, etc.? What else was there to do for those without homes and family associations? When saloons, gambling houses, dance halls, etc., were the only recreation available, the fair sex should not be intolerant if young men pursued their pleasures there. An examination of the manuscript census rolls for 1870 and 1875 is a vivid reminder of how many young men and women lived in Fort Scott without the family associations of a home.

It was only natural however that some should resent too much emphasis upon the wickedness of Fort Scott (a city with the reputation of more saloons than any other type of business), and among them was the editor of the *Monitor*, February 3, 1870: "Our city has acquired the reputation abroad of being a 'hard town,' and expressions of like import are not infrequent even at home." But he insisted that this reputation was both undeserved and undesirable; especially if Fort Scott was compared with towns along the Union Pacific and Kansas Pacific railroads: "Our town is undoubtedly quite bad enough, and there is abundant room for moral improvement, but that we are such a cess pool of iniquity as is often represented is not at all true."

In the spring of 1870 the Methodist women took up the challenge about entertainment. They acted in the matter by dividing themselves into four bands, each of which took turns in providing a week's amusement for young people.²⁴ The record of activities is lacking, and there is reason for the assumption, that, like most such enterprises, the plan withered for lack of continued support.

In May, after showing in Kansas City, Leavenworth, Topeka, and elsewhere, and undergoing major reorganization, the National Theatre returned: "Fort Scott has an almost paternal interest in the 'Nationals,' and will give them a warm welcome home."²⁵ This was a perspective quite different from the pretentious advertisement of January and much more realistic. The only remaining member of the former cast to register upon the *Monitor* editor was Miss Stowe, whose finished performances were in sharp contrast with her "stammering beginnings" of the previous January. Misses Preston and Blande were no longer with the company, but instead, the leading lady was Nellie Boyd, a newcomer who did not make a marked impression upon the theatrical editor. He did not realize that Nellie Boyd was soon to rise to an enviable stardom, heading

24. *Ibid.*, April 8, 1870.

25. *Ibid.*, April 27, 1870.

a company of her own, one of the leading traveling troupes to entertain Midwestern audiences for more than a decade. After a few performances, the ubiquitous General Darr helping out on occasion, the National Theatre moved on.²⁶ About a month later the William A. Rouse Dramatic combination made history of a sort, when on June 1, for the first time in Fort Scott, "Uncle Tom's Cabin" was presented.²⁷

On June 15, the *Daily Monitor* chronicled the "closing of the Opera House."—"The exhibitions have not been of a very exalted moral tone, and since the novelty of the affair wore off, it has not been so well patronized, and has lately entirely lost favor with our citizens. Its sudden demise provokes no mourning." Four days later the editor lamented: "Mr. and Mrs. Couldock will play in Leavenworth this week. We hope they will come to Fort Scott. A meritorious dramatic entertainment in this city would be really refreshing."

IV. THE OLYMPIC THEATRE, 1870-1871

Preparations for the winter amusement season were announced in August, 1870. General Darr had returned after a prolonged absence looking like he had been "swelling the receipts." As related to the theatre, the *Monitor*, August 24, announced that "Fort Scott's genial favorite, Gen. Darr," would manage "a full theatrical company," which would open the season at McDonald's Hall about September 1: "The General is not slow in the histrionic line, himself. . . ." The enterprise assumed the name "Olympic Theatre." McDonald Hall underwent another remodeling; further ventilation, a new stage door, changes in the main entrance, and redecoration. Also, "With regard to the theatrical enterprise, no effort will be spared to furnish a company equal to any in the West, and inducements will be held out to the most prominent stars to favor us with their delineations." The costs of the preparations were being financed by the owner of the hall and General Darr: "A city without public amusements is most forlorn, and only by aiding the proprietors of the enterprise can we hope to retain it."²⁸ This description indicated clearly the nature of the institution contemplated; a resident company (often called a stock company) which could function as a "full company" staging plays in its own right, or provide the support for traveling stars. This was the sort of thing that Leavenworth had attempted during the early 1860's, but had aban-

26. *Ibid.*, April 27, 28, May 5, 7, 1870.

27. *Ibid.*, June 1, 1870.

28. *Ibid.*, August 30, 31, 1870.

doned after 1867. The experiences of the coming season would determine whether or not Fort Scott could succeed, or await the circumstances that might afford the city entertainment by the newer type of traveling theatre.

The first contingent of players arrived August 30: Annie Jamison, leading lady, Annie Ward, "soubrette, dauseuse, and cantatrice," Thompson and Russell, formerly of the Nationals, and some others. O. H. Barr joined the group on September 3, and from time to time additional players were announced. Apparently, performances began as scheduled, but the names of the plays were not featured, and only fair houses were reported. The troupe was taken to Nevada, Mo., about mid-September for three days. Although optimistic notices appeared in the *Monitor* about the support given the theatre during September, reality caught up with the reporter and, October 4, the public announcement was made that it would be closed temporarily.²⁹

Before the Olympic Theatre reopened something new had occurred in the offices of the *Monitor*, announced September 29, 1870: "Capt. E. F. Ware, of Cherokee County, takes charge temporarily of our local columns." Prior to this time Ware had divided his year, summers and winters, between his farm and the Fort Scott harness business. Upon coming to town for the winter on this occasion, he undertook editorial work. Just how long his temporary tenure lasted is not clear, but probably until the end of the year, when the owner of the *Monitor*, George A. Crawford, obtained the services of D. W. Wilder to take over the managing editorship, January 1, 1871. During his short term as locals editor, Ware was supposedly responsible for what appeared on the city page. In due course, however, some questions on this score do arise.

A "new edition" of the Olympic Theatre was announced in the *Daily Monitor*, October 19, to open October 24, "a new company and change of scenery" which would entertain "with first class dramatic art." Day by day the advertising campaign unfolded: "General Darr is a man of energy, and we have no doubt that his efforts will be crowned with success." The "news story" of October 23 opened with the hackneyed but realistic statement of fact, applicable probably to most people concerned: "The Winter season now approaching demands a succession of amusement festivities to relieve the dreary monotony pervading an inland town. . . ." In this particular instance the public was assured that "we know of

29. *Ibid.*, September 3, 4, 6-8, 10, 11, 15-18, October 4, 1870.

no more formidable indication that 'fun will reign supreme' than the announcement of the reopening of the Olympic Theatre and Darr's Fort Scott Varieties," both under General Darr's management: "It would be superfluous to state that the company selected for the ensuing season at the 'Olympic Hall' will rarely find its equal in any first class Opera House outside New York."

The "Varieties" and the "Theatre" were separate investments; "the 'Varieties' will be conducted on first class principles" in the place "lately occupied by Gunn's Domino" and

will be a favorite resort for the general convenience of those who attend light amusements. Music, singing and dancing will comprise the bill of fare at the latter place;

A lunch counter on the Eastern plan will be provided and meals can be secured at all hours with little cost.

General Darr promises some great novelties in both of these public resorts, and nothing will be tolerated in either that can offend the most fastidious.

The energy and enterprise of the Proprietor deserves a most suitable acknowledgment in the way of greenbacks.

The announcement had significance to the competitive scene—outwardly, at least Darr had won out over Gunn's Domino. Another question is not clear, however, because the article had appeared in the locals column in the form of a locals editorial; who was responsible, the business manager or the locals editor? Was it a local or an advertisement?

The Olympic Theatre did not open on schedule, October 24, "owing to extensive preliminary arrangements," but supposedly the varieties did: "The General is 'immense' on 'popular amusement.'" But in another editorial type of advertisement, printed October 26, the statement was made that "General Darr proposes to open an institution commonly termed as 'Varieties,' where African Minstrels, Fun and Jollity predominate." The location was the former Gunn Domino premises, "nearly opposite the Wilder House, and will begin its season in a few days . . . it caters only to enjoyment without vulgarity. If the performances will be as represented, and the promises held out fulfilled, there is every reason for congratulations. . . ." This carried the advertisement tag "Oct 26 dlt." ³⁰

On October 27 the *Monitor* reported that "Gen'l Joseph Darr visited our office yesterday, in company with Mr. [M. V.] Lingam . . . the Manager of the Olympic Theatre. . . . If the theatre is conducted as promised by the General and Mr. Lingam, it

30. *Ibid.*, October 25, 26, 1870.

will be a favorite resort for our citizens." Again a definite date, October 31, a Monday, was set for the opening of both the theatre and the varieties, and the editorialized advertisement closed: "with reference to both entertainments, we repeat the saying, 'you pays your money, and you takes your choice.'" The *Sunday Monitor*, October 30, recorded that: "Darr's Varieties were in full blast up to a late hour last night." An item of the same Sunday urged that ladies should patronize the Olympic Theatre performances, and Tuesday morning's paper reported that many had been in attendance. Although extravagant boasts were made about the quality of the players, the best troupe that had ever been in the city, those named were Lingham, the new manager, and some members of the former cast, George Beach, D. K. Russell, and Annie Ward. No leading lady was listed.³¹

If there is any relevance to the question of authorship of what appeared in the locals columns of the *Monitor* during these weeks, who wrote this (carrying the tag "Nov 4 dlt" for Friday morning's *Monitor*, November 4), and why?—

The proprietor of the "Olympic Theatre" is at a loss to know in what fitting terms to express his most intense gratification at the very liberal and enormous patronage extended to his managerial enterprise by the overflowing houses of this week, which enables him to add to the debit side of his Ledger over \$500. A farewell performance will be given for the benefit of Gen. Darr on this Friday evening. When, if the attendance is as liberal as heretofore experienced, he will probably leave the city in debt and enabled to effect his long cherished desire of selling another corner lot for the benefit of this "one horse village."

The following day two announcements were made. First, that the proceeds of the theatre for Wednesday night, November 9, would go to the Catholic church building fund under the direction of General Blair and Dr. Hays. The second announcement was that there would be four more performances, ending Wednesday, when the troupe would go on tour of neighboring cities: Paola, Lawrence, Topeka, Sedalia, etc. Instead of closing Wednesday, however, performances continued through the week.

On November 11 the announcement was made that Annie Tiffany had been secured for an engagement of six days, November 14-19; a "leading lady" who would be supported by the resident members of the Olympic Theatre. Thus the star system was introduced in Fort Scott. Plays in which Miss Tiffany specialized were being rehearsed over the week-end—"The Hidden Hand," "The Little

31. *Ibid.*, October 27, 28, 30, November 1, 4, 1870. Lingham was the spelling of the manager's name used later.

Treasure," "The Lady of Lyons," "Camille," etc. Then Miss Tiffany stayed on a second week playing "The Honey Moon," "East Lynn," "Othello," and "The Stranger," translated from the German of Kotzebue. Of "East Lynn," the theatre critic of the *Monitor* reported:

It was played with much ability—too much in fact. There is no use in putting a whole audience in tears; an actor ought to play kind of easy when he sees the eyes of the audience getting humid; at least when he sees a prominent citizen stepping down for his handkerchief with his eyes shut, he ought to "weaken" on the pathos; still it is impossible to find fault, for the play was splendid. . . .

In "Othello," Lingham played Othello, D. K. Russell was Iago, and Miss Tiffany did Desdemona to Edwin Tiffany's Cassio. The *Monitor* made no comment on the play itself or on Shakespeare: "The Hall was so crowded last night that all of the audience could not be seated. The play last night was very fine . . . [and] was fully appreciated." The surprise of this performance apparently was the acting of D. K. Russell, the troupe's funny man. The impression persisted, because at a later time the theatre critic reverted to the occasion by remarking that: "He surprised us all by his delineation of Iago a week ago."³²

The year 1870 was the occasion of the Franco-Prussian war, the fall of the Second Empire, and the attempt to establish a French Republic. Frenchmen and sympathizers had met in the *Monitor* reading room and the office of the town company in October to pass resolutions and raise money; "As France loaned us a Lafayette when we were trying to start a republic, we ought to return the favor now." The French feeling at the theatre was strong enough that late in November, the report was made that the orchestra "plays the 'Marsaillaise' every evening, and it is always received with uproarious applause. It is the song of a Republic and belongs as much to us as anybody, and the Americans have adopted it."³³

A new leading lady, Alice Gray, was engaged to open in the play for Monday, November 28—Wilkie Collins' "Man and Wife," as dramatized by W. W. Austin. The house was reported crowded: "The ladies turned out en masse." The same play was repeated Tuesday and Wednesday. On Tuesday morning the *Monitor* admonished: "This play is fearfully tragic, and all those who come ought to bring two or three extra handkerchiefs." But the theatre critic had some ideas of his own: "The death of Delmaine strikes

32. *Ibid.*, November 11-14, 19, 20, 22-24, 26, December 2, 1870.

33. *Ibid.*, October 29, November 1, 24, 1870.

us as not being poetically just." The suggestion was offered that he should be disposed of suddenly.

The next production was "Ingomar," originally a German play. Whether or not the orchestra played the "Marsaillaise" was not recorded. The theatre critic was enthusiastic: "Last night Fort Scott had the best theatrical entertainment that it has ever had." He insisted that people who were familiar with the play had never seen it better done in the East: "We do not propose to praise theatrical efforts unless they are meritorious, but will say that the performance last night was GOOD." On Friday night "The Hunchback," and on Saturday night "The Marble Heart" were the offerings as benefits for Miss Gray and Lingham, respectively, and the "season" ended. In retrospect the theatre critic "bid farewell to the talented Miss Gray with the hope that she will not confine her dramatic reputation to the performance of such stupid disagreeable pieces as 'Man and Wife.'" His only adverse criticism was that Miss Gray was "too lachrymose," and Miss Tiffany "too fearfully gushing for Southern Kansas."³⁴

General Darr took his Olympic Theatre on a three-week tour of the cities at the opposite end of the Gulf railroad. As the Leavenworth performances are most fully documented they may be used as a mirror of General Darr in that setting; first a two-night engagement, December 6, 7, and later a full week's run December 12-17. All the advertising was in the name of the star, Annie Tiffany—"The Tiffany Troupe." The press notices were reprinted from Eastern newspapers; for example from Memphis, and were in praise of Annie Tiffany, without a reference to General Darr and "The Olympic Theatre" of Fort Scott. Scarcely was General Darr's name to be found in connection with the Leavenworth engagements, and then only casually as the manager—it was Tiffany's show, for publicity purposes the "property" of the star.³⁵ That was pretty much the way the star system worked. Upon leaving Topeka the *Commonwealth*, December 23, indicated the troupe's itinerary: Lawrence, Fort Scott, Sedalia, St. Joseph, and other Missouri towns, and then back to Topeka for the session of the state legislature. In neither place was the name of the Olympic Theatre used, and neither was Fort Scott credited with being the base of General Darr's company.

34. *Ibid.*, November 26, 29, 30, December 2-4, 1870.

35. Leavenworth *Daily Commercial*, December 1-4, 6-8, 10, 13-17, 1870.

In Topeka the Darr troupe played five days, December 19-23 (Monday through Friday). Miss Tiffany dominated the publicity but General Darr's name was used in a secondary role—"genial whole souled gentleman."—Topeka *Daily Commonwealth*, December 16, 17, 20-23, 1870.

On home ground, things were a little different. The Olympic Theatre returned to Fort Scott for a short engagement, beginning Saturday, December 24, Christmas Eve: "The company, as at present organized, is the best that has ever played in the city. . . ." The stars were "The dashing and versatile Miss Tiffany, the refined and lady-like Miss Boyd, the lively and graceful Miss Ward, and the masterly and accomplished Mr. Lingham." The people were admonished to show their appreciation of General Darr. The opening play for December 24 was "Delicate Ground, or the French Republic." In the personals appeared the following: "Gen. Darr, that man who knows, and is known by everybody, called on us yesterday. We are glad to learn from the General's own lips that he has 'accumulated great wealth' from the north, since he showed his smiling face at our sanctum; and that he has come home for the benefit of Fort Scott."

Miss Tiffany's last night with the Olympic Theatre was December 30, when the hall was reported crowded—"our citizens turned out to 'swell the receipts.'" On January 7, 1871, the Olympic Theatre closed in Fort Scott, a benefit for Mr. Lingham: "The management had reason, for one night at least, of the holiday season, to be grateful to the Fort Scott public." But adverse comment was added: "His support was not altogether of a character that would call forth unqualified praise; the prompting was altogether too plentiful, and the halting and stammering of a portion of the characters absolutely painful in some of the scenes." These factors, no doubt, helped to explain the final statement: "We regret that financially our energetic and jovial friend, Darr, has not been successful during his present stay among us. . . ." ³⁶

But the cup of woe for Joseph Darr, Jr., was not yet full. The Wilder House Hotel and the Wilder House Saloon were sold, the dissolution of partnership notice being dated January 3, 1871. Besides Darr's varieties, there was one other house of entertainment that had been mentioned occasionally, but March 7, 1871, the *Monitor* commented bluntly its pleasure that the varieties was closed, the Alhambra had died a few weeks earlier. Now there was no place of "amusement" in Fort Scott. Of course he was using the word "amusement" in a special sense. The editor stated frankly that he had opposed such "dens" and had refused them advertising in the *Monitor*. This was a new voice speaking in behalf of the paper—D. W. Wilder had taken the editorship, January 1, 1871. ³⁷

36. *Daily Monitor*, December 22-29, 31, 1870, January 1, 3-8, 1871.

37. *Ibid.*, December 3, 8, 20, 23, 31, 1870, January 1, 4, March 7, 1871.

Although George A. Crawford was owner of the *Monitor*, he was not a newspaper man, and he had too many other interests to run the paper himself. Ware was filling in temporarily in a secondary position. The record is not clear as to who was responsible for the policy details of the paper, or how far Ware was accountable for what appeared on the locals page. In any case, the record was unsatisfactory, and Wilder's explicit overhauling of the course of the *Monitor* sets off that situation in sharp relief. Also, Wilder's assertion about the exclusion of certain types of advertising is important to the historian, because it is a candid reminder that, as a matter of voluntary censorship, he was excluding from the newspaper the record of an unsavory segment of the town's social history.

Not only had General Darr been closed out at Fort Scott, but elsewhere his credit had run out. The Olympic Theatre was reported as playing in Humboldt. It was advertised to open in Wyandotte, Friday, February 3, and in Leavenworth, Monday, February 6, but did not appear at Leavenworth. The *Times* reported: "A despatch from Wyandotte informs us that they are 'up in a balloon.' We hope, if the balloon passes over this city, the agent will drop the small sum of fifteen dollars due this office for printing." But a week earlier a report was in circulation that Darr had already left the theatrical business, and was operating the Baldwin House at Thayer, the terminus of the Leavenworth, Lawrence, and Galveston Railroad.³⁸ The *Lawrence Tribune*, February 11, elaborated upon General Darr's career, opening its editorial with a comment that the Fort Scott papers were no longer praising him "to the sky."—

Since his retirement, from one place and another, and in one way and another, we have heard a great deal of Gen. Darr, and what we have heard, instead of altering to his advantage the poor opinion we had of him, has, on the other hand, confirmed this opinion and made it poorer still. Just before breaking up, Darr contracted debts in several newspaper offices, which now remain unpaid. We heard, some time ago, that he was in debt to every one of the actors he had employed. . . . [Russell confirmed this.] Our own transactions with the gentleman were of such a nature as to cause us to lose all respect for him.

We are not surprised that Darr has left the dramatic business, or rather that the business left him. . . . He had the best troupe that ever came to town. They are now scattered all over the country. . . .

One might say that doing of "facetious Joseph" became legendary in Kansas. A year later the Leavenworth *Times*, February 1, re-

38. *Ibid.*, January 17, 1871; Leavenworth *Daily Bulletin*, January 31, 1871; Lawrence *Daily Kansas Tribune*, January 31, 1871; Wyandotte *Gazette*, February 2, 1871; Topeka *Daily Commonwealth*, February 1, 1871; Leavenworth *Daily Commercial*, February 5, 7, 1871; Leavenworth *Daily Times*, February 7, 1871.

printed "for the edification of the General's numerous friends" a letter he wrote to one of his creditors in Ottawa:

My Dear Hayes:—I have several times instructed my clerk (as I am away very often) to remit the amount of your bill, but since it has been so shamefully neglected, I begin to think of several reasons why it should

NOT BE PAID AT ALL.

FIRST. The property was shipped by you solely for my accommodation.

SECOND. You made no profit on the articles, but cleverly run yourself in debt to others for them on my account.

THIRD. You are now properly mad because of the neglect of repayment; but you are as mad as you ever can be, and you

CAN'T BE ANY MADDER.

FOURTH. It seems to be an unfortunate characteristic of mine to tax the patience of my friends in many matters far beyond endurance. I know of a taylor who has consumed dollars of postage stamps in earnestly calling my attention to an unpaid account; a dry goods merchant who weekly sheds bottles of ink mixed with tears in refreshing my recollection about an

OPERA CLOAK

and sundry and divers articles of female apparel, for which he has not to this day been reimbursed; and several mournful hotel keepers who long to obtain a sight of my fractional currency or legal tender for meals furnished and lodging given to my late disbanded

THEATRICAL CORPS

and multitudinous others who weep over my pecuniary frailties.

If you ever read Dickens' "Bleak House," you will no doubt remember my prototype "Horace Skimpole," who luxurated owing others, and to whom impossibility to pay his debts was a joy forever.

FIFTH. If I were now to pay you, my name would be obliterated from your books. Your clerk in glancing over the alphabetical index of his ledger would fail to take any

INTEREST IN MY NAME

among the D's, including the D. B.'s and the D. H.'s, and I myself should be wiped away, perhaps, forever from your recollection, unless at some future time my portly form should loom up, and your lips would utter the euphonious exclamation, "There goes the

DARNED RASCAL!

SIXTH. Our poorly paid Congressional legislators have very wisely placed it in the power of every so-disposed scoundrel to entrench himself behind the complacent bankrupt law, where he can smile upon his soft or otherwise hearted creditors and be returned by a legal tribunal as "non comatibus in swampo," in which order of society I long to enroll myself a member of high standing.

SEVENTH. You may

POSSIBLY NEED THE MONEY,

and this would, in the nature of things, add to my placidity of temper while it would correspondingly exasperate yours.

EIGHTH. Your politeness in all this matter, deserves a decided rebuke, and therefore I take great pleasure in enclosing the amount, and hope to drink a bottle of fine Rhine wine with you on the result.

V. THEATRE, RAILROADS, AND KANSAS CITY EXCURSIONS

About the same time, 1870-1872, the ambitions of Kansas City, Mo., were tested out in new directions, based upon her rapidly developing rail net radiating to all points of the compass. Some of her leaders were thinking of their town as more than a city. They envisioned a metropolitan area, with the city as a focus. In this perspective Kansas City was reaching out to tie into her metropolitan area as much territory as her railroad system made possible.³⁹ Opera House excursions were organized over all roads leading to Kansas City. Special package rates were offered, covering the round-trip ticket, omnibus fare between the railway station and the Coates Opera House, supper, and tickets to the show. In November, 1870, the Fort Scott tickets cost \$2.50 to see Alice Gray in the "Long Strike" by Dion Boucicault. The following winter, 1871-1872, four excursions occurred: to hear Janauschek in "Mary Stuart" for \$3.00; Edwin Forrest in "Jack Cade" for \$3.00; Lucille Western in "Oliver Twist"; and the "irresistable Lotta" as Capt. Charlotta and Lady Lorrogan, for \$2.25 each. Train schedules varied, but for example: on one occasion the train left Fort Scott at 10:46 A. M., arriving in Kansas City at 4:00 P. M., and returning left Kansas City at 12:00 midnight, arriving in Fort Scott at 6:25 A. M. Supposedly, Fort Scott contributed as many as 200 excursionists on a trip.⁴⁰

VI. THE RAILWAY NET AND TRAVELING THEATRE

Of course Fort Scott wanted entertainment closer home, something less strenuous and costly, and besides the city was ambitious. In spite of the great drouth of 1873 and 1874 and the world-wide panic and depression which, beginning in the fall of 1873, demoralized business for several years, the Davidson Opera House was launched during the winter of 1873-1874, J. G. Haskell, architect. It was finished and formally opened January 1, 1875. In order to meet the competition, the old McDonald Hall, that had served for so long, was again rejuvenated, law offices occupying the upper floor.⁴¹ These were brave attempts but the times had not been right for big shows to patronize Fort Scott.

39. Something about the Kansas City story is told in James C. Malin, *Grassland Historical Studies: Natural Resources Utilization in a Background of Science and Technology, Volume One, Geology and Geography* (Lawrence, 1950). See especially chapters 20-22 and appendix.

40. *Daily Monitor*, November 8, 1870, October 27, December 28-30, 1871, February 28, March 16, 19, 20, 22-24, 1872.

41. *Ibid.*, November 16, 1873, November 21, December 29, 1874, January 1, 3, 6, 1875.

In the meantime a few traveling companies showed in Fort Scott, the year 1871-1872, the best being Louise Sylvester. In 1872-1873 the Renfrow Troupe disbanded in Fort Scott, although the Lord Dramatic Company played to good houses for several nights, and again the following winter.⁴² The Simons Comedy Troupe began periodic visits to Fort Scott during the winter of 1873-1874. This company was built around a man-and-wife team.⁴³ By the mid 1870's, the railway net had matured sufficiently in southern Kansas that the day of the small traveling theatre company had fully arrived, there as elsewhere.

42. *Ibid.*, December 8, 1871, November 22, 24, 26-28, 30, December 8, 1872, November 9, 11, 15, 1873.

43. *Ibid.*, December 17, 21, 23, 27, 28, 1873; March 3, 4, 1874; June 6, 11, 12, September 7, 8, 1875; January 19, 20, 1876.

An Army Hospital: From Horses to Helicopters— Fort Riley, 1904-1957—Concluded

GEORGE E. OMER, JR.

VIII. WORLD WAR I HOSPITAL

THE second half century of army medical service at Fort Riley began with solid constructive progress as a three-story limestone wing was added on the south side of the post hospital in 1906. A medical department stable was erected near the hospital in 1908. Then in 1909 the final three-story south wing of the hospital was completed. This completed the second permanent post hospital begun in 1888. The isolation hospital was completed in 1910.

War Department General Order 191, September 13, 1907, changed the designation of the Cavalry and Light Artillery School to the Mounted Service School. But with the advent of 20th century military terminology, the distinctive, descriptive, and professional titles within the medical department were discontinued. Thus, surgeons and hospital stewards were reduced to a common military denominator and were addressed simply and drably by title of rank.

In 1909 Maj. Joseph H. Ford, medical corps, was post surgeon. Seven years later Major Ford served as assistant division surgeon under James D. Glennan during the punitive expedition into Mexico. Capt. Henry L. Brown, medical corps, was also on the Fort Riley hospital staff and later helped hunt Pancho Villa. Captain Brown listed the Fort Riley command on the "Sick and Wounded Report" of February, 1909, and included the Seventh cavalry, Tenth cavalry, Sixth field artillery, detachment of farriers and horseshoers school, detachment signal corps, detachment cooks and bakers' school, detachment of hospital corps, and detachment of mounted service school. In November, 1909, the troop strength of the post averaged 2,267, with 99 hospital admissions during the month.

Lt. Col. William P. Kendall, medical corps, was post surgeon of Fort Riley from 1910 through 1912. Kendall was born in Massachusetts on September 10, 1858, and received his M. D. in 1882 from Columbia University. Doctor Kendall retired on October 18, 1920, with the rank of colonel. The first member of the medical reserve corps to serve at Fort Riley was 1st Lt. Leonard P. Bell, medical

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reserve corps, when he reported in 1910. In January, 1911, the Seventh cavalry left Fort Riley en route to the Philippine Islands and Lt. Floyd Kramer, medical corps, accompanied the command. The "Reports of Sick and Wounded" for 1912 included newborn sons for proud fathers Capt. Addison D. Davis, medical corps, and Lt. Frederick R. Burnside, medical corps.

In 1912 the chief of staff of the army was Maj. Gen. Leonard Wood, who received his M. D. at Harvard University in 1886. The adjutant general of the army was Maj. Gen. F. C. Ainsworth, who received his M. D. at New York University in 1874. This remarkable circumstance of two doctors-turned-soldiers and commanding the army will not likely occur again. Meanwhile at Fort Riley, 2d Lt. George S. Patton was "Master of the Sword" at the mounted service school in 1913.

From 1913 until July, 1915, Col. Henry I. Raymond, medical corps, was the Fort Riley post surgeon. Colonel Raymond, Maj. William R. Eastman, medical corps, and Capt. James C. Magee, medical corps, were members of a board of preliminary examination of applicants for appointment in the medical corps. In 1915 Colonel Raymond left Fort Riley to assume charge of the medical supply depot at San Francisco.

Maj. Chandler P. Robbins, medical corps, reported to Fort Riley in 1915 to be post surgeon. Doctor Robbins' entire medical staff included Maj. George H. Crabtree, medical corps, Capt. Jacob M. Coffin, medical corps, and Capt. Larry B. McAfee, medical corps. Maj. C. T. Robbins was regimental surgeon for the Tenth cavalry and went with the regiment to Mexico in 1916. Capt. L. B. McAfee joined the cantonment hospital on the Mexican border in 1916 and later became brigadier general and assistant surgeon general of the army.

The only remaining medical officer at Fort Riley during the punitive expedition into Mexico was Lt. John Hewitt, medical reserve corps. For almost 12 months in 1916 and 1917, Doctor Hewitt was post surgeon at Fort Riley. Almost all military personnel were off with John J. Pershing chasing Francisco "Pancho" Villa, but Lieutenant Hewitt soothed babies and treated wives. During this duty tour the first elevator was installed in the post hospital. Maj. John Hewitt, medical corps, retired in 1931 and died at the Fort Riley post hospital on May 1, 1956.

World War I brought tremendous medical changes to Fort Riley. The high for total medical activity in terms of personnel and organizational activities was reached during that period.

The first new medical activity was the medical officers' training camp. The training camp at Fort Riley existed longer than the three other medical officers' training camps that were established, beginning on June 1, 1917, and finally closing on February 4, 1919. The site selected was northeast of the post hospital. There the terrain rises gradually from the main road through the reservation (K-18) up through Magazine canyon to the eminence of Wireless hill. Near the eastern edge is One-Mile creek. In the southern portion of the camp site were the medical officers' barracks, while the quarters of the ambulance companies and field hospitals were on the northern side. Headquarters of the training camp was first established in cavalry headquarters, which was the first permanent hospital on the post. As no barracks were completed, the artillery guardhouse was temporarily assigned to the training camp for use as quarters. A newspaper clipping of June 6, 1917, noted: "A number of the surgeons . . . have been put in the guardhouse"—but only until their quarters were finished.

No allotment was made to prepare the barracks of the medical officers' training camp for winter occupancy. The buildings were built with partially cured lumber and the walls soon shrunk with many visible cracks. As an expedient, permission was obtained to haul scrap lumber left over from the construction of Camp Funston. Carpenters were recruited among the enlisted men and organized into a detachment and put to work lining the inside of the buildings with the scrap lumber. The walls were first covered with newspapers and tar paper, then wainscoted to the windows. This kept the most severe winds out, if not pneumonia. The cantonment occupied by the 13th and 20th cavalry regiments on main post was turned over to the training camp in December, 1917. Again a construction company of enlisted men was formed to remodel the buildings. Stairways were built, stable stalls were floored, baths and toilets installed, and a gun shed was converted into a mess hall. The final quarters that were occupied by officers and enlisted men had a capacity varying from 80 to 100 men for each barracks. It would have to be an understatement to suggest that during the severe winters of 1917-1918 and 1919 there was some discomfort from the cold.

When the medical officers' training camp opened, the academic staff consisted of the commandant, nine medical officers and two enlisted men. The commandant was Lt. Col. William N. Bispham, medical corps. Doctor Bispham was born in Virginia and received his M. D. from the University of Maryland in 1897. He was an

enlisted man in the infantry and had been a contract surgeon for two years before joining the regular army. Colonel Bispham retired from the army in 1939.

The program of instruction for the training camp included field classes with such subjects as map reading, professional subjects like orthopedics, and combined military-medical problems such as sanitary tactics in the field. Special schools for officers in orthopedics and roentgenology were established in December, 1917. The orthopedic classes were taught at the base hospital where a ward was set aside for bone surgery cases. Another building was assigned for the orthopedic out-patient clinic and classroom. Approximately 15 physicians graduated from the course each month. The orthopedic course was taught by Maj. J. P. Lord, medical reserve corps. A similar four-week course in roentgenology was taught by Maj. Arial W. George, medical reserve corps. Other special classes in military sanitation and epidemiology were taught by Maj. Charles S. Williamson, medical reserve corps, and Maj. Daniel M. Shewbrooks, medical corps. A basic general medical course was taught to the enlisted men and was under the supervision of Maj. Henry C. Pillsbury, medical corps.

The medical officers' training camp band was the first 50-piece band to be organized within the army. At the special request of the American Medical Association, the band was sent to Chicago in June, 1918, to present special concerts at the annual meeting of the association.

Evacuation hospital No. 1, the first evacuation hospital organized in the United States, was formed at the training camp in 1917. During the life of the camp 54 student companies were organized and more than 4,500 officers and 25,470 enlisted men reported for training. Some of the units that were organized included: Evacuation hospitals 1, 7, 9-12, 15-17, 19-21; ambulance companies 27, 28, 36-41; base hospitals 70, 81-90; hospital trains 38, 39; corps sanitary train 1; army sanitary train 1. In July, 1918, the medical officers' training camp was partially consolidated with the training camp at Fort Oglethorpe, Ga.

With the merger, Col. William N. Bispham, medical corps, was transferred to Fort Oglethorpe. The new commandant of the training camp was Lt. Col. H. F. Pipes, medical corps. The consolidation of training left the Fort Riley camp with responsibility for training regimental detachments, ambulance companies, and field hospitals. Courses of instruction continued, as here listed for

August, 1918, Order No. 39, Fort Riley MOTC; army regulations, Maj. K. W. Kinard; field sanitation, Capt. A. G. Byers; system of trenches, Lt. R. A. Hennessey; examination of field equipment, Capt. E. H. Morgan; field regulations, Lt. Carl Davis; tent pitching, Capt. H. C. Parsons; map reading, Capt. F. E. Ellison; mess management, Lt. H. I. Conn; and medical department in campaign, Maj. H. C. Parker. Perhaps the courses listed do not fall under any recognized medical professional specialty, but all the instructors noted in this paragraph were physicians on active duty in the medical corps.

The other major medical organization at Fort Riley during World War I was the base hospital. The base hospital was organized September 27, 1917. To obtain the needed facilities as soon as possible, the artillery post was converted to medical buildings with headquarters of the base hospital in Building 92, which is now called Custer Hall and is the headquarters of the U. S. army aggressor center. Six two-story gray limestone artillery barracks fronting on the parade ground, were adapted to hospital purposes. Around the southern portion of the artillery parade were eight brick buildings utilized for the neurological section. Just east of the permanent limestone buildings on the artillery parade were six temporary wooden buildings used for genitourinary patients, and one hundred yards on east were 12 semipermanent buildings utilized for various contagious diseases.

Occupying the summit of the hill east of the contagious disease section, a group of ten ward buildings was constructed and utilized as the convalescent hospital. In the middle of this convalescent group (Godfrey Court) the American Red Cross built a two-story building for patients and their families. This is now the main officers' mess. The old post hospital was called section "K" and became the surgical services with a group of semipermanent buildings constructed to the north and east for additional cases. The isolation hospital was used for the treatment of meningitis. More than 50 buildings were occupied by the base hospital during its lifetime from September, 1917, until June, 1919.

The first commandant of the base hospital was Col. Douglas F. Duval, medical corps. Doctor Duval was born in Maryland on June 4, 1870, and received his M. D. from the University of Virginia in 1894. Colonel Duval retired from the army in June, 1934. The base hospital was commanded for the longest period of time by Col. Edward R. Schreiner, medical corps. Doctor Schreiner was born

in Pennsylvania on November 18, 1873, and received his M. D. from the University of Pennsylvania in 1896. Colonel Schreiner entered federal service as a contract surgeon, joined the regular medical corps and commanded the cantonment hospital on the Mexican border in 1916. He retired from the army in 1928.

The army nurse corps was established in 1901 by Surg. Gen. George Miller Sternberg, a former Fort Riley post surgeon. But army nurses were not assigned to Fort Riley until 1917. The first chief nurse at Fort Riley was 1st Lt. Elizabeth Harding, army nurse corps. A recent letter from Miss Harding describes the flavor of World War I nursing at Fort Riley:

"I arrived at Fort Riley about the middle of October, 1917, in a snow storm! I spent the coldest winter of my life and the hottest summer that I can remember. Barracks were being converted into hospitals. At first it was very primitive with no toilet or bath facilities except in the basement of the buildings. Hot water and heat were scarce. The nurses were first quartered in the various buildings on the parade ground but finally moved into wooden cantonment type buildings and felt we were in a palace. In those days there was a great deal more bedside nursing than I am inclined to think is done now. Excellent nursing care was given and we rarely dropped below one nurse to ten patients.

The uniform of the nurses was "not uniform" and there were very few regular army nurses. As usual in large groups as were housed together at Camp Funston, there were many epidemics. Many of the troops came from the farms where they had never come in contact with contagious diseases. The most serious outbreak was meningitis. The penicillin teams of World War II reminded me of the teams doing spinal punctures and giving serum at Fort Riley. Several years previously, Kansas had had a meningitis epidemic due to human carriers, and research was completed under the direction of the Rockefeller Foundation. A carrier was found among the nurses and one night we cultured over three hundred to see if there were any others. At one time we had over 800 cases of mumps, there was measles, smallpox, diphtheria, and every conceivable contagious disease. Our surgical work was light. In those days cars were few and far between, eliminating automobile accidents. However, post-operative care was much longer than it is now.

I left Fort Riley in October of 1918, for duty in the Office of the Surgeon General. The flu epidemic had just struck, and the day I left there were over 5,000 patients. Barracks were opened at Camp Funston to accommodate the sick. Several nurses died, I am not certain, but it seems to me at least sixteen. The nurses who had been on duty at Fort Riley stood up very well, but nurses who were rushed in for the emergency were hard hit, and arrived sick. Oh, yes, it was not all work and no play. We had many parties, dances, and picnics at Fort Riley in 1917-1918.

Lieutenant Colonel Harding was retired from the army and now lives in New York City.

Statistical data indicates that the highest census of the Fort Riley base hospital was in October, 1918, when there were 11,645 patients in the hospital; the same month there were 958 deaths. In 1918 there were 122 assigned doctors and 297 nurses on duty at the hospital, in addition there were 1,024 attached enlisted men. This was a contrast to the outbreak of the war when the entire medical department of the army consisted of approximately 500 officers and 3,000 enlisted men.

A famous physician and cavalryman, Surgeon Leonard Wood, served at Fort Riley during World War I but did not practice medicine. He had won his Congressional Medal of Honor while chasing Apaches with the Fourth cavalry. He became chief of staff of the army after transferring to the line. As major general, he trained more than 150,000 recruits at Camp Funston. He organized the 89th division and later the 10th division. Wood came to Fort Riley on August 26, 1917, and stayed throughout the war. He died in 1927 and was buried in the plot in Arlington cemetery reserved for the "Rough Riders" regiment, which he raised and commanded.

The position of post surgeon of Fort Riley was retained during World War I, but referred only to the physician who was on the staff of the commandant of the mounted service school. Maj. Chandler P. Robbins, medical corps, returned from Mexico in 1917, and a newspaper story of July 19, 1917, noted that Post Surgeon Robbins had ordered that all workers of the Fuller Construction Company be given typhoid shots. Later, the important medical decisions for the entire reservation were made by the highest ranking medical officer, first Colonel Duval and then Colonel Schreiner. Maj. L. A. Clary, medical corps, followed Major Robbins in the position of post surgeon from October 31, 1919, to February 6, 1920; then Maj. John A. Martin, medical corps, filled the staff position until October 30, 1920.

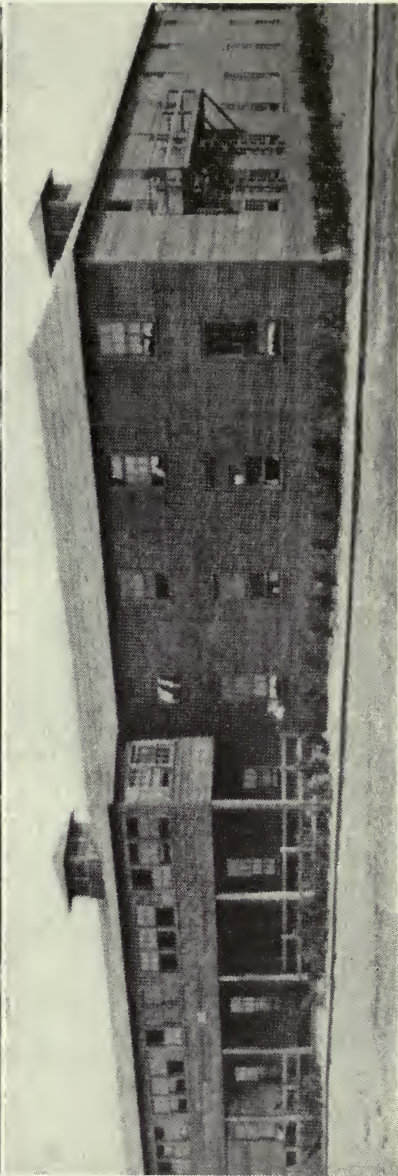
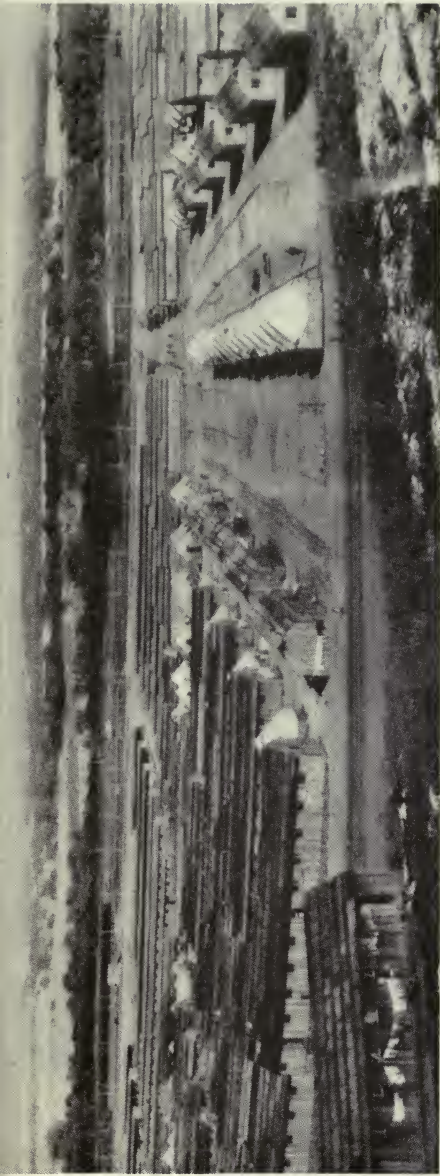
The mounted service school continued to function throughout the war period. The department of hippology included the veterinary hospital, the school for stable sergeants, and the school for horse-shoers. The department of hippology had existed since 1902 with civilian veterinarians and enlisted farriers as instructors. The veterinary corps was established in 1916 and the first Fort Riley post veterinarian was Capt. Daniel B. Leininger, veterinary corps, who was senior instructor of the department of hippology in 1918.

Doctor Leininger was born in Pennsylvania in 1879 and received his D. V. S. degree from Kansas City Veterinary College in 1906. He was promoted to colonel in 1937 and retired in 1943.

In addition to the staff medical officer at the main post area, a camp surgeon was maintained at Camp Funston. Funston had accommodations for over 50,000 men, and 14 infirmaries were maintained as well as numerous regimental dispensaries. The first camp surgeon was Maj. Fred W. O'Donnell, medical corps. Doctor O'Donnell was born at Milton Malby, Ireland, in 1869. In 1888 he came to Kansas with his parents and in 1896 graduated from medical school. He first practiced medicine in Bushton, but later took a year's graduate work at Columbia University and then opened his office in Junction City. Following his tour at Camp Funston, he accompanied the 89th division overseas and served with distinction. As a lieutenant colonel, O'Donnell returned to Kansas, where he remained in private medical practice in Junction City more than 60 years. In 1946, on the anniversary of his 50th year in practice, Doctor O'Donnell was honored by the Fort Riley-Junction City community. Following his death on November 6, 1956, his memory was perpetuated when a housing area on Morris Hill at Fort Riley was named "O'Donnell Heights" on May 18, 1957.

The public health service assumed some responsibility for the medical care of Fort Riley personnel when typhoid fever was reported in Ogden on August 14, 1917. Col. Charles E. Banks, senior surgeon arrived from Washington and met with Doctor Montgomery, Riley county health officer, and Doctor Northrup, Geary county health officer. A health zone or quarantine area was established around Camp Funston and rigid sanitary inspections were maintained for drugs, food, and dairy products. Maj. L. G. Brown, medical corps, 89th division surgeon, co-operated in the preventative medicine program by placing recruits in a large detention camp for quarantine purposes. A newspaper clipping of December 22, 1917, noted that a new detention camp was being built north of Junction City on Pawnee Flats with 500 tent houses for 5,000 men. This is the site occupied by the World War II cantonment hospital.

Red Cross nurses assisted the public health officials and also worked in the base hospital. The first Red Cross nurse at Fort Riley was Ann Marie Hannon, who arrived August 18, 1918, and worked several months before leaving the post with hospital train duty. Nurse Hannon is now Mrs. Alan Eustace of Wakefield.



Upper: Portion of medical officers' training camp, World War I (between post headquarters and First Capitol building on K-18).

Lower: Temporary barracks for nurses, base hospital, World War I (Main post area).



HOSPITALS AT FORT RILEY

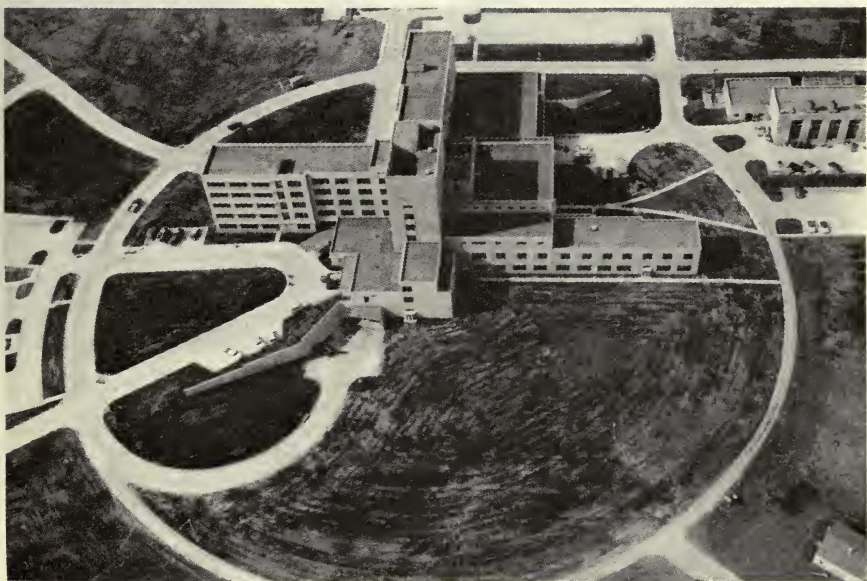
Upper: Converted artillery barracks, part of the 3,000-bed World War I base hospital, 1918.

Center: Permanent hospital group, 1926, now post headquarters.

Lower: Camp Whitside, World War II cantonment hospital, 1953 (on K-18 opposite First Capitol building).



Operating room scene in cantonment hospital, 1957.



The new Irwin Army Hospital, dedicated February 7, 1958.



Daniel B. Leininger
(1879-)

First post veterinarian and senior instructor
in the department of hippology.



William N. Bispham
(1875-1945)

The first commanding officer of the medical
officers' training camp at Fort Riley.



Leonard Wood
(1860-1927)

A surgeon turned soldier who trained
the 89th and 10th divisions in World
War I.



Edward R. Schreiner
(1873-)

Post surgeon and one of the commanders
of the 3,000-bed base hospital in World
War I.

(Photos courtesy the National Archives, the Armed Forces Medical Library,
and the Photo Laboratory, Fort Riley.)

IX. PEACE-TIME ARMY

What is currently considered the "old-army" is the model that existed between the two World Wars. The military establishment compressed into a pattern of garrison duty, service schools, and troop assignments. Camp Funston was amputated from Fort Riley when the wooden barracks of the cantonment were sold for salvage at public auction. But continuity of the post was assured when the mounted service school was officially changed to the cavalry school on September 19, 1919. The station medical service returned to the pre-war hospital group north of Highway K-18, with hospital headquarters in Building 108. The telephone directory for 1920 listed only three medical officers on the post in addition to the post surgeon, Maj. L. A. Clary, medical corps.

From 1921 until 1924 the post surgeon was Lt. Col. Llewellyn P. Williamson, medical corps. The army surgeon general's report for 1905 stated that Asst. Surg. L. P. Williamson had reported an outbreak of beriberi among the Philipinos at the Louisiana Purchase Exposition. This is the only epidemic of this disease that has been reported in the United States. A complement of five nurses was assigned to the hospital, with 1st Lt. A. L. George, army nurse corps, as the chief nurse. The chief of the hospital medical service was Maj. Arthur D. Jackson, medical corps, who was born in Argentina in 1873 and had received his M. D. from Northwestern University in 1899. The chief of the hospital surgical service was Maj. Douglas Miltz McEnery, medical corps, a native of Louisiana who had entered service in 1911 after receiving his degree in medicine from George Washington University.

During most of World War I the dental officers assigned to Fort Riley were reserve officers on temporary active duty. The first regular dental officer who functioned as post dental surgeon was Maj. Arthur W. Holderness, dental corps. His son, A. W. Holderness, Jr., was born at Fort Riley on October 28, 1920, and graduated from West Point in 1943. The post veterinarian was Robert J. Foster, major, veterinary corps, a native of Ohio who had received his D. V. M. degree from Cornell University in 1902.

Lt. Col. Alexander Murray, medical corps, was the Fort Riley post surgeon from 1924 until 1927. Doctor Murray was born in Virginia in 1874 and received his degree in medicine from Columbian University, D. C., in 1902. Colonel Murray retired from the army in 1938 but was recalled to active duty from 1940 to 1944. The

hospital staff included Maj. Charles C. Hillman, chief of medicine, and Maj. Joseph Casper, chief of surgery. Hillman retired from the army in 1947, a major general.

One of the more utilized areas of the Fort Riley reservation is Pawnee Flats, the territory north of the Kansas river between One-mile creek and Three-mile creek. This area included the site of Pawnee where the first territorial legislature of Kansas met. Camp Root was built on Pawnee Flats in 1902 for the first army field maneuvers and field hospitals with ambulance companies were utilized for the first time. The largest quarantine camp for Camp Funston during World War I was built on the Flats. A National Guard camp was built there in 1924 and named in honor of Col. Warren W. Whitside, the post quartermaster. Camp Whitside was the site selected for the cantonment hospital of World War II. The new Irwin Army Hospital has been built in the Camp Whitside (Pawnee Flats) area. Perhaps it is appropriate that medical activities should dominate Camp Whitside and Pawnee Flats, since Colonel Whitside had previously worked with medics. The army surgeon general's report for 1904 noted the appointment of Capt. Warren Webster Whitside, 15th cavalry, as instructor in equitation at the army medical school.

In 1926 2d Lt. Seth Overbaugh Craft was the first member of the new medical administration corps to be assigned to Fort Riley. Craft was born in New York state in 1900 and had been an enlisted man in the medical department of the army from 1920 to 1925, prior to his commission. Colonel Craft retired in 1955 from his position as executive officer of Brooke Army Hospital.

Col. Jay W. Grissinger, medical corps, was the Fort Riley post surgeon from 1927 until 1929. Doctor Grissinger received a M. D. degree from the University of Pennsylvania in 1898 and entered active duty in 1902. He was awarded the Distinguished Service Medal during World War I. The hospital staff included Maj. Dean F. Winn, chief of surgery, and Maj. Paul Richard Eddins Sheppard, chief of medicine. Winn retired in 1948, a brigadier general. First Lt. Lulu M. Gerding, army nurse corps, was the chief nurse. Post dental surgeon was Lt. Col. Frank P. Stone, dental corps, a native of Missouri who had received a D. D. S. degree from Washington University in St. Louis in 1900. Maj. Paul Ramsey Hawley, medical corps, was assigned to Fort Riley in 1927; he retired as a major general in 1946, after awards including the Distinguished Service Medal, Legion of Merit, and Bronze Star Medal.

From 1929 until 1931 the post surgeon of Fort Riley was Col. Ernest L. Ruffner, medical corps. Doctor Ruffner was born in Kansas in 1870 but went east to obtain his M. D. from the University of Buffalo in 1894. During World War I he was awarded the Distinguished Service Medal. The post dental surgeon was Capt. James Harvey Pence, dental corps, who had earned his D. D. S. at Kansas City-Western Dental College in 1921. Maj. James B. Owen, medical corps, was chief of medicine at the post hospital and Maj. Robert Burns Hill, medical corps, was chief of surgery. Hill retired as a brigadier general in 1950 with decorations including Legion of Merit, Bronze Star Medal, and Commendation Ribbon.

Col. Edgar William Miller, medical corps, was the Fort Riley post surgeon from 1931 until 1936. A native of Iowa, Doctor Miller earned his M. D. in 1899 from Creighton Medical College in Nebraska. Colonel Miller entered federal service as a contract surgeon and was afterward appointed an assistant surgeon in 1903. His bravery during World War I was recognized by awards of Silver Star with Oak Leaf Cluster and a Purple Heart. Colonel Miller retired in 1941. The post veterinarian was Col. John Alexander McKinnon, veterinary corps, a Canadian who had received degrees in veterinary surgery from Ontario Veterinary College and Toronto University. The office of post dental surgeon belonged to Maj. Albert Fields, dental corps, who was born in Kansas in 1888 and graduated from the Louisville College of Dentistry in 1915. The post hospital staff was headed by Maj. Charles Robert Mueller, medical corps, chief of medicine; Maj. James M. Troutt, medical corps, chief of surgery; and 1st Lt. Anna A. Montgomery, army nurse corps, chief nurse.

Depression times enveloped Fort Riley and the military progress pace was marching-in-place. The annual report of the post surgeon for 1933 recorded a station complement of 212 officers, 13 nurses, 9 warrant officers, and 2,437 enlisted men. This human total of 2,671 was less than the 2,807 animals supported on the reservation. Units at Fort Riley included the 2d cavalry, 13th cavalry, 9th cavalry, 84th field artillery, and the 16th air corps observer squadron. Medical activities were extended in 1933 to support units of the civilian conservation corps within a wide radius of Fort Riley. More than one medical administration officer was assigned for the first time in 1935 when the post telephone directory listed 1st Lt. Walter D. McFarlon, medical administration corps, 2d Lt. Frank R. Day, medical administration corps, and 2d Lt. William R. Chamberlain, medical administration corps. The mili-

tary profession became more attractive as the economic pinch increased so that reserve medical officers, contract physicians, and contract nurses appeared on the rolls of the hospital staff. But good patient care continued and research projects were accomplished, as indicated by the establishment of a Seventh corps laboratory at Fort Leavenworth in 1933 and active study was made of meningococcus meningitis.

From 1936 until 1939 the post surgeon of Fort Riley was Col. Morrison Clay Stayer, medical corps. M. C. Stayer was born in Pennsylvania in 1882 and was a private in the army hospital corps from April 27 to December 8, 1898. He left the army for an education and earned an A. B. degree from Lafayette College in Pennsylvania in 1903, and then a M. D. from Jefferson Medical College in 1906. He retired as a major general in 1946 with decorations including the Distinguished Service Medal with Oak Leaf Cluster and the Legion of Merit. The hospital staff included Maj. Henry Cheesman Dooling, medical corps, chief of medicine; Maj. James Albertus Bethea, medical corps, chief of surgery; and 1st Lt. Theresa Anne Wilson, army nurse corps, chief nurse. Brigadier General Dooling retired in 1947, Major General Bethea in 1949, and Lieutenant Colonel Wilson in 1951.

In 1937 nurses' quarters were built just east of the post hospital. The brick structure contrasted with the limestone hospital. The first signs of the future women's medical specialist corps were evident when Dorothy Grace Tipton was assigned in 1939 as physiotherapy aide, while in 1940 Elizabeth M. Murray was the first dietitian and 2d Lt. Laura Skillon, army nurse corps (physiotherapist), became the first commissioned therapist assigned to Fort Riley.

The peace-time era ended with the tour of Col. Sanford Williams French, medical corps, as the post surgeon of Fort Riley from 1939 until 1941. A native of New York, French was a hospital steward in the U. S. navy from January, 1902, until February, 1910. Meanwhile, he earned a M. D. degree from George Washington University in 1909. Then began his career as an army medical officer that lasted from 1910 until 1944. Lt. Col. Arthur Benedict McCormick, dental corps, was post dental surgeon and Col. Jacob E. Behney, veterinary corps, was post veterinarian. The annual photograph of the hospital staff showed 13 smiling nurses in 1939. Perhaps the unlucky number was the omen of the future, for early in World War II, Minnie L. Breese, Dortha M. Daley, Sallie P. Durrett, and Ruth M. Stoltz became Japanese prisoners.

X. WORLD WAR II CANTONMENT HOSPITAL

With war an ominous probability, the tempo of building and activity at Fort Riley rapidly increased. Camp Funston was rebuilt in 1940 with more than 900 buildings that were subsequently used by the Second cavalry division and the Ninth armored division. The cavalry replacement training center at Camp Forsyth was constructed in the fall of 1940 and contained over 250 buildings, including five dispensaries and one dental clinic. Over 150,000 men trained at Camp Forsyth during World War II.

In 1939 the post hospital consisted of 11 wards with 250 patient beds. The first major remodeling since 1889 was completed in 1939 with the air conditioned and tiled operating suite complete with two operating rooms, orthopedic cast room, and various utility rooms. Operating room nurse was Lt. K. "Red" McNulty, army nurse corps. Sgt. Glenn Ensworth was chief surgical technician, but now is Capt. G. Ensworth, medical service corps. A 500-bed cantonment type temporary hospital was constructed at Camp Whitside to relieve the acute shortage of hospital facilities. Work was started on December 8, 1940, and the cantonment hospital was first opened for patients in March, 1941. The old post hospital was designated as the surgical annex. In 1941 the 250-bed surgical annex was beautified by further landscaping, trees, shrubs, and flowers while oats were planted around the cantonment station hospital to keep down the dust.

War came, and changing confusion became the pattern of the times. Pearl T. Ellis, army nurse corps, who had been at Fort Riley since 1927, was promoted from lieutenant to major in less than one year. Hospital Sgt.-Maj. William W. Smith received a direct commission as captain. Col. Sanford W. French, medical corps, opened the new station hospital at Camp Whitside and then was ordered to Oliver General Hospital in Georgia.

Col. Adam E. Schlanser, medical corps, was post surgeon of Fort Riley from 1942 until 1945. Doctor Schlanser was born in Ohio in 1880 and earned his M. D. from the University of Cincinnati in 1908. The hospital staff included Col. Raymond W. Whittier, medical corps, as chief of surgery, and Lt. Col. Paul A. Paden, medical corps, as chief of medicine. The detachment commander was Capt. Adolph Guyer, pharmacy corps, who now lives in Hays. Lt. Col. Pearl Tyler Ellis, army nurse corps, remained as hospital chief nurse until 1945, thus completing more than 17 years of service at Fort Riley.

Meanwhile, the post population climbed to 38,299 in 1942. Although that was a huge human medical problem, consider the last big animated task of the veterinary medical service. There were 6,649 animals in the Second cavalry division, cavalry replacement training center and the cavalry school. The permanent veterinary hospital on main post had 46 stalls and an isolation ward, while the cavalry replacement training center had a temporary 50-stall hospital. The Second cavalry division was inactivated in 1942, the last division surgeon was Lt. Col. Lucius K. Patterson, medical corps.

Construction of the new station hospital was completed in 1942 and consisted of 84 cantonment-type temporary buildings occupying 80 acres of Camp Whitside. There were 38 wards with a capacity of 1,292 patient beds. In addition, there were eight barracks for the medical detachment. During the winter those barracks became expansion patient wards and the capacity of the hospital was increased to 1,750 beds. The post surgeon's office was moved back to the surgical annex in 1943 from the station hospital, but the surgical annex was not entirely administrative in function, since 4,031 operations were performed that year. In 1943 the station hospital became part of the army service forces under the seventh service command with 142 officers and 283 enlisted men assigned. Medical units in training on the Fort Riley reservation included: 46th general hospital, 217th general hospital, and the 715th medical sanitary company.

The station hospital became a regional hospital in June, 1944, and the increased responsibility was reflected by the average census of 807 patients during October, 1944, the highest during World War II. There were 45 medical officers, 45 dentists, and 43 nurses attached to the hospital; 32,704 dental patients were seen during the year and medical supply processed 35 tactical organizations departing from Fort Riley for overseas. Four numbered medical units completed training, including the 54th general hospital, 56th portable surgical hospital, 57th portable surgical hospital, and 23d veterinary station hospital.

A prisoner-of-war camp was established at Camp Funston in 1944 with satellite stations and small infirmaries established at Eskridge in April, Peabody and Council Grove in August, El Dorado in October, and Camp Phillips at Salina in November. The Camp Funston POW surgeon was Capt. Max Feldman, medical corps, while the outlying infirmaries were staffed by German medical officers.

Col. Irwin Bradfield Smock, medical corps, was post surgeon of Fort Riley from 1945 until 1949. A native of Pennsylvania, Doctor

Smock graduated from the medical school of the University of Pennsylvania in 1912. Colonel Smock retired in 1949 with decorations including the Legion of Merit and Commendation Ribbon. His son, Richard Smock, was the honor graduate of the ground general school, officers candidate school at Fort Riley in 1949. Second Lt. Richard Smock was killed in action in Korea in 1951 and is now buried in the Fort Riley cemetery.

The army intelligence school was established at Fort Riley in December, 1945, but with the end of World War II, both the cavalry and intelligence schools were terminated on October 31, 1946. The ground general school was activated on November 1, 1946. The last cavalry replacement training center surgeon was Lt. Col. Frank F. Harris, medical corps, while Colonel Smock was the last surgeon of the cavalry school. The last mounted cavalry parade was in Junction City on November 11, 1946, in honor of Dr. Fred W. O'Donnell's 50 years of service to civilian and military patients.

In 1945 plywood floor covering was installed in the corridors of the station hospital and then finished with linoleum. Thirty-six mechanical ventilation units were installed in the wards. By 1947 the inevitable postwar cutback had skeletonized the hospital, and the staff was limited to 13 medical officers, eight dental officers, 15 nurses, five medical service officers, and 90 enlisted men. The post population was 4,067 on December 31, 1947, with 68 patients in the station hospital.

Post headquarters moved into the first permanent hospital in 1890 when the second permanent hospital was occupied. The pattern was repeated in 1947 when the surgical annex was converted into Fort Riley post headquarters. The station hospital at Camp Whiteside became the primary medical facility on post.

The Tenth infantry division was reactivated on August 9, 1948, at Camp Funston, the same post at which the division was first organized in 1917. The division surgeon was Col. Felix Shelley Bambace, medical corps. The training division boosted the post census to 12,593 on December 31, 1948, with a hospital census of 252 patients.

In 1949 the hospital hit a home run in the usual peace-time austerity game by having the lowest net cost per inpatient day of all station hospitals in the army. The hospital staff included Col. John Presly Bachman, medical corps, as chief of surgery, and Lt. Col. John Henry Taber, medical corps, as chief of medicine. Colonel Bachman was previously assigned at Fort Riley in 1936 under Colonels Stayer and Bethea. Doctor Taber, a native of Nebraska,

was once commissioned in the chemical warfare service. Maj. William W. Smith, medical service corps, was adjutant of the same hospital where he had been sergeant-major in 1939. Lt. Col. Arthur N. Kracht, dental corps, was post dental surgeon, and Maj. John H. Shoemaker, veterinary corps, was post veterinarian. Maj. Susan W. LaFrage, army nurse corps, was chief nurse. Later in the year, Col. Norman H. Wiley, medical corps, was assigned as chief of surgery following his completion of residency training at the University of Pennsylvania, and Maj. Pauline Henriette Girard, army nurse corps, became chief nurse.

XI. COLD-WAR MEDICS

In 1950 Col. Norman Hyde Wiley, medical corps, became Fort Riley post surgeon and held the position until 1952. A native of Pennsylvania, Doctor Wiley received his A. B. degree from Lafayette College and earned his M. D. in 1928 from Jefferson Medical College. The hospital staff included Col. Robert W. DuPriest, medical corps, as chief of surgery; Capt. Herbert Tucker, medical corps, as chief of medicine; and Maj. Helen L. Tucker, army nurse corps, as chief nurse. Lt. Col. John M. Abrams, medical service corps, was the hospital executive officer.

On January 1, 1950, the ground general school became the army general school by General Order No. 53, department of the army. There was little functional change, since the officer candidate course, the mythical enemy aggressor, intelligence extension courses and training were all continued. The cold war flamed hot when the Korean conflict began in June, 1950. The increased activity was reflected in a post population of 17,274 on December 31, 1950, and an associated hospital census of 478 patients. As usual, the hospital had been understaffed with professional personnel and to meet the increased patient work-load, six navy medical officers were assigned to Fort Riley in October, 1950.

A series of emergency flood memoranda published in July, 1951, reflect the threatened disaster of the rising Smoky Hill, Republican, and Kansas rivers. Tenth division soldiers worked 24-hour duty tours to reinforce the dike at Camp Funston while dependents were evacuated. Conservation of food supplies, gasoline, and water became mandatory. On July 12, the water was ten feet deep at the Fort Riley railroad station and both Camp Funston and Marshall Field were inaccessible and out of communication. The water level was subsiding by July 17, with the cantonment hospital and Camp Whitside as the only post area to entirely escape the flood.

Throughout the time of the Korean conflict the cantonment hospital served the swollen station complement and the Tenth division with its many training activities. More than 600 major operations were performed in 1952. The chief of surgery, Col. R. W. DuPriest, died of an acute heart attack in April, 1952, and was replaced by Lt. Col. John W. Patterson, medical corps. Less tragic assignments included the appointment of Lt. Col. Clarence B. Johnson, veterinary corps, as post veterinarian, and Maj. Helen L. Staehlin, army nurse corps, as chief nurse of the hospital. Colonel Wiley, the post surgeon, was assigned to Percy Jones Army Hospital on April 29, 1952, and his position was temporarily assumed by Lt. Col. Kenneth Eugene Hudson, medical corps.

Col. Lyman Chandler Duryea, medical corps, was the post surgeon of Fort Riley from August, 1952, through May, 1956. Doctor Duryea was born in Massachusetts and served in the navy from 1917 until 1921. He earned his M. D. degree from the University of Vermont in 1931 and his graduate studies included a master of science in public health from Johns Hopkins University in 1936.

The hospital staff included Lt. Col. Donald Campbell, medical corps, as chief of surgery and Lt. Col. Donald Lavern Howie, medical corps, as chief of medicine. Doctor Campbell was born into an army family stationed in Hawaii and earned his M. D. at Cornell University in 1940. Doctor Howie received his degree in medicine from the State University of Iowa in 1948. Col. Fayette G. Hall, dental corps, replaced Col. Willard LaGrand Nielsen, dental corps, as post dental surgeon. Col. Don L. Deane, veterinary corps, became post veterinarian and Lt. Col. Eleanor R. Asleson, army nurse corps, became chief nurse of the hospital.

The dry facts of hospital statistics hid the tremendous medical team effort responsible for the total number of hospital days-lost decreasing from 191,242 in 1952 to 44,018 in 1954 within a command that averaged 20,000 population during the entire period. The noneffective rate dropped from 26.49 to 6.38 during that time, the lowest of all station hospitals in the army.

Fort Riley celebrated its centennial in 1953. From many medical aspects, the passing scene could be viewed only with nostalgia. The days of rugged individuals with saddlebag medical kits were gone, and specialty nosomathetes replaced the cavalry surgeons competent in any situation from Indian ambush to garrison amputation. The tremendous veterinary service of the days of the cavalry school had dwindled to a few pampered family pets, and even in the centennial year the number of government retired horses

gradually decreased from 43 to 30 and the military police detachment dog platoon was transferred to Camp Carson, Colo. The largest hospital in the history of the state of Kansas, the huge 3,000-bed base hospital of World War I, was only a memory with its remaining buildings now serving as barracks and offices. No trace remained of the medical officers' training camp that prepared almost 30,000 medical soldiers for World War I duty. The real feature of the second half century was the efficient and effective healing team composed of individual doctors, dentists, nurses, veterinarians, administrators, therapists, enlisted technicians, and ancillary personnel within the army medical service. In 1953 the cantonment hospital was capable of handling up to a peak load of 1,000 patients. In addition, eight dispensaries were operated and a blood donor center drew and shipped over one thousand pints of blood each month. The area of medical service extended by Fort Riley had grown from the 50-mile radius of frontier days to a modern hospital that treated military patients from an area that included North Dakota, South Dakota, Nebraska, and Kansas.

XII. IRWIN ARMY HOSPITAL

Construction of the new hospital began on July 19, 1955, when the first shovel of earth was dug by Lt. Col. Eleanor R. Asleson, army nurse corps, the hospital chief nurse. Over 43 million pounds of concrete have been poured to erect a building 111 feet high with six working floors. No feature of superior medical care has been overlooked. Irwin Army Hospital has a pneumatic tube distribution-communications system with 42 stations and an audio-visual call system which provides two-way conversation between each patient and his ward nurse. Bulk oxygen is piped into all critical medical treatment areas. Approximately six millions of dollars have been spent to build this modern 250-bed hospital. Maj. William J. Deragisch, medical service corps, has been project officer during most of the construction period.

Even in peacetime, military units are transferred and a new technique called gyroscope was utilized at Fort Riley on September 27, 1955, when the Tenth infantry division at Fort Riley and the First infantry division in Germany traded home stations. The division surgeon of the First division (1957) is Lt. Col. John B. White, medical corps. A native of Ohio, Dr. White earned his M. D. in 1927 from the University of Oregon medical school.

Other medical units were in training at Fort Riley. The hospital

plant furnished patients, classroom space, and instructors for technical skills. In 1955 the 900th surgical hospital, 388th evacuation hospital and the 928th medical company (ambulance) were released from active duty. Training continued in the 93d evacuation hospital (semimobile) commanded by Col. Walter B. Lacock, medical corps; the 47th surgical hospital, commanded by Lt. Col. Harold I. Drinkaus, medical corps; and the 58th medical battalion (separate), commanded by Lt. Col. Ross R. Haecker, medical service corps.

Colonel Duryea, post surgeon, was assigned to Washington, D. C., in May, 1956, and his position was assumed by Col. Walter B. Lacock, medical corps. The hospital staff included Lt. Col. Jack T. Rush, medical corps, as chief of surgery, and Maj. Mary C. Jordan, army nurse corps, as hospital chief nurse. Lt. Col. Gerald E. Geise, medical service corps, was hospital executive officer.

Col. Milford Timothy Kubin, medical corps, became post surgeon of Fort Riley in July, 1956. History completed the first full circle for Fort Riley physicians with the assignment of Doctor Kubin, since his first duty station after internship was Fort Riley. First Lieutenant Kubin rode field-patrol with the horse cavalry while Colonel Kubin supervises the evacuation of patients from field maneuvers with helicopters, a change of hospital techniques from horses to helicopters within one professional career. A native of Kansas, M. Tim Kubin earned his degree in medicine from the University of Kansas in 1929 and his graduate studies have included a M. S. in public health from Harvard University in 1946.

The post dental surgeon is Col. John E. Finnegan, dental corps. Doctor Finnegan was born in Minnesota and received his D. D. S. from the University of Minnesota in 1935. His chief dental assistants include Lt. Cols. C. J. Blum, E. D. Chase, H. G. McMaster, J. C. Sexson, and N. E. Sondergaard, all of the dental corps.

The post veterinarian is Lt. Col. William Ginn, veterinary corps. A native of South Carolina, Doctor Ginn earned his degree in veterinary medicine from Auburn in 1934.

The last professional staff of the cantonment hospital and the first of Irwin Army Hospital includes Lt. Col. Robert James Bradley, medical corps, as chief of medical services, and Maj. George E. Omer, Jr., medical corps, as chief of surgical services. Doctor Bradley earned his B. S. from the University of Wisconsin, followed by a degree in medicine from the University of Wisconsin in 1945, with his post-graduate residency training in internal medicine at Fitzsimons Army Hospital. Dr. Omer, a Kansan, received an A. B.

from Fort Hays Kansas State College, an M. D. from the University of Kansas in 1950, and his post-graduate studies include residency training at Brooke Army Hospital with a master of science in orthopedic surgery from Baylor University. Maj. Florence E. Judd, army nurse corps, became the Fort Riley hospital chief nurse following an assignment at Walter Reed Army Hospital. Major Judd earned her R. N. degree in 1934 from Saint Mary's Hospital in East Saint Louis and her postgraduate studies have earned a B. S. in nursing education from Columbia University and an M. S. in hospital administration from Baylor University. Lt. Col. Virgil T. Yates, medical service corps, is the hospital executive officer. Lieutenant Colonel Yates earned his B. S. and A. B. from Northwest Missouri State Teachers College and postgraduate work includes a master of science in hospital administration from Baylor University.

A Fort Riley Historical Society was founded in August, 1957, under the patronage of Maj. Gen. David H. Buchanan, commanding the First division and Fort Riley. To deposit and display the rich history of Fort Riley and the surrounding community, the first permanent post hospital was dedicated as the Fort Riley Museum on September 20, 1957. It is most appropriate that the first building used to rebuild, administer and preserve the men of Fort Riley should now be used to perpetuate their memory.

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The Annual Meeting

THE 82d annual meeting of the Kansas State Historical Society and board of directors was held in Topeka on October 15, 1957. The meeting of the directors was held in the rooms of the Society and was called to order by President Rolla Clymer at 10 A. M. First business was the reading of the annual report by the secretary:

SECRETARY'S REPORT, YEAR ENDING OCTOBER 15, 1957

At the conclusion of last year's meeting the newly elected president, Rolla Clymer, reappointed Will T. Beck, John S. Dawson, and T. M. Lillard to the executive committee. Members holding over were Charles M. Correll and Frank Haucke.

Two members of the Society's board of directors have died since the last meeting. Robert Stone, a Topeka attorney since 1892, an organizer and past president of the Shawnee County Historical Society, active throughout his long life in many civic and charitable organizations, and for many years a member and director of this Society, died in June. Mrs. Mae C. Patrick of Satanta, widely known for her participation in literary and political activities, died in July. She helped to found the libraries of Santa Fe and Satanta and was instrumental in organizing several women's clubs in western Kansas. The loss of these two friends is noted with sorrow.

APPROPRIATIONS AND BUDGET REQUESTS

Last year it was necessary to report, with regret though without surprise considering the state of our treasury, that almost all requests for major improvements to the Memorial building and the other properties operated by the Society were denied. The same statement must be repeated this year. The 1957 legislature did make appropriations for completing the rewiring of the Memorial building, installation of standpipe fire protection units, construction of museum storage closets, and partial interior painting. However, requests for funds to complete the air-conditioning system, replace exterior doors, modernize plumbing and fixtures, install steel stack floors, and to make several other desired improvements were rejected, some for the third and fourth times.

A supplemental appropriation was made for reroofing the First Territorial Capitol, the original grant having proven insufficient. A request for \$350 for drilling a water well at the Funston Home was approved. The hole was drilled but the water proved too salty to be usable. Another appropriation has therefore been asked for next year to rebuild two cisterns on the property. Funds were allocated for tree-trimming at Shawnee Mission and for waterproofing and partial interior painting in the East building. No capital improvement requests were approved for the Kaw Mission at Council Grove.

Appropriations asked for routine operating expenses were granted, with only a few exceptions, both for the Society itself and for the properties which it administers.

Budget requests for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1959, were filed with the state budget director in September. In addition to appropriation requests for salaries and operating expenses, which amount to about the same as last

year, the major long-term improvements listed above were submitted again. New requests included \$2,000 for repairs to the roof of the Memorial building, \$17,500 for installing steel shelving in the basement vault, \$650 for repair of the loading dock and the walk at the south entrance, \$2,500 for interior painting, and \$1,000 for tree-trimming, lawn work, and landscaping. With the exception of relatively small amounts requested for minor items of special maintenance, such as tree-trimming at the Funston Home and the Kaw Mission and enlarging of the parking area at Shawnee Mission, all capital improvement requests for these and the other properties were repetitions of last year's budget.

PUBLICATIONS AND SPECIAL PROJECTS

The Kansas Historical Quarterly is now in its 23d year. Articles of interest in the Spring number include Emory Lindquist's story of the contribution of three Kansans to the development of the dial telephone, and James C. Malin's series on the early theatre in Kansas, which has continued through the year. Featured in the Summer number was the report of a survey of Kansas historic sites and structures made by the Society. Other articles appearing or scheduled to appear in 1957 include a story on the Lecompton constitutional convention by Robert Johannsen, a sketch of Thomas Benton Murdock and William Allen White by Rolla Clymer, an article on Fort Larned by William E. Unrau, and the story of the Kiowa and Comanche campaign of 1860 as recorded in the personal diary of Lt. J. E. B. Stuart, edited by W. Stitt Robinson.

The *Mirror*, the bimonthly newsletter, continues as a worthwhile medium, bringing news of the Society's projects to its membership. Many fine museum items have been received as a direct result of stories appearing in the *Mirror*.

Monthly news releases, based on items from the Kansas territorial press and other newspapers of a century ago, continue to be sent to the editors of the state. Selections appear in many Kansas newspapers, and the Society is happy to contribute in this manner to the growth of interest in the state's beginnings.

A report entitled *A Survey of Historic Sites and Structures in Kansas* was published and submitted to the 1957 session of the legislature, as required by a law of 1955. The work of the survey occupied the better part of 18 months, but because it had to be done by the regular staff as time and other duties permitted the report does not pretend to be a complete or final inventory of the state's historic places. In fact, several additions and corrections were made when the copy was re-edited for publication in the *Quarterly* and others will be necessary in the future. Considerable interest, both in and out of Kansas, has been aroused by this report.

Work has continued on the cumulative index to the Society's publications. Approximately 54,000 index entries have been completed for the first 16 volumes of the *Collections*. Only one volume of the *Collections* now remains to be indexed, plus the *Biennial Reports* for 1877-1930 and the three small volumes of special publications which were issued in 1886, 1920, and 1930, to finish the first phase of this project. The second phase is the compilation of a similar index for the *Quarterly*. Preliminary estimates indicate that the complete index for all publications can be issued in two volumes, and funds have been requested in next year's budget for printing the first.

The *Annals of Kansas*, the second volume of which was formally presented at last year's meeting, has proven to be an acceptable contribution to Kansas historical literature. However, more volumes should be sold, and can be if their availability is known to persons interested. A book review which ap-

peared in the September, 1957, number of *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review* called this *Annals* "better balanced and more authoritative than Wilder's work" and emphasizes its importance not only as a chronological list of Kansas events but as a "valuable statistical and pictorial reference."

There has been a noticeable revival of interest in the historical marker program during the past two years. Texts have been prepared by the Society on the following topics: at Fort Leavenworth, a brief history of the fort; at Russell, the conflict with the Indians as the railroad pushed westward; at Victoria, the establishment of the towns of Victoria and Herzog; and near Belvue, the Louis Vieux ford on the Oregon trail. In addition, a text was written for a marker on the bluestem pasture region which is to be placed on the turnpike at the Matfield Green service area.

Some months ago Governor Docking named the first members of a committee to make preparatory plans for the observance of the centennial of statehood, which comes in 1961. Credit for this early development is due the Society's president, Rolla A. Clymer. The 1957 legislature appropriated \$2,500 for the committee's initial expenses, with the Society being designated as book-keeper for the fund.

ARCHIVES DIVISION

Public records from the following state departments have been transferred to the archives during the year:

Source	Title	Dates	Quantity
Administration, Department of (Accounts & Reports Div.)	Fiscal records	1861-1950	299 vols.
Agriculture, Board of	Statistical Rolls of Counties, 1950		1,714 vols.
	Abstracts of Agricultural Statistics & Population	1943-1953	1,185 vols.
	Population Schedules of Cities & Townships	1956, 1957	8,417 vols.
Alcoholic Beverage Control	Samples of first liquor shipment affidavits and stamp orders	1949	22 items
Alcoholism, Commission on	Correspondence & Papers,	1953-1957	5 transfer cases
State Auditor	Soldiers' Compensation Warrant Registers	1923-1942	3 vols.
Secretary of State	Original House and Senate Bills, Resolutions and Petitions	1919-1947	26 transfer cases
	Enrolled Laws, Kansas Territory	1855-1860	11 vols.
Social Welfare, Department of	Records of the Kansas Emergency Relief Committee	1932-1937	17 vols.
	Minute Records of Institutions	1939, 1940	18 vols.

Annual reports were received from the Accounts and Reports Division of the Department of Administration, the Board of Medical Registration and Examination, and the Board of Podiatry Examiners for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1956. Annual reports were also received from the Banking Department, Corporation Commission, and the Labor Department for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1957.

A small amount of county and local government archival material was received during the year. Mrs. J. P. Winslow of Padonia donated two volumes of Brown county justice of the peace records—a "Stray Record, 1876-1898," and a "Justice's Docket, 1873-1904." A microfilm print of four journals of the proceedings of the governing body of Wichita, 1870-1889, was lent by Chester Ellis, city clerk of Wichita, and a copy has been made.

One of the most interesting items deposited in the archives of Kansas in recent years was received in September. The engrossed copy of the Lecompton Constitution, famous Proslavery document of the territorial period, has been returned to the state through the courtesy and generosity of the New Brunswick Historical Club, New Brunswick, N. J., and the library of Rutgers University. The constitution was taken from Kansas by one of its signers, Alfred W. Jones, and given to the New Jersey organization in 1875. Now, 100 years after its creation, it is back in the area of its origin.

The 1957 legislature passed two laws concerning the disposition of records. One revised the membership of the State Records Board and gave that group additional authority. The board, which originally consisted of the attorney general, the state librarian and the secretary of the Historical Society, now includes also the state auditor and the state archivist, the latter acting as secretary. In the past all recommendations of the board concerning the disposal of state records had to go before the regular session of the legislature for approval. Now the board has final authority in such matters and may recommend whatever disposition it feels is best for the business and historical interests of the state. Since the board has this power it may meet at frequent intervals through the year, thus eliminating a confusing rush of records business during the legislative session.

The second law provides for the establishment of a state records center under the control of the Historical Society which will serve as a depository for inactive records of state agencies. It has long been realized that some method of inexpensive storage of noncurrent records, which have limited retention value but are not worthy of permanent archival preservation, is needed in Kansas. This law paves the way for such storage even though no funds were appropriated to make the plan operative. Both new laws are important steps toward more effective records management and storage in Kansas.

A new assistant archivist, Eugene D. Decker, joined the staff in September, replacing Carl W. Deal who was promoted to fill a vacancy in the library. Mr. Decker is a graduate of Kansas State Teachers College of Emporia and has done graduate work in history there.

LIBRARY

For the sixth consecutive year there has been an increase in the number of patrons using the library. This year the total was 4,099, of whom 1,616 worked on subjects of Kansas interest, 1,569 on genealogy, and 914 on general

subjects. Most of the queries by correspondence came from Kansas patrons, but many out-of-state people asked for information about members of their families who lived in Kansas in the early days. The extensive cataloguing of biographical material which has always been the practice in the library makes prompt replies possible in most instances, and several patrons have written in appreciation of this fact.

The prevalence of Western dramas on television has prompted a large number of requests for information on Kansas marshals and cowtowns. Typical, and perhaps most frequent of such queries, is: Was Matt Dillon, of Gun Smoke fame, a real or imaginary character? To those of you who do not follow Westerns, the answer to that, of course, is that Dillon is an imaginary character.

Requests from school children for histories of their home towns or localities have increased in number. Free material in the form of Kansas state publications is sent whenever possible, but a large percentage of the 142 loan packages has gone to junior high and high school students.

Five special newspaper editions and 3,142 miscellaneous issues were read and clipped in addition to the seven daily newspapers which are regularly searched for Kansas items. This material was augmented by clippings from newspapers over the state supplied by a clipping bureau, making a total of 6,520 clippings for the year. Nine older clipping volumes and 3,539 miscellaneous pages were remounted.

Remounting of the 17 volumes of the Webb scrapbooks has been started. This unique collection of clippings from Eastern newspapers was purchased in 1877 from Mrs. Thomas H. Webb, widow of the secretary of the New England Emigrant Aid Company. The first 16 volumes cover events in Kansas from March, 1854, to September, 1856, and the last volume contains clippings dated from October 21, 1859, to December 12, 1860, relating to John Brown and the Harpers Ferry raid.

A textbook display designed to show the changes in schoolbooks from territorial days to the present was arranged on the third floor early this year. Except for those most recently printed the books came from the Society's textbook collection, which is growing steadily through gifts of friends and other libraries.

The library is one of six in Kansas asked to contribute entries for the National Union Catalog of books, the successor to the Library of Congress Catalog. Since many locally printed books do not reach the Library of Congress they have not been included in the old catalog, and the National Union listing, which includes entries sent in by co-operating libraries in each state, is expected to be more representative of the books published each year throughout the country.

Microfilm copies of the 1850 Federal census records for Maine, Wisconsin, and Minnesota were added this year, the gift of Lyl Dudley. The *Marks & Brand Record of the Oklahoma Cattlemen's Association* and the 1884 edition of *The Brand Book of the Western Cattle Growers' Association* were lent by Lee Larrabee for microfilming. Theses lent by the authors to be microfilmed included: "The Kansas Soldier as a War Correspondent, 1898-1899," by Alan J. Stewart; "The History of Fort Larned, Kansas: Its Relation to the Santa Fe Trail and the Plains Indians," by William Errol Unrau; "A Sociological Study of Sheridan County, Kansas," by Lillian Ruby Toothaker, and "A Brief History of Emerson Carey's Carey Salt Company, 1901-1956," by George W. Simpson.

Centennial booklets and other materials were received from Emporia, Greeley, Holton, Americus, Hiawatha, Olathe, Hartford, Madison, Muscotah, and DeSoto. Gifts of local histories included: *Mahaska Sodbusters*, by Clyde W. Miller; *90 Years of Ellsworth and Ellsworth County History*, by George Jelenik; *75 Years in Kansas, or Corn Bread and Sorgum Molasses*, by the late Frank A. Russell; *Ottawa University, Its History and Its Spirit*, by B. Smith Haworth; *History of Ionia, Kansas*, by Lester Stites, and *Kansas Monks, History of St. Benedict's Abbey*, by Peter Beckman, O. S. B. Caroline Walbridge gave a copy of her thesis on Kansas textbooks, Randolph Orville Yeager, his thesis on the "Indian Enterprises of Isaac McCoy, 1817-1846," and Harrie S. Mueller, a thesis by Virgil Vesper Hinds on the "History of Provisions for Religious Instruction in Selected Public Schools of Kansas." This is the first product of the recent history scholarship Colonel and Mrs. Mueller so generously endowed at Kansas State. Sizable collections of books were received from Eugene and Justis N. Ware and Mrs. Amelia Cozier, grandchildren of Eugene Fitch Ware, and from Mrs. Eugene L. Bowers, the Capper estate, and Mrs. J. C. Ruppenthal.

An unusual gift is *Merchant Sail*, by William Armstrong Fairburn. This definitive six-volume work on sailing ships is not for sale but has been placed in selected libraries throughout the country as a public service by the Fairburn Educational Foundation, Inc.

Two histories of the state have been published within the past year. *Kansas, a History of the Jayhawk State*, by William Frank Zornow, the first one-volume adult history of Kansas published in several decades, and *Kansas, the First Century*, a four-volume history edited by John D. Bright, giving up-to-date historical and biographical material.

Library accessions, October 1, 1956-September 30, 1957, were:

Books

Kansas	174
General	682
Genealogy and Local History.....	144
Indians and the West.....	57
Kansas State Publications.....	99

Total 1,156

Pamphlets

Kansas	1,162
General	448
Genealogy and Local History.....	51
Indians and the West.....	11
Kansas State Publications.....	288

Total 1,960

Clippings (bound volumes).....	35
Magazines (bound volumes).....	167

Microfilm (reels)

Books, periodicals, etc.....	44
Census	10

Total 54

MANUSCRIPT DIVISION

Valuable papers including two large collections have been received during the year.

Thirty-six file drawers of letters and documents from the office of the late Arthur Capper were received from his estate. These fall mainly within the period of his service as U. S. senator from Kansas, 1919-1949. Agricultural legislation received much of his attention during these years. Arthur Capper was governor of Kansas, 1915-1919, and founded one of the great publishing houses of the country. The papers are not yet organized but are open for limited research.

Clifford Hope of Garden City, U. S. representative from Kansas for 30 years, has deposited papers from his Washington office which fill 156 transfer cases. Mr. Hope was for many years senior member of the house committee on agriculture and his papers should prove valuable to students working in the fields of agricultural and political history. The collection is temporarily restricted to such use as Mr. Hope approves.

Daniel Read Anthony, III, of Leavenworth has presented letters of his grandfather, Daniel Read Anthony, written during the period 1857-1862. There are 122 items in the collection. Daniel Read Anthony, of Rochester, N. Y., came to Kansas in 1854 as a member of the first party sent out by the Emigrant Aid Company of Massachusetts. He settled in Leavenworth and became active in territorial affairs; also, he entered the newspaper field and published the *Leavenworth Times* which is still in the hands of the Anthony family. Early letters reflect economic and financial conditions in the territory; those of the war years tell something of Anthony's service with the 7th regiment Kansas Volunteers.

Sixty-seven letters written by Eugene Fitch Ware to members of his family were received from the children of his daughter, Amelia Ware Baird. Nearly all were written in 1904 while Ware was in Washington, D. C., serving as commissioner of pensions. Because of their historical importance, the Society would like to know the location of other Ware papers; the information is also wanted by Prof. James C. Malin of the University of Kansas who is making a study of Ware.

Mrs. Stuart F. Hovey of Kansas City, Mo., gave papers of her grandfather, Dr. Andrew Jackson Huntoon. There are 150 items in the collection. Dr. Huntoon came to Kansas in 1857. He served during the Civil War with the 5th Kansas cavalry and the 2d regiment Kansas State Militia. Following the war, he settled in Topeka and was prominent in public affairs until his death. Most of the letters in the collection were written by Huntoon and his wife during the period of his military service.

James W. Wallace, Scott City, and Richard W. Wallace, Topeka, have given a collection of nearly 500 items relating primarily to their grandfather, Capt. Augustus W. Burton, and Co. H, 12th Kansas Volunteer infantry regiment. The papers extend over the unit's entire period of active service, 1862-1865. Included are ordnance, clothing, and equipment records; requisitions; general and special orders, etc.

Papers of Jessie Kennedy Snell were given by Omer A. Snell of Colby. They include reminiscences of Thomas county pioneers and notes on Thomas county history.

Two volumes of business records were received: Webb Woodward, Topeka, gave a volume of prescription records from the pharmacy of B. W. Woodward and Company, Lawrence, 1874-1878; and Dr. Wilson Hobart gave a day book with cash account records from the business of Wilson Keith, dry goods merchant of Topeka, 1878-1895.

Thomas H. Bowlus, Iola, gave ten pieces of large currency, series 1899, 1907, 1914, 1918, and 1923.

Microfilm copies of the following have been acquired:

Seven reels of correspondence, 1833-1884, from the library of the Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia. The letters relate to the work of Presbyterian missionaries among Indians in Kansas, Missouri, Nebraska, and Oklahoma.

Record of soldiers buried at Fort Wallace. The list was compiled when bodies were removed in 1886 for reinterment at Fort Leavenworth. Film was made from photostats lent by R. F. Brock, Goodland.

Diaries and papers of Bertha and Hermann C. Benke, 1886-1893, residents of Barton county. Originals were lent by Paul Gibler, Claflin.

Letter books of Thaddeus Hyatt, 2 volumes: 1858-1859, 1875-1876. The earlier volume contains copies of many letters pertaining to Hyatt's interests in Kansas; letters in the second volume were written while Hyatt was in England and on the Continent and relate mainly to his inventions and business enterprises. The books were lent by Hyatt's grandson, John K. Hyatt, St. Louis.

Scrapbook of Emerson C. Lewellen, for many years a resident of Harvey county and Newton; and records of the Jantzen Hillsboro Creamery, 1899-1903. Originals were lent by Earl McDowell, Cherokee, Okla.

Diary of William T. Barnett, 1899-1900. Barnett was a member of Co. I, 12th U. S. infantry, and the diary is a record of his service in the Philippines. Original was lent by Horace J. Smith, Los Angeles, Calif.

Records of Osage Mission on the Neosho river, now St. Paul, Kan., 1820-1885. Included are lists of baptisms, marriages, and burials. The five manuscript volumes were made available for reproduction by the Passionist Monastery, St. Paul.

Other donors were: Mrs. Jessie Jenner Baker, Topeka; Edward M. Beougher, Grinnell; Berlin B. Chapman, Stillwater, Okla.; Harry E. Chrisman, Liberal; Mrs. W. B. Collinson, Topeka; Pauline Cowger, Salina; Charles Darnell, Wamego; Mr. and Mrs. C. C. Ellis, Wichita; Alan W. Farley, Kansas City; Mrs. Jeannette Burney Gibson, Ottawa; Mrs. Edna Piazzek Gilpin, Valley Falls; Mrs. George Hedrick, Lawrence; Alfred G. Hill, Swarthmore, Pa.; George J. Hood, Lawrence; Kansas State Auditor; T. M. Lillard, Topeka; Alfred Lower, Topeka; Fred R. Marckhoff, Elgin, Ill.; Don Maxwell, Topeka; Dr. Karl A. Menninger, Topeka; Howard S. Miller, Morrill; Clyde M. Reed, Jr., Parsons; Mrs. W. W. Reed, Topeka; Mrs. F. Homer Richart, Denver, Colo.; Harold E. Rorschach, Tulsa, Okla.; J. C. Ruppenthal, Russell; John W. Shuart, Topeka; Mrs. J. R. Throckmorton, Hays; Mrs. C. E. Toothaker, Hoxie; Mrs. Benjamin Weaver, Mullinville; and Thomas Bayne Wilson, Williamstown.

Joseph W. Snell, Topeka, joined the staff in January as assistant cataloguer in the division of manuscripts. Mr. Snell is a graduate of Washburn University, has completed his course work for a master's degree in history at the University of Kansas, and is currently doing research for his thesis which will deal with a phase of the government's Indian policy.

MICROFILM DIVISION

In the past 12 months the microfilm division has made nearly 370,000 exposures, bringing the total since the division was established to more than 4½ million. Most of this year's production, about 229,000 exposures, was of newspapers. About 100,000 exposures were made of archival records, and the balance was divided between library and manuscript materials.

Kansas newspapers filmed included the *Arkansas City Weekly Republican Traveler*, April 16, 1887-January 2, 1908; *Clay Center Weekly Times*, January 5, 1882-December 29, 1955; *Kinsley Graphic*, December 18, 1880-July 11, 1940; *Leavenworth Weekly Times*, July 7, 1870-September 5, 1918; *Ottawa Daily Republican*, September 29, 1879-February 8, 1902; *Ottawa Daily Republic*, February 10, 1902-December 31, 1914; *Ottawa Weekly Herald*, November 7, 1889-March 18, 1915; and *Wyandotte Herald*, January 4, 1872-December 29, 1910. The *Kinsley Mercury* has been filmed from August 4, 1883, to February 23, 1900, and work on this paper is continuing. In addition, short runs of 19 other newspapers were microfilmed.

Filming of the 1905 state census, which was begun last year, has been completed. The original record, in 478 large volumes, has now been condensed into 177 hundred-foot rolls of film. More than 15,000 exposures were also made of records of the State Insurance Department.

MUSEUM

The museum has completed its most successful year. Attendance was 52,412, an all-time record, and 11,000 more than last year. Two factors are primarily responsible for this increase: the modernization program which includes construction of period rooms and new displays, and an educational program which offers planned and guided tours to school children and other groups. Some 300 organizations and groups took advantage of these tours, almost double the number registered last year. Roscoe Wilmeth, assistant museum director, who joined the staff in February, is in charge of the educational program. He is professional archeologist also, and has inaugurated a systematic field survey of archeological sites along the Kansas river from Junction City to Kansas City.

Twenty new displays relating to various aspects of Kansas history have been constructed in the second group of cases which were received early this year. Another 20 cases, to be used for military and Indian displays, have been ordered.

Two period rooms, a doctor's office and a dentist's office, are nearly finished, and construction of a general store, complete with post office, has begun. These rooms are in the east gallery.

During the year 130 accessions were received, comprising 1,526 separate items. Mrs. Emma Kelley and Lowell Kelley, White Cloud, Mr. and Mrs. Henry Miller, Delavan, and Mrs. Dora Priddy, Ozawkie, donated a large number of articles which are to be used in the general store display. Mrs. Alice G. Sennrich, Valley Falls, gave the equipment used in her early photographic studio; Mrs. W. R. Smith, Topeka, presented a collection of early hats; Mrs. C. H. Strieby, Council Grove, donated a number of toys; Mr. and Mrs. Bill Bradley and Mr. and Mrs. William A. Bradley, Cunningham, sent an early

model Linotype; Mrs. Esther Gray Crumb, Pittsburg, donated a collection of scale models made by her father; W. M. Richards, Emporia, Roderick Bentley, Shields, Mrs. Benjamin Weaver, Mullinville, and James C. Malin, Lawrence, gave collections of barbed wire which include many old and unusual types.

Other donors were: Ed Abels, Lawrence; Abilene Public Library; Mr. and Mrs. Harry Althof, Topeka; Portia Anderson, Topeka; Robert Appleton Co., New York; Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fe railroad; Charles Avery, Topeka; the children of Amelia Ware Baird; Rebecca Updegraff Bellamy, Topeka; Beloit Chamber of Commerce; W. H. Benedict; J. Leland Benson, Topeka; Dr. M. L. Bishoff, Topeka; Mrs. Howard B. Blackmar, Norwood, Mass.; Mrs. Henry S. Blake, Topeka; Mrs. Emily Broker, Iola; J. L. Brownback, Fort Riley; Mrs. Dora Renn Bryant, Junction City; Alfred A. Carlson, Prairie Village; Estella Case, Wichita; Mrs. W. B. Collinson, Topeka; Oscar Copple, Wilsey; Julia Cotton estate, Topeka; Christina Crader, Paxico; Charles Darnell, Wamego; Mrs. Edwin W. Davis, Topeka; John H. Davis, Jr., Belvue; J. C. Denious estate, Dodge City; Bertha Dennett, Wellington; Mrs. Joan Dibble, Topeka; Mrs. Hattie M. Dillon, Scranton; Mrs. John DuMars, Topeka; Mrs. John L. Engert, Manhattan; Dr. Elvenor Ernest, Topeka; Mrs. Paul Ernst, Olathe; Dr. E. W. Eustace, Lebanon; Ben H. Fischer, Lincoln, Neb.; Herman C. Frahm, Topeka; Mr. and Mrs. J. R. Freed, Topeka; Mrs. Spencer A. Gard, Iola; Mrs. O. L. Garlinghouse, Topeka; B. J. George, Kansas City, Mo.; Mrs. Edna Gilpin, Valley Falls; Mrs. Robert Gleason, Topeka; Globe Clothing Co., Iola; Frank Graham, Florence; Harry Griffin, Topeka; Mrs. Betty Griffiths, Hartford; Arnold Hallover, Burlingame; Dea Hart, Grenola; Mrs. Albertine Harvey, Long Beach, Calif.; Mrs. Frank Haucke, Council Grove; Dr. and Mrs. H. L. Hiebert, Topeka; Mrs. Don Hopson, Phillipsburg; Nina Catherine Howe, Kansas City; John Hudson, Topeka; Dr. James G. Hughbanks, Independence; Arthur D. James, Topeka; Mrs. Charles Jones, Topeka; Mrs. Erwin Keller, Topeka; W. A. Kingman, Springfield, Mo.; Mrs. Joe Kinnaird, Kiro; Mr. and Mrs. W. D. Kirkbride, Herington; Mr. and Mrs. Frank Knowles, Valley Falls; Mr. and Mrs. Ernest LaLouette, Florence; Ceora B. Lanham, Topeka; Mrs. Harry Lemon, Topeka; Helen D. Little, LaCrosse; Dr. A. Louis Lyda, Salina; Wendel Maddox, Garden City; Mark Marling, Topeka; Marquart Music Co., Topeka; Mrs. Helen Martin, Brookville; Don C. Maxwell, Topeka; Robert Maxwell estate, Topeka; Mrs. Vernon McArthur, Hutchinson; Orville, Amsa, and Earl McDowell, Cherokee, Okla.; Dr. Wm. M. McInerney, Abilene; L. D. Merillat, Topeka; Mrs. John O. Miller, Topeka; Dorthadean Moorman, Topeka; Mrs. Howard E. Morrison, Jr., Topeka; Will Morrison, LaHarpe; L. F. Morse, Benedict; H. C. Mulroy and Margaret Jetmore Mulroy, Topeka; D. W. Muns, Iola; Mrs. Ethel H. Neff, Wichita; Mr. and Mrs. H. D. Nichols, Osage City; Mrs. Malcolm B. Nicholson, Long Beach, Calif.; Dr. A. R. Owen, Topeka; Jennie A. Philip estate, Hays; Francis Phillis, Topeka; George Preston, Paxico; Carl Puderbaugh, Ozawkie; B. W. Purdum, Topeka; Rebecca Lodge, Iola; Mrs. W. W. Reed, Topeka; Frank Reeder, Jr., Easton, Pa.; James W. Reid, New York; Charles Remaley, Topeka; Mrs. C. H. Reser, Hamilton; R. W. Richmond, Topeka; Col. G. L. Robinson, Jacksonville, Fla.; Mrs. J. E. Rosebrough, Topeka; Phyllis and Patricia Safrite, Iola; Mr. and Mrs. Ellwood H. Savage, Topeka; Stanley D. Sohl, Topeka; Mrs. Nellie Sparks, Whitewater; Edwin H. Stade, Belvue; Mrs. W. E. Stanley, Wichita; Gary Stearns, Topeka; Edith Updegraff Stephenson, Wichita; W. E. Steps, Topeka; L. C. Stevens,

Topeka; Mr. and Mrs. Wm. C. Stevens, Lawrence; Charles S. Stevenson, Kansas City, Mo.; Cydnee Sue and Jeanne Lue Stillwaugh, Iola; C. A. Stinson, Carlyle; Mrs. Jacob F. Strickler, Topeka; Mrs. William E. Studebaker, Topeka; Miss E. E. Terry, Olathe; Mr. and Mrs. Luther Tillotson, Topeka; Mrs. Rita S. Timpson, Elizabeth, N. J.; F. C. Troup, Logan; Fenn Ward, Highland; Mrs. Wm. J. Wertz, Topeka; Westminster Presbyterian church, Topeka; J. Howard Wilcox, Anthony; Ronald Wilson, Topeka; Gen. Thomas B. Wilson, Williamstown; Edwin Wolff, Tooele, Utah; and Mrs. Chester Woodward, Topeka.

NEWSPAPER AND CENSUS DIVISIONS

In the past 12 months 5,495 patrons who called in person were served by the newspaper and census divisions, and several times that number by correspondence.

Use of the newspaper files remained at about the same level as last year. A decrease in the number of original issues used was offset by the increased use of microfilm. Single issues of newspapers read totaled 5,589, bound volumes 6,210, and microfilm reels 2,057.

On April 15, under an act of the 1957 legislature, the Society began charging \$1.00 each for certified copies of its records. In consequence the number of requests for such copies has fallen off noticeably, 13,550 certificates being issued during the year as compared with more than 17,500 the previous year. Census volumes searched dropped to 36,134 from last year's all-time high of 43,886.

Almost all Kansas newspaper publishers send their publications to the Society for filing. One triweekly, ten semiweeklies, 291 regular weeklies, and 55 dailies are now received regularly. In addition, 146 newspapers published by Kansas schools, churches, labor unions, and other institutions are donated by the publishers. Ten out-of-state newspapers are received, including the *New York Times* and the *Kansas City Star and Times*. The collections now total 57,582 bound volumes of Kansas newspapers and over 12,000 volumes of out-of-state newspapers. With the addition of 493 reels this year the collection of newspapers on microfilm now includes 6,419 reels. Twelve Kansas publishers contribute film copies of their current issues.

Among the older Kansas newspapers received was a single issue of the *Iowa Point Weekly Enquirer*, July 30, 1858, given by George and Fred Massey of Iowa Point. *The People's Herald*, Lyndon, January 6, 1916-December 19, 1918, was received from Jack Miller, Lyndon. This fills a period missing in the files. Another gap was filled by the purchase of the *Washington Republican*, July 26, 1872-April 17, 1874.

Other donors of older newspapers included: Mrs. H. W. Burgess and L. D. Merillat, Topeka; Mrs. Stuart F. Hovey, Kansas City, Mo.; R. E. McCluggage, Juneau, Alaska; Frank S. Boies, Battle Creek, Mich.; Myron McGinnis and Tom Buchanan, Bucklin; Mrs. Albertine Harvey, Long Beach, Calif.; and the Robert Maxwell estate. B. B. Chapman, Stillwater, Okla., was instrumental in obtaining for the Society a copy of the historical edition of the Guthrie (Okla.) *Daily Leader* published April 16, 1957.

PHOTOGRAPHS AND MAPS

During the year 1,213 photographs were added to the collection. Of these 792 were gifts, 127 were lent for copying, and 294 were taken by staff members.

In addition, one reel of motion picture film and many color slides were added.

The revision of the filing system mentioned in last year's report has been completed. In the course of this work a new count of the collection was made. The current total is 30,668 black and white photographs and 404 color slides.

Several large groups of photographs were given to the Society, among them more than 200 pictures from the Arthur Capper estate, a set of modern views along the route of the Santa Fe trail from the Kansas Industrial Development Commission, 60 prints of historic sites and buildings in Kansas from the Omaha office of the National Park Service, and 34 Sedgwick county pictures lent for copying by Floyd Souders, publisher of the *Cheney Sentinel*.

The Society has furnished photographs during the year to many individuals, newspapers, and business firms, to other historical institutions, to authors and book publishers, and to such publications as *Holiday*, *American Heritage*, and the *Encyclopedia Americana*.

Thirty-eight new maps have been accessioned. One of the most interesting is an original plat of Iowa Point in Doniphan county which was given by George and Fred Massey of Iowa Point. The map collection, not including atlases and separate maps held or catalogued in the library division, now totals 4,913. Town lithographs total 53.

SUBJECTS FOR EXTENDED RESEARCH

Subjects for extended research during the year included: Indian affairs in Alabama territory, 1817-1819; Delaware Indian language; the French fur trade in Kansas; history of medicine in Kansas; early cattle industry in western Kansas; tent theatre activity in the Midwest; histories of Kansas City, Kan., and Kansas City, Mo.; use of balloons in the Civil War; gas and oil in Kansas; banking in Kansas; the Philippine insurrection; the Mexican War; the Texas revolution; the automobile industry in Kansas, 1890-1918; the legislature of 1893; wives of Kansas governors; the Kansas river basin; the Kansas Power and Light Co.; the Fort Riley hospital; Fort Zarah; Pardee Butler; Gov. J. W. Denver; George S. Park; David J. Brewer; John Palmer Usher; Jerry Simpson; and Charles M. Harger.

THE FIRST CAPITOL

John Scott, for 20 years custodian of the First Territorial Capitol, died February 6. He was a loyal and conscientious employee. His successor, J. L. Brownback of Mound City, began work late in January, and is proving to be a capable and congenial addition to the staff.

Registration of visitors was 6,582, approximately 3,000 more than last year. Of this total, 4,591 were Kansans, 1,906 came from 44 other states and the District of Columbia, and 85 came from four United States territories and possessions and from 12 foreign countries. The only states not represented were Nevada, Rhode Island, and Vermont.

During the year the caretaker's cottage was painted and the Capitol building itself was reroofed. Propane gas was installed in the cottage for heating and cooking, replacing the coal and kerosene which had been used for many years.

THE FUNSTON HOME

Attendance at the Funston Memorial State Park during its first full year of operation totaled 1,008, approximately three times as many as were registered

in the five months it was open in 1956. Kansas visitors numbered 886; the remaining 122 came from 21 other states.

Largely through the donations of Mrs. F. A. Eckdall of Emporia and Aldo Funston of Parsons, a sister and brother of Gen. Frederick Funston, the home is gradually being furnished and decorated as nearly as possible as it was when Congressman Edward H. Funston and his family lived there.

THE KAW MISSION

Registrations at the Kaw Mission totaled 5,525, a slight decrease from last year. The visitors' book showed 4,407 Kansans registered and 1,118 other persons from 15 foreign countries, four United States territories and possessions, and 46 states. Only New Hampshire and Vermont were not represented.

The local Rotary Club has put in part of the walk leading to the Indian cabin which the club erected several years ago on the Mission grounds, and it is hoped that this project will soon be completed. The Nautilus Club of Council Grove presented two new roses for the grounds and Mr. and Mrs. L. D. Fike gave a large number of named varieties of day lilies. The Council Grove *Republican*, edited by Don McNeal, has given every possible co-operation since the Mission was acquired in 1951. Its news items and weekly "Museum Scoreboard," showing the number of visitors and the states represented, have done a great deal to stimulate interest. The information bureau operated by the Junior Chamber of Commerce has also continued to direct visitors to the Mission.

Donors this year included: Mrs. Norma Comer Bates, W. J. Bay, Lillian Blim, C. C. Bowman, Mrs. Lalla M. Brigham, Louise Brown, Oscar Copple, Mrs. R. R. Cross, Floyd Flynn, Harold Hallaver, Mrs. John Jacobs, Axel Johnson, P. J. Kirkbride, Minnie Lee Marks, Mrs. A. O. Rees, Mrs. Linnie Strouts, C. H. White, and the Women's Federated Clubs. Materials were also received on loan from Mrs. Frank Haucke and Mrs. A. H. Strieby.

OLD SHAWNEE MISSION

Although 4,428 persons registered at the Shawnee Mission, it is estimated that another 800 to 1,000 visited the property without signing the guest book. Thirty states and the District of Columbia were represented, as well as six foreign countries.

Visitors included Gretchen and Gordon Whittaker, great grandchildren of the Rev. John Thompson Peery, a missionary and teacher who served at the Mission; Willard P. Russell, great-grandson of the Rev. Jerome Berryman, superintendent of the Mission when the North building was constructed in 1845; and Harris Martin, son of John A. Martin, tenth governor of the state of Kansas. Approximately 100 members of the Kansas department of the Daughters of the American Revolution attended the annual meeting and picnic at the Mission on Constitution Day, September 17.

On July 1 two guides were employed to help with the reception of visitors. They are to work on a part-time basis when the tourist season is at its peak. Physical improvements to the property included painting of the exterior wood-work, and wallpapering, and interior painting in the North building. All trees were pruned and several dead trees removed.

The Society is indebted to the state departments of the Colonial Dames, Daughters of American Colonists, Daughters of the American Revolution,

Daughters of 1812, and the Shawnee Mission Indian Historical Society for their continued assistance at the Mission.

THE STAFF OF THE SOCIETY

The accomplishments noted in this report are due to the Society's splendid staff of employees, and I make grateful acknowledgment to them.

I should like to mention particularly Edgar Langsdorf, assistant secretary, and the heads of the Society's main departments: Mrs. Lela Barnes, of the manuscript division, who is also treasurer of the Society; Robert W. Richmond, archivist; Alberta Pantle, librarian; Stanley D. Sohl, museum director; and Forrest R. Blackburn of the newspaper division.

Recognition is also due the custodians of the historic sites administered by the Society: Mr. and Mrs. Harry A. Hardy at Shawnee Mission, Mr. and Mrs. Elwood Jones at Kaw Mission, Mr. and Mrs. V. E. Berglund at the Funston Memorial Home and Mr. and Mrs. J. L. Brownback at the First Territorial Capitol.

Respectfully submitted,

NYLE H. MILLER, *Secretary.*

At the conclusion of the reading of the secretary's report, James Malone moved that it be accepted. Motion was seconded by Charles M. Correll and the report was adopted.

President Clymer then called for the report of the treasurer, Mrs. Lela Barnes. The report was based on the post-audit by the State Division of Auditing and Accounting for the period July 27, 1956, to August 8, 1957:

TREASURER'S REPORT

MEMBERSHIP FEE FUND

Balance, July 27, 1956:

Cash	\$3,318.88
U. S. bonds, Series K.....	5,000.00

\$8,318.88

Receipts:

Membership fees	\$1,186.00
Gifts and donations.....	43.00
Interest on bonds.....	138.00
Interest, Bowlus gift.....	27.60

1,394.60

\$9,713.48

Disbursements

\$1,234.24

Balance, August 8, 1957:

Cash	\$3,479.24
U. S. bonds, Series K.....	5,000.00

8,479.24

\$9,713.48

JONATHAN PECKER BEQUEST

Balance, July 27, 1957:

Cash	\$20.56
U. S. bond, Series K.....	1,000.00

\$1,020.56

Receipts:

Interest on bond.....	\$27.60
Interest on savings account.....	2.48

30.08

\$1,050.64

Balance, August 8, 1957:

Cash	\$50.64
U. S. bond, Series K.....	1,000.00

\$1,050.64

JOHN BOOTH BEQUEST

Balance, July 27, 1957:

Cash	\$117.07
U. S. bond, Series K.....	500.00

\$617.07

Receipts:

Interest on bond.....	\$13.80
Interest on savings account.....	1.26

15.06

\$632.13

Balance, August 8, 1957:

Cash	\$132.13
U. S. bond, Series K.....	500.00

\$632.13

THOMAS H. BOWLUS DONATION

This donation is substantiated by a U. S. bond, Series K, in the amount of \$1,000. The interest is credited to the membership fee fund.

ELIZABETH READER BEQUEST

Balance, July 27, 1957:

Cash (deposited in membership fee fund).....	\$775.19
U. S. bonds, Series G.....	5,200.00

\$5,975.19

Receipts:

Bond interest (deposited in membership fee fund)	130.00
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\$6,105.19

Disbursements, books	
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\$10.00

Balance, August 8, 1957:

Cash (deposited in membership fee fund)	\$595.19
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U. S. bonds, Series K	5,500.00
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\$6,095.19

\$6,105.19

STATE APPROPRIATIONS

This report covers only the membership fee fund and other custodial funds. Appropriations made to the Historical Society by the legislature are disbursed through the State Department of Administration. For the year ending June 30, 1957, these appropriations were: Kansas State Historical Society, including the Memorial Building, \$207,970; First Capitol of Kansas, \$3,822; Kaw Mission, \$4,333; Funston Home, \$1,300; Old Shawnee Mission, \$12,280.

Respectfully submitted,

MRS. LELA BARNES, *Treasurer.*

On motion by Wilford Riegle, seconded by Frank Haucke, the report of the treasurer was accepted.

President Clymer then called for the report of the executive committee on the post-audit of the Society's funds by the State Division of Auditing and Accounting. The report was read by Will T. Beck:

REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

October 11, 1957.

To the Board of Directors, Kansas State Historical Society:

The executive committee being directed under the bylaws to check the accounts of the treasurer, states that the State Department of Post-Audit has audited the funds of the State Historical Society, the Old Shawnee Mission, the First Capitol of Kansas, the Old Kaw Mission, the Funston Home, and Pike's Pawnee Village, for the period July 27, 1956, to August 8, 1957, and that they are hereby approved.

WILL T. BECK, *Chairman,*
CHARLES M. CORRELL,
JOHN S. DAWSON,
FRANK HAUCKE,
T. M. LILLARD.

Fred W. Brinkerhoff moved that the report be accepted. James Malone seconded the motion and the report was adopted.

The report of the nominating committee for officers of the Society was read by Will T. Beck:

NOMINATING COMMITTEE'S REPORT

October 11, 1957.

To the Board of Directors, Kansas State Historical Society:

Your committee on nominations submits the following report for officers of the Kansas State Historical Society:

For a one-year term: Alan W. Farley, Kansas City, president; Richard M. Long, Wichita, first vice-president; and E. R. Sloan, Topeka, second vice-president.

For a two-year term: Nyle H. Miller, Topeka, secretary.

Respectfully submitted,

WILL T. BECK, *Chairman.*

The report was referred to the afternoon meeting of the board.

The following resolution was presented by Charles M. Correll:

RESOLUTION RECOMMENDING REMODELING OF THE G. A. R. HALL

Whereas, there is on the second and third floors of the Memorial Building in Topeka a large auditorium known as the G. A. R. Hall which occupies a substantial portion of said floors, and

Whereas, said auditorium is seldom used because of its poor arrangements and acoustics, and

Whereas, a smaller hall to be used for meetings and lectures is badly needed, therefore

Be it resolved by the directors of the Kansas State Historical Society, and it is hereby ordered: That the Secretary shall, as soon as practicable, request an opinion from the state architect as to the feasibility of remodeling the G. A. R. Hall with a view to constructing a smaller hall and utilizing the remaining area more efficiently, and if such remodeling is found to be practical shall at an appropriate time petition the legislature of the State of Kansas for funds to accomplish said remodeling;

And be it resolved by the directors of the Kansas State Historical Society: That the name of the Grand Army of the Republic, which the present auditorium now bears, shall be suitably perpetuated by the Society in naming the new hall.

And be it further resolved by the directors of the Kansas State Historical Society: That the Secretary shall cause copies of this resolution to be made and sent to the Governor and to each House of the Legislature.

The resolution was explained and after discussion Charles M. Correll moved its acceptance. Alan Farley seconded the motion and the resolution was adopted.

There being no further business, the meeting adjourned.

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE SOCIETY

A luncheon in the roof garden of the Jayhawk hotel opened the annual meeting of the Kansas State Historical Society at noon. About 200 members and guests attended.

The invocation was given by the Rev. Ernest Tonsing, pastor of the First Lutheran church, Topeka, who is a grandson of Former Governor John A. Martin.

Following the meal the secretary introduced the special guests. These included Governor and Mrs. Docking, Historical Society officers and their wives, Ray H. Mattison of the National Park Service, Omaha, Neb., and members of the Greater Kansas City Posse of the Westerners.

After folk songs by Prof. and Mrs. William E. Koch of Manhattan, President Clymer addressed the meeting.

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT

A GOLDEN ERA OF KANSAS JOURNALISM

ROLLA A. CLYMER

KANSAS, pausing momentarily in its steady, forward stride, today harbors a stirring centennial sentiment. Three years ago, this state observed its territorial centennial anniversary. Four years from now, we will all be joyfully acclaiming the completion by Mother Kansas of a full 100 years of statehood.

We who ponder the historical progress of our state need no formal reminder of the immensity of the task that was necessary to break open the hard shell of a rich and virgin land. Our memories turn in constant tribute to those sturdy settlers who came in living flood a hundred years, and more, ago. These were the true-hearted who came and stayed—who planted their pilgrim banner firmly upon the plains and prairies, and who eventually created from this lovely Kansas parallelogram the stronghold of their liberties and the domain of their dreams.

It is strictly significant that in those dark and confused years, the printed word helped to keep alight the power of the spirit in Kansas. The first printing press and a few fonts of type followed closely the footsteps of the Rev. Jotham Meeker, "he that speaks good words," and of blessed memory, who appeared among the Shawnee Indians 20 years before the territorial act.

The missionary's press was used primarily in the printing of religious matter, and it was not until two or three months after Kansas became a territory, when type for the Leavenworth *Herald* was set under a tree, that the first newspaper appeared.

The *Herald* was quickly followed by the *Herald of Freedom* at Lawrence and by other vigorous specimens of their kind. Since those early beginnings, the newspaper has flourished in this state—where both soil and climate seem to have contributed to its unquenchable vigor.

The early-day editors were both rugged and valiant. The times called for boldness and plain speech—and they responded in kind. While it is not our purpose today to discuss them in detail, we are free to acknowledge that they were peculiarly gifted with the necessary elements to infuse the Kansas paper with the rare and distinctive flavor it has borne ever since.

Their papers, as the state grew in stature and sloughed off its pioneer traces, emerged from provincial mode and habit about the time the 19th century turned into the 20th. Therefore, in our lifetimes, many of us have seen the old flatbed press and movable types pushed into obscurity by the modern perfecting press and the swift, precise processes that feed it.

In the early 1900's the average weekly newspaper owner in Kansas was taking less cash out of his enterprise than he paid his foreman, whose going wage was then about \$12 a week. Fifty years later the printing and publishing industry has risen to such dimension in tangible value that it ranks among the state's first ten group enterprises. To point the startling change that has occurred in the newspapers' financial status, only a few months ago in this Year of Our Lord, the publisher of a daily paper in a moderate-sized Kansas town cheerfully invested a million dollars solely in the building necessary to house his plant.

Thus, as Kansas has surged swiftly upward in its evolution in a fleeting half century of time, its newspapers have sped along with it—and, more than that, their editors have provided counsel and color and leadership in many of its growing phases.

Not many years after the 20th century rolled upon Time's stage, I was a stripling lad living with my parents in a little northern Kansas town. One day, without any rubbing of Aladdin's lamp, a kindly elf led me through the door into the mysteries of a country printing office. My legs were barely long enough to reach the pedals of a foot-powered press, but I was a willing neophyte—and there I stayed.

I have been there ever since—if not in that particular office, at least in others of its kind, all the way. Printer's ink has been for me, I imagine, much as ambrosia and nectar were for the gods—a lifting stimulant—and it has never lost its allure. While I have been engulfed by its potent elixir, I have been in position to view at close range the Kansas newspaper men and women who have written a romantic chapter of history for their state and their profession.

A stately procession of newspaper titans has marched across the Kansas scene in a span of 50 years. Perhaps no other state has had so many of them, or of such surpassing superiority, in any comparable period. They came from no common source—those titans. They were different in background and character and in personal traits—but all of them were endowed, in one fashion or another, with the true newspaper touch.

Theirs was the spirit of Kansas—lifting its heavy head from the pioneer epoch behind it. Gone were the days of hardship and abject futility—though abundance was not yet at hand. The signs were clear that ahead lay the witching reality of fulfillment. So these toilers at the tripod—looking forward with inexhaustible zest—set themselves to the work of their hands, and strode with Paul Bunyan tread upon the earth and the fulness thereof.

And I—I was a witness, playing a small role and a faint fiddle in the stirring drama—but I saw it all. Today I offer my testimony before this high court—neither as a witness for the plaintiff nor the defendant, but as a friend of the court. If I seem to have viewed these performers through rose-colored glasses, please remember that many of them helped to write imperishable pages of Kansas history, that the works of those who are dead have lived after them—and that all are worthy of that supreme designation, “magnificent dust.”

Now the titans march again—back across the stage where they wrought their handiwork, affording those who watch a fleeting glimpse of the traits and virtues they personified, which have been impregnated into the marrow of this state.

First and foremost among them all was William Allen White of Emporia—and probably every Kansan will agree with this estimate. He was unique in his mold; no other Kansas editor has matched him in sheer ability, in the depth of his wisdom and vision or in range of influence. A Kansan to the core and never departing from his home land as a base, he nevertheless exercised a powerful sway upon national thought. “As authentic a saint as ever wrote American,” declared Ellery Sedgwick in terse appraisal of his capacity.

Mr. White gained eminence in the three fields of newspaper making, of creative literature and in politics and government. His contributions to any of these would have rendered him lasting fame; taken as a whole, they are prodigious in their sum. Coloring all these and endearing him to countless hundreds of people was his gay and infectious personality, and the tenderness of his heart.

On his 65th birthday—and ten years before he died—he wrote that his life’s motto had been the words he saw emblazoned on a large carnival banner at Coney Island one night, “Ain’t it grand to be bughouse?” And then he quickly made the serious point that “there is no insanity so devastating in a man’s life as utter sanity. It will get him quicker than whisky.”

His philosophy was broad and down to earth, and could be demonstrated by a myriad of examples. One day, when I was a reporter for his paper, he asked me if anyone had mentioned a particularly challenging editorial he had published the day before. Reluctantly, I said no. And then he declared, in that breezy and sincere way of his: "It doesn't matter. Always remember this—you are not entitled to any favorable comment about anything you write. Your responsibility ends when you have published it. Your sole duty is to be absolutely certain that you did your dead, level best when you wrote it."

In the more than 13 years that have passed since he left us, a great void has existed where he once stood, "thumbing his nose at the future, and throwing kisses at the past."

Among the rare newspaper geniuses that Kansas has produced was Edgar W. Howe, of the *Atchison Globe*. He was doubtless the best straight-away reporter that this state ever had, and he built up the prestige of his paper on the power of the personal item. He was also an able business man; in the period around 1912 when purse-proud editors were scarce, Mr. Howe was netting \$20,000 a year from his newspaper without a job printing office.

He retired from the paper in 1912, only to enhance his national reputation through the medium of *Howe's Monthly* and gain standing as the "Sage of Potato Hill." He wrote about a dozen books, *The Story of a Country Town* being a standout. But his fame mainly rests upon the thousands and thousands of short items which he wrote about folks and their foibles. Carl "Snort" Brown, who worked for the *Globe* for many years, once said that Howe was an unparalleled reporter because he "dug jokes, jests, useful information and cold facts, figures and fiction out of farmers, merchants, bankers, railroad men, preachers, peddlers, gamblers, hack drivers, janitors, doctors, dentists and blooming idiots. Mr. Howe, bless his gizzard, never acted like a journalist."

Hundreds of Howe's paragraphs are still going the rounds, and here are some that reflect the universality of them all:

"The Lord never intended that a father should hold a baby, or He would have given him a lap."

"When you say 'everybody says so,' it means that you say so."

Victor Murdock, the son of a famous sire—Marsh Murdock of the *Wichita Eagle*—was one of the most gallant figures of the past half century. Tall and of commanding presence, with a shock of bright red hair standing up like an oriflamme, enthusiastic, vocal,

he embodied a fascinating personality. The fighting strain ran strongly in his blood, and he satisfied its urge in many epic struggles as an insurgent congressman battling against the forces of entrenched conservatism.

His political and public career was long and vivid, but he was a true newspaper man all the way. He was an indefatigable worker, who possessed the rare art of combining alliterative words into short sentences. His flair for human interest stories developed as a young reporter was still with him years later when he became editor-in-chief.

He wrote with power—and he had what was probably the most extensive vocabulary among all his contemporaries. Once, disembarking from a streetcar in the middle of a busy Wichita street, he held a small knot of friends spellbound for several minutes—while traffic buzzed by—with his vivid description of a word he had just found in the *New York Times*. This deponent was in that group and confesses with shame that he has forgotten what that word was—but he can still see Murdock swinging away from the scene, slapping the paper against his leg, head up with the pride of discovery.

He not only accepted life greedily, but he took life by the nape of the neck and shook it, thus gaining more than his share of thrills perhaps. Mentally and spiritually, he bowed to no man in this generation.

Charles F. Scott, of the *Iola Register*, was described by a contemporary as being “one of the few living Kansans worthy to be called a gentleman.”

He engaged largely in public life, served as a Kansas congressman and ran unsuccessfully for higher office. But his newspaper life was always the ruling passion for this gracious man, who wrote effortlessly with a smooth, pleasing, persuasive style. After his death, a friend wrote:

“His literary style partook of the grace of his character. He wrote in repressed fashion—but every sentence was a block that fit into a pleasing, well-considered whole. A gleaning of the Scott editorials over five decades would make a volume to add to the classical literature of Kansas.”

Here are illustrative lines taken from an address he delivered on Kansas Day, 1892:

“Kansas does what she starts out to do. No weakness. No hesitation. No timorous shivering on the brink. No retreating. No

whining. No cowardice. What she undertakes she does. The road she starts on is the road she travels. She is never discouraged. She never sulks. She never gets rattled. Steadily, buoyantly, with the keenest intelligence, with courage that no disaster can daunt, she is climbing to the shining stars. And the world loves her!"

Charles F. Scott was a rare spirit—in his sanctum, on the streets, in a group of his friends, on the public forum, in the church pulpit where he ably presided on occasion, on the golf course—a man among men, and yet living zestfully in the charming sphere of his orderly mind's own making.

Henry J. Allen was a bouncy and ebullient sort. No setback stopped him for long. He possessed in high degree that intangible known as color; he was both loved and hated. When he first ran for governor, he carried every county in the state; when he ran for election as senator, an office to which he had been appointed, he was badly beaten—and particularly in his home precincts.

Mr. Allen's newspaper experiences were varied. He was a first-class reporter, a persuasive editor and a successful publisher. He tried his hand at several Kansas newspaper properties before he paid \$100,000 for the *Wichita Beacon* in 1905—an act that set the state by the ears. But he made that venture pay enormously. He was otherwise gifted. In a vocal age, his was a genuine silver tongue—"the greatest orator Kansas has produced since John J. Ingalls," many said. No major conclave over many years was complete without his golden voice lifted in eloquent stanzas.

He served as governor and senator, he was boomed for President and he came within an eye-lash of winning the Republican vice-presidential nomination in 1920. He kept ever busy at various endeavors, not neglecting the Allen interests, and maintained a wide personal popularity.

His flashing wit was famous. He and a friend were talking one day about a public figure. Said the friend, "I can't believe that man is honest." "Oh, yes," replied Henry comfortably, "he's honest all right, but he's not a fanatic about it."

At a campaign meeting at Olathe in 1932, the chairman introduced Allen, saying: "Not since Cornwallis's surrender at Yorktown has any man made such an impression on the U. S. senate as the junior senator from Kansas has achieved."

When Henry took the floor, he exclaimed: "Some may think our chairman too enthusiastic, but I enjoyed every word of his introduction. So far as I am concerned, he could have gone back before Cornwallis."

Arthur Capper was not noted as a writer or a speaker, but as a publisher and statesman he was immense. By dint of his strict Quaker honesty and his unfailing diligence, he built up a publishing empire at Topeka that ranked with the greatest in the Mid-West. Through his confidence-inspiring personal traits, as well as the power of his papers, he gained an enormous following all over Kansas—and wielded vast influence with the common folk for many years. As governor, and later during his long tenure as U. S. senator, he exercised a potent hand in public affairs—and never let his constituency down. A soft-spoken, shy, and plain man, he nevertheless held his own with the bull-voiced and assertive paladins who surrounded him.

No man in the newspaper field in Kansas in the past half century was held in greater respect than Charles Moreau Harger, of Abilene, who spent 68 years in editorial offices. He was a shrewd and talented man, achieving a multitude of accomplishments in newspaper making, in literary effort, Republican politics and the public service. He possessed a marked beauty of writing, and his style was terse and concise—for that's the way he thought.

He was the friend and confidante of many public men, including Dwight D. Eisenhower and several other Presidents. A year or two before his death, he was the recipient of the first annual award for journalistic merit by the William Allen White Foundation. In his modest acceptance of that award, he referred to his advanced age and said that life had led him on "into the 90's—a restricted area in which few persons ever enter." He died at age 92.

Among some of the enduring lines which he wrote were those of the "Kansas Creed"—to which every succeeding generation in Kansas now pays tribute—and beginning with the simple, stately words: "We believe in Kansas, in the glory of her prairies, in the richness of her soil, in the beauty of her skies, in the healthfulness of her climate."

Over at Parsons was a handsome, jut-jawed man—Clyde M. Reed—who might well have served Kipling for the model of his toast—"ere's to you Fuzzy-Wuzzy, with your 'ayrick 'ead of 'air"—a first-class fighting man. He didn't exactly go out looking for trouble but he found plenty of it round and about—and he never backed off one step from any battle. He had brains and the power of expression—and in many of his editorials he ruthlessly tore down the veils hiding private and public iniquity.

He was variously an ace in the postal service, a railroad tariff expert, governor, and U. S. senator, as well as an editor and pub-

lisher of parts. It was natural that such a man as he would make enemies, and he made some powerful ones. At the same time, however, he was also making friends—and these were bound to him with cables of steel. No more intriguing figure than Clyde Martin Reed embellished the Kansas newspaper family during the past half century.

George W. Marble, of the Fort Scott *Tribune-Monitor*, was a crusader who discerned and fiercely battled what he considered the evils of his time. He wrote scores of vigorous and slashing editorials, which were always on the liberal side of the fence in content, and held his torch high for the greater uplift of humanity. A Democrat by political faith, he published an independent newspaper; only once was he persuaded to run for office, and that was for the United States senate. When he lost, he eschewed political participation forever.

He was a sound business man whose hobby was cows; he persisted in his efforts for the upgrading of dairy cattle in Kansas to the point where one of the first milk condenseries in this section of the country was established in his home town. The career of this brilliant, fair-minded man who was highly esteemed by his newspaper associates was cut short when he died at age 59.

W. Y. Morgan, gay and bright-eyed Welshman, gained fame as publisher of the *Hutchinson News*. His forte was zest and charm; he made friends easily and kept them; his hands were always busy in a spate of affairs; his undersized figure threw a long shadow in his day.

He was a writer of parts and a shrewd and astute business man; his paper prospered and was respected. He held several state posts in which he served honorably, but when he essayed to become governor he suffered a painful defeat by Jonathan Davis.

The grace of "Billy" Morgan shone round about and illuminated the court of the titans.

Paul A. Jones was a full-fledged admiral of the Kansas navy—and the rampant red-head from Lyons. He constantly kept the Kansas pot boiling with his provocative editorials and barbed paragraphs. His *Lyons News*—normally a 4-page daily—was eagerly sought in every newspaper office in the state to see what new form of hypocrisy and sham he had attacked.

His salty observations left no lasting sting, for humor rode on all his words—humor and a lasting love for humanity which was returned tenfold. A frolicsome caballero and a Democrat, he served

as a sort of Daniel in a den of Republicans—but he lambasted the New Deal along with the severest Republican critics. He was a student of the Spanish influence in the Southwest United States—and wrote two fascinating books on the subject. When he died, now almost four years ago, a charm went out of the Kansas newspaper circle that has never been restored.

Harold T. Chase, while not a publisher, achieved a wide following as an editorial writer for the Topeka *Daily Capital* over many years of stewardship. W. A. White once estimated that if Chase's editorial writings were compiled, they would make the equivalent of 131 full-sized novels, or 196 books on current history, and economic, political, and social topics.

"His work was consistently honest, intelligent and courageous," praised White. Mr. Chase's contemporaries cordially accorded him high professional ranking—and the reputation he fairly won has carried his name into the Kansas Newspaper Hall of Fame.

"Comrade" J. M. Mickey, another warrior who was among the most pungent and powerful writers of his era, served the Leavenworth *Times* for many years—and lived past his 97th birthday. A relentless fighter, he was a fit editorial functionary for some of the rough times that surged about him—though he could also write with tenderness and compassion.

A contemporary has testified: "A polemic by nature in thought and action, he never approached a question by sap or mine or encirclement. For him the assault on any position which did not meet his approval was by direct attack from the front."

The procession of our titans grows long in passing. There was Jess C. Denious, of the Dodge City *Globe*, a mild but immensely substantial man who made a shining success with his newspaper as well as in the field of friendship. He might have won to almost any Kansas elective office, had he so desired, but was content to serve as state senator and lieutenant-governor. . . . And there was Jack Harrison, who for 15 years (from 1914 to his death in 1929) made the Beloit *Gazette* a forceful voice in Kansas. A friend characterized him after his death as the "best historian, the most classical scholar—and a constructive objector who asked no quarter and knew nothing of the meaning of fear."

At Coffeyville, the eminently wise and sensible Hugh J. Powell held forth with his *Journal* whose editorial page got down to the meat of every matter every day, and which prospered under the astute touch of its owner. . . . At Leavenworth, the son and

grandsons of Col. Daniel R. Anthony have carried on the fame and fortune of the *Times* even unto the fourth generation. . . . Here marches the square-toed and combative Harry L. Woods of the *Wellington News*; the industrious and always effective Roy F. Bailey of the *Salina Journal*; the able Gene Howe—chip off the old block—who forged his chief newspaper fame in Texas; the burly, bass-voiced and always lovable Carl “Snort” Brown, of the *Atchison Globe*; the solemn and plodding J. L. Bristow of Salina who became a U. S. senator; John Redmond, the busy and obliging publisher of the *Burlington Republican*, whose memory is still so green after his death four years ago that his name has been suggested for the new federal reservoir along the Neosho; John Mack, the Solid Muldoon of the *Newton Kansan* who might well be called the father of the modern highway system in this state; Will Townsley, of the *Great Bend Tribune*; Frank Motz, pepper pot of the *Hays News*; Charles S. Finch, of Lawrence; and J. L. Brady, both of Baldwin and Lawrence; Jackson T. “Doc” Moore, of the *Pittsburg papers*; Herb and Wilfrid Cavaness, Chanute; R. C. “Dick” Howard, of *Arkansas City*; W. G. Anderson, of the *Winfield Courier*.

Among those who are still adding hugely to the laurels of the profession are Fred W. Brinkerhoff, the old master of the spoken and printed word who exerts powerful influence on public opinion through the *Pittsburg Headlight* and *Sun*, and whose place in the king row of the titans is already firmly established; John P. “Jack” Harris and Dolph Simons, of the *Hutchinson News* and other Harris papers and of the *Lawrence Journal-World* respectively. Both of these last are exceptionally gifted, inasmuch as they possess business genius of a high order, and also can write like angels. Then there are such sparkling scions of famous fathers as Clyde M. Reed, Jr., at Parsons; Angelo C. Scott at Iola; Watson Marble at Fort Scott; J. C. Denious, Jr., at Dodge City, as well as Henry Jameson who is performing with distinction at Abilene.

The steadily moving titans embody among their number a group of those who, with thorough understanding and regard of the newspaper function, have also exercised the Midas touch. Among these may be mentioned Frank P. MacLennan of the *Topeka State Journal*, Oscar S. Stauffer, who heads an imposing assembly of newspaper properties and who has scored one of the signal successes of his generation; Fay N. Seaton, of Manhattan, who founded the Seaton newspaper dynasty; W. C. Simons, of Lawrence; Marcellus M. Murdock, of the *Wichita Eagle*; and the Levands—Max and Louis and John, of the *Wichita Beacon*.

No review would be complete without inclusion of Walt Mason, fat poet of the Emporia *Gazette*, who was also an editorial writer of vigor and skill, who read the dictionary through on occasion to enrich his already massive vocabulary, and who lived by the motto hung over his desk, "Cheer Up; there ain't no other hell"; of Laura M. French, who ripped to shreds the copy of shrinking cub reporters and eventually made of them fitting graduates of the William Allen White "school of journalism"; or of Brock Pemberton, who had worlds of newspaper talent but left a lasting name in the field of drama.

Topeka has contributed a vast number of capable and illustrious men to the newspaper ranks. Among these, whose names spring instantly to mind, are Arthur J. Carruth II, T. A. McNeal, A. L. "Dutch" Shultz, Jay E. House, Charles Sessions, J. Frank Jarrell, Henry S. Blake, Charles Trapp, Jay B. Iden, Walter A. Johnson, W. R. Smith, Oscar K. Swayze, Harvey G. Parsons, E. B. Chapman, Clif Stratton, Milt Tabor.

Wichita has been distinguished by such worthies as Dave Leahy, Farmer Doolittle, J. Burt Doze, Charles Driscoll, Elmer T. Peterson, Sid Coleman, Bliss Isely, Hank Givens, Paul I. Wellman, Josh Wilson, Lester F. Kimmel, Dick Long.

Then, there was that trio—the salty Fred Trigg, the affable Lacy Haynes and the industrious Alvin McCoy, a Pulitzer prize winner—all of the Kansas City *Star*, which has been a staunch friend to the entire Kansas newspaper family.

Women have also played a most helpful role in attainment of the high standards that the Kansas press has gained over past years. This record would be remiss without mentioning, at least, a few of the many whose contributions have been of marked value.

One thinks of the sprightly Nellie Webb, of the Atchison *Globe*; of Marion Ellet, the talented sweet-singer of Concordia, whose spiritual-like description of Kansas wheat fields "a-moverin', a-moverin', a-moverin'" under the wind's light feet, as well as many other of her charming and sentimental word pictures have thrilled her readers; Anne Searcy, of Leavenworth; Anna Carlson, of Lindsborg; Mrs. Cora G. Lewis, of Kinsley; Mrs. Zula Bennington Greene, Topeka, the "Peggy of the Flint Hills"; Bertha Shore, Augusta, the blithe and uninhibited spirit of the Walnut Valley; Jessie P. Stratford, of El Dorado; Mrs. Mamie Boyd, of Mankato and Phillipsburg, ageless and tireless worker in the vineyard—and scores of others.

Thus far in our accounting of the sterling figures who made a glory and an epic of the Kansas press in a fabulous 50 years, we have been mostly concerned with those who were affiliated with daily publications. But the weeklies, too, had their stars—men of devotion, of energy and of perception—and the array of them swirls as one of the brightest galaxies in the Kansas newspaper firmament.

At least a dozen of these have won to lasting distinction by inclusion in the Kansas Newspaper Hall of Fame, which was started 26 years ago. Their designation in that select company eloquently attests to the respect in which they were held in their lifetimes and afterwards, as well as to the enduring marks they left upon their time.

We think first of one of them who is still, most fortunately, with us and still in the newspaper harness—Will T. Beck, the grand gentleman of the *Holton Recorder*, who was the second recipient of the William Allen White Foundation award for journalistic merit.

Closely following comes Gomer T. Davies, the vocal and brilliant Welshman who caused his beloved *Concordia Kansan* to move like an army with banners. Gomer, who lived well into his 90's, had lost half of one leg in a mining accident in Wales in his youth, and ever thereafter wore an artificial peg. He was the object of much affectionate spoofing by his fellow scribes, who always sent the same paragraph on its rounds of the papers about February of each year to the effect that an early spring was in prospect because the sap was beginning to run in Gomer's wooden leg.

Then, there was Tom E. Thompson, the Polk Daniels of the *Howard Courant*—and his Sophie and Pip Daniels, who made merry with their neighbors in every issue of their sparkling paper; and

E. E. Kelly, long of Toronto, later of Garden City, a schoolmaster turned editor, whose wit scintillated like a rapier in play;

Leslie E. Wallace, the modest publisher of Larned's *Tiller and Toiler*, who possessed in superlative degree the true touch of the born newspaper man;

O. W. Little, of Alma, whose *Enterprise* blasted with blizzard-like fury when any of his newspaper friends referred to a blizzard as a blizzard, who was the Kansas Press association's first secretary, and who was beloved by all;

W. E. Blackburn, a serious and determined type whose "October in Kansas" still ranks with the best of any Kansas prose;

W. C. Austin, courtly pilot of the *Chase County Leader*, who afterwards served long and faithfully as state printer;

J. M. Satterthwaite, the saintly "Neighbor Joe" of the *Douglass Tribune*—editor, state legislator, and churchman, who published papers in El Dorado and Douglass for 70 years and was near 95 when he died;

A. Q. Miller, the keen and enterprising Kansan who built his *Belleville Telescope* into one of the finest weeklies to be found anywhere on the continent;

Frank Boyd, staunch and steadfast in his ways, whose papers at Mankato and Phillipsburg gave him state-wide standing;

B. J. Sheridan and W. D. "Billy" Greason, rivals whose papers at Paola were models of weekly publication;

Seth Wells, the red necktie man from Erie, whose hustle and diligence was a parable in its time;

Frank Henry Roberts, of the *Oskaloosa Independent*, who had the oldest paper owned by one family in Kansas, who also lived into the tenth decade of his life, who testified that he always had fun, and that he "just stood still while the years rolled by."

Asa F. Converse, soft-spoken and admired editor of the *Wells-ville Globe*; W. C. Markham, the scholarly helmsman of the *Baldwin Ledger*; H. J. Cornwell, the solid man who owned and operated the *St. John News* for 44 years; the friendly Lew Valentine of Clay Center; George C. Adriance, of Sabetha; Ed Eaton, of the *Gardner Gazette*, much cherished all his days; Homer Hoch, of Marion, congressman and justice of the supreme court who wrote a Lincoln classic; Col. Charles H. Browne, of Horton; Ben Mickel, of the *Soldier Clipper*; Frank P. Frost, of the *Eskridge Independent*; J. E. Junkin, of the *Sterling Bulletin*; W. W. Graves, of the *St. Paul Journal*; Ewing Herbert, of the *Brown County World* at Hiawatha; Clark Conkling, of Lyons; Austin V. Butcher, of the *Altoona Tribune*, who rollicked through life with his pals, "Mace Liverwurst," and "Kate Bender," the nudist queen; H. E. Brighton, of the *Longton News*; W. F. Hill of the *Westmoreland Recorder*; George Harman, of Valley Falls; Drew McLaughlin, of Paola; Earl Fickertt, of Peabody; W. E. Payton, of Colony—

One might go on and on. Perhaps your chronicler may have overlooked some who justly deserve a place in this accounting—yet whether they are specifically named or not, the records of them all, great and small, have been woven inextricably into the fabric that is Kansas.

And so this "phantom caravan" has flowed along before us today—a wondrous cavalcade of knightly spirits who left an indelible imprint upon the state which they cherished. Their return from out the mists and shadows—if only for a fleeting instant—assuredly brings back to us, in some degree, a perception of the discouragements and delights, the failures and the fortune, the trials and the triumphs that fell to their lot.

These men and these women were the recorders and the interpreters of the swiftly-changing and kaleidoscopic scene in their span. They not only set down, in buoyant, yet meticulous, fashion the narrative of the history in the making about them—but they also helped to make that history.

Their state was moving toward the stars—and they moved with it—always in the van and even out ahead on occasion. They were dreamers and prophets and seers and missionaries and crusaders, but always doers—and while their heads may have been above the rose-tinted clouds at times, their feet were ever planted upon the solidity of Old Mother Earth.

These were they who, by the labor of their hands and the valor of their hearts, brought to pass in Kansas during the first half of the 20th century what well may be called a Golden Era of Journalism.

The first five decades of this century have constituted a prodigious period—the crucible of cataclysmic events and vast overturns in the mode and manner of the world. It has presented challenges to daunt the wisest and the bravest—but these men and women of the Kansas newspapers have met them all with such valiance and such sagacity that today the good name of their product is glowing at its highest point in public estimation.

For their deeds and their achievements we can freely offer the highest praise. For the lasting nature of what they have wrought, we can entertain the highest hope. Already the institutions they founded and the standards they set are undergoing subtle transformation. Already—with the second half of the 20th century winging on its way—newspapers are responding with altered format, content and methods—though unchanged in their basic character of trustworthiness—to the thrust of modern forces about them.

The sons of many eminent editorial sires have taken over the reins—bright, alert, confident young men of the modern persuasion—and others like them are entering the field. These are now

engaged in pushing the service of their newspapers into countless virgin areas. They hold within themselves, and by the inestimable aid of newly-devised facilities, the power to generate from their mediums such all-embracing usefulness as their fathers never conceived.

Thus, the Golden Era of the immediate past will make way for another golden age in Kansas newspaper circles—and, after that, still others. But we who stand upon the tongue of time dividing these periods, may look back with affectionate gratitude upon these titans of bygone days who enhanced journalistic endeavor here by their mighty works—and accord to them a never-ending tranquility in the “summer isles of Eden lying in dark-purple spheres of sea.”

Following the president's address, another group of folk songs was presented by Professor and Mrs. Koch.

Ray H. Mattison, historian, Region Two, National Park Service, then addressed the meeting.

THE CRITERIA BY WHICH THE NATIONAL PARK SERVICE EVALUATES HISTORIC SITES

RAY H. MATTISON

DURING the past quarter of a century the interest in history of our country has been greater than ever before. This new consciousness of the nation's past has been reflected in many ways. For example, the new historical magazine *The American Heritage* with which you are all familiar has proved very popular. Visitation to the nation's historic shrines is exceeding all previous records. The American Association for State and Local History has stimulated great interest in history on both the state and local levels. Specialized groups, such as the various Civil War roundtables, have sprung up in many of the cities throughout the country. Various corrals of Westerners, which comprise people interested in Western history, have likewise been organized in many American cities and even in some foreign countries. Most of these have come into existence since World War II.

The nation has also shown an increased interest in preserving its historic sites and buildings. These are an important body of source materials for reconstructing, understanding, and appreciating our country's past. A noted observer once appropriately wrote: “Poor is the country that boasts no heroes . . . but beggard is that people, who having them, forget.” We recognize more and

more that historic sites and buildings are a national asset. They recall to us the most cherished of our national traditions such as pioneer courage, as are typified by such leaders as Washington, Jefferson, and Lincoln.

The first of our national historical areas were established in the 1890's. These included a number of Civil War battlefields, such as Chickamauga-Chattanooga National Military Park, Shiloh National Military Park, Gettysburg and Vicksburg National Military Parks. Other national military parks, battlefield sites, national parks, memorials, national monuments, and cemeteries which totaled in all some 40 areas, were subsequently authorized and placed under the War Department jurisdiction. These were transferred to the National Park Service in 1933.

In 1906 congress authorized the President, through the antiquities act, to establish by proclamation national monuments on lands owned or controlled by the federal government, provided the areas in question possessed historic landmarks, historic and prehistoric structures, or other objects of scientific interest. Among the places saved under this act were the Tumacacori Mission, in southern Arizona, Inscription Rock and Gran Quivira in New Mexico, Scotts Bluff in Nebraska, and Castillo de San Marcos in Florida.

Other areas were established by congressional action. Among the better known of these were Abraham Lincoln National Historical Park, Kings Mountain National Military Park, Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania County Battlefields National Military Park, and Colonial National Military Parks. At the present time, the Park Service has 82 federally-owned historical areas under its jurisdiction.

Prior to 1935 the only way a historical area could become a part of the National Park System was (1) by Presidential proclamation, in case the historic site or building was on federal lands, and (2) by a special act of congress.

In 1935 congress, by the national historic sites act, set up new machinery by which the federal government could take the initiative in selecting historic sites and buildings and objects of national significance for preservation by the federal government. It authorized the Secretary of Interior, through the National Park Service, to plan and execute a program for the survey, acquisition, development and operation of historic and archeological sites of exceptional value for commemorating and illustrating the history of the United States.

Congress in the following year established a code of procedure to carry out the provisions of this act. This code directed the Na-

tional Park Service to study and investigate historic and prehistoric sites and buildings throughout the United States, and to list, describe, tabulate and evaluate such sites for the purpose of developing a long-range plan for their acquisition, preservation and use. The National Park Service during the late 1930's began such a study, known as the National Historic Sites and Buildings Survey. Before the survey was completed, World War II brought it temporarily to an end. In 1936 also, the Secretary of Interior established an advisory board on national parks, historic sites, buildings, and monuments comprising 11 persons, including nationally recognized authorities in the field of history, archeology, architecture, etc., to advise the National Park Service in the conduct of the historic sites survey and other National Park Service matters. This board meets about three times a year in key cities of the United States.

In classifying historic sites, the advisory board has grouped the history of the United States into 16 different themes, listed below:

- I. Spanish Exploration and Settlement.
- II. French Exploration and Settlement.
- III. Dutch and Swedish Colonial Settlements.
- IV. English Colonization to 1700.
- V. Development of the English Colonies, 1700-1775.
- VI. The War for American Independence.
- VII. Political and Military Affairs, 1783-1830.
- VIII. The Advance of the Frontier to 1830.
- IX. Political and Military Affairs, 1830-1865.
- X. The War Between the States, 1861-1865.
- XI. Westward Expansion and the Extension of National Boundaries, 1830-1898.
- XII. Commerce, Industry, and Agriculture to Within Fifty Years.
- XIII. Travel and Communication.
- XIV. Development and Conservation of National Resources to Within Fifty Years.
- XV. The Arts and Sciences to Within Fifty Years.
- XVI. The United States as a World Power, 1898—.

Most of the historic sites in Kansas would probably fall in Theme XI. This would likewise be true of most of the historic sites in Nebraska, Colorado and the Dakotas.

To determine if a historical or an archeological area should become a part of the National Park System, the Service has set up criteria for selecting sites.

The determining factor in the preservation of a historic area by the national government is that it must possess certain matchless and unique qualities which entitle it to a position of first rank among historic sites. The quality of outstanding national significance or uniqueness exists:

(1) In such sites as are naturally the points or bases from which the broad aspects of prehistoric and historic American life can best be presented, and from which the student of the history of the United States can sketch the large patterns of the American story. An example of an area of this type is Jefferson National Expansion Memorial in St. Louis. As you know, St. Louis was a focal point in the Westward movement. It was the point from which many of the exploring expeditions, such as Lewis and Clark, Zebulon Pike, the Astorians, and Stephen H. Long, set out. It was the center of the fur trade for the trans-Mississippi West. The city also played an important role in the overland migration over the Santa Fe and Oregon trails and the later military operations on the Missouri river.

(2) An area is considered to have outstanding significance and uniqueness if it is associated with the life of some great American and which may not necessarily have any outstanding quality other than that of association. An example of an area of this type is the birthplace of George Washington Carver, famous Negro scientist, at Diamond, Mo.

(3) A site also is considered to possess outstanding significance if it is associated with some sudden or dramatic incident in American history, which is unique and symbolic of some great idea or ideal for the American people. The Perry Victory and International Peace Memorial, in Ohio, which commemorates Perry's naval victory during the War of 1812 and a century of peace between the United States and England is an area in this category.

One might wonder why Mount Vernon, the home of George Washington, and Monticello, the home of Thomas Jefferson, are not national areas. I am sure that both would qualify. However, both these national shrines are being adequately preserved and interpreted by other agencies than the national government. Whenever a historic site or building is being satisfactorily preserved by a state or local, or quasi-public agency, the National Park Service gives every encouragement possible and in some instances provides technical assistance to those organizations to continue their good work.

Unfortunately all sections of the country have not contributed equally to the history of our nation. As a result, some states have a number of national historical areas; others have none. Virginia, for example, has eight national historical areas.

The National Park Service also endeavors to maintain a logical balance between the various historical themes so that a well-rounded pageant of America may be presented and undue emphasis not be placed on one particular epoch in American history. Some claim the Service has too many Civil War battlefields. There are 24 of these in the Park Service. This is largely the result of the fact that many of these areas were established many years ago and they have since been transferred to the National Park System. Some themes, such as "French Exploration and Settlement" are not adequately represented. Others are not represented whatever.

Integrity of a site or building is likewise an important factor in designating a national area. If a historic building has undergone considerable architectural changes or has been moved from its original setting, it will not be given as great a consideration as one which has undergone few alterations or is in its original location.

However, consideration in the selection of sites for national designation must be given to practical as well as theoretical grounds. Unfortunately many historic sites and buildings are located in the heart of big cities. For example, it would be impossible to give the atmosphere of an early 19th century trading post in the heart of modern Kansas City. Abstract themes such as our cultural advancement are impossible to interpret in terms of historic sites. These are only a few of the more practical aspects in selecting a national area.

In the MISSION 66 program, the National Park Service is preparing a comprehensive National Park System Plan which will point out areas needed to round out the System, and also to identify areas now in the Service which might be appropriately administered by other agencies. To implement this program in the field of history, congress has voted funds to renew the National Historic Sites and Buildings Survey which the Park Service began in the late 1930's and was brought to an end during World War II. We believe that four years will be required to complete this work. Under this program, it will be the job of the Region Two Office, National Park Service, to inventory and evaluate the principal historic sites in ten states: Montana, Wyoming, Colorado, North and South Dakota, Nebraska, Kansas, Minnesota, Iowa, and Missouri. The sur-

vey of the Old Santa Fe trail in Missouri, Kansas, and Colorado, is a project of first priority.

I might add that in the past several years many of us in the National Park Service have had occasion to visit a number of the historic sites which are being administered by the Kansas State Historical Society. The Society is to be congratulated for the excellent work it is doing in preserving the areas which it administers and getting the maximum benefits for the funds it expends in this direction.

Following Mr. Mattison's address the report of the committee on nominations for directors was then called for and was read by Will T. Beck:

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON NOMINATIONS FOR DIRECTORS

October 11, 1957.

To the Kansas State Historical Society:

Your committee on nominations submits the following report and recommendations for directors of the Society for the term of three years ending in October, 1960:

Bailey, Roy F., Salina.
 Baughman, Robert W., Liberal.
 Beezley, George F., Girard.
 Beougher, Edward M., Grinnell.
 Bowlus, Thomas H., Iola.
 Brinkerhoff, Fred W., Pittsburg.
 Brodrick, Lynn R., Marysville.
 Cron, F. H., El Dorado.
 Docking, George, Lawrence.
 Ebright, Homer K., Baldwin.
 Farrell, F. D., Manhattan.
 Hall, Fred, Topeka.
 Hamilton, R. L., Beloit.
 Harvey, Mrs. A. M., Topeka.
 Haucke, Frank, Council Grove.
 Hodges, Frank, Olathe.
 Lingensfelder, Angelus, Atchison.

Long, Richard M., Wichita.
 McArthur, Mrs. Vernon E.,
 Hutchinson.
 McCain, James A., Manhattan.
 McFarland, Helen M., Topeka.
 McGrew, Mrs. Wm. E., Kansas City.
 Malone, James, Gem.
 Mechem, Kirke, Lindsborg.
 Mueller, Harrie S., Wichita.
 Murphy, Franklin D., Lawrence.
 Rogler, Wayne, Matfield Green.
 Ruppenthal, J. C., Russell.
 Simons, Dolph, Lawrence.
 Slagg, Mrs. C. M., Manhattan.
 Templar, George, Arkansas City.
 Townsley, Will, Great Bend.
 Woodring, Harry H., Topeka.

Respectfully submitted,

WILL T. BECK, *Chairman*,
 CHARLES M. CORRELL,
 JOHN S. DAWSON,
 FRANK HAUCKE,
 T. M. LILLARD.

Will T. Beck moved that the report be adopted. Motion was seconded by Wilford Riegle and the report was accepted. Members

of the board for the term ending in October, 1960, were declared elected.

Reports of local societies were called for and given as follows: Lucile Larsen for the Shawnee Mission Indian Historical Society; Mrs. Clyde E. Glandon for the Wyandotte County Historical Society; and Mrs. C. M. Slagg for the Riley County Historical Society.

There being no further business, the annual meeting of the Society adjourned. Many of the members and guests then attended an "open house" at the Memorial building where refreshments were served.

MEETING OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS

The afternoon meeting of the board of directors was called to order by President Clymer. He called for a rereading of the report of the nominating committee for officers of the Society. This was read by Will T. Beck who moved that it be accepted. Lloyd Chambers seconded the motion and the board voted to adopt the report. The following were elected:

For a one-year term: Alan W. Farley, Kansas City, president; Richard M. Long, Wichita, first vice-president; and E. R. Sloan, Topeka, second vice-president.

For a two-year term: Nyle H. Miller, Topeka, secretary.

After the introduction of new officers, the meeting adjourned.

DIRECTORS OF THE KANSAS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY AS OF OCTOBER, 1957

DIRECTORS FOR THE YEAR ENDING OCTOBER, 1958

Barr, Frank, Wichita.
Berryman, Jerome C., Ashland.
Brigham, Mrs. Lalla M., Pratt.
Brock, R. F., Goodland.
Charlson, Sam C., Manhattan.
Correll, Charles M., Manhattan.
Davis, W. W., Lawrence.
Denious, Jess C., Jr., Dodge City.
Godsey, Mrs. Flora R., Emporia.
Hall, Standish, Wichita.
Hegler, Ben F., Wichita.
Jones, Horace, Lyons.
Kampschroeder, Mrs. Jean Norris,
Garden City.
Kaul, Robert H., Wamego.
Lillard, T. M., Topeka.
Lindquist, Emory K., Wichita.

Maranville, Lea, Ness City.
Means, Hugh, Lawrence.
Owen, Arthur K., Topeka.
Owen, Mrs. E. M., Lawrence.
Payne, Mrs. L. F., Manhattan.
Richards, Walter M., Emporia.
Riegle, Wilford, Emporia.
Robbins, Richard W., Pratt.
Rupp, Mrs. Jane C., Lincolnville.
Scott, Angelo, Iola.
Sloan, E. R., Topeka.
Smelser, Mary M., Lawrence.
Stewart, Mrs. James G., Topeka.
Taylor, James E., Sharon Springs.
Van De Mark, M. V. B., Concordia.
Wark, George H., Caney.
Williams, Charles A., Bentley.

DIRECTORS FOR THE YEAR ENDING OCTOBER, 1959

Aitchison, R. T., Wichita.
 Anderson, George L., Lawrence.
 Anthony, D. R., Leavenworth.
 Baugher, Charles A., Ellis.
 Beck, Will T., Holton.
 Chambers, Lloyd, Clearwater.
 Chandler, C. J., Wichita.
 Clymer, Rolla, El Dorado.
 Cochran, Elizabeth, Pittsburg.
 Cotton, Corlett J., Lawrence.
 Dawson, John S., Topeka.
 Eckdall, Frank F., Emporia.
 Euwer, Elmer E., Goodland.
 Farley, Alan W., Kansas City.
 Knapp, Dallas W., Coffeyville.
 Lilleston, W. F., Wichita.
 Lose, Harry F., Topeka.

Malin, James C., Lawrence.
 Mayhew, Mrs. Patricia Solander,
 Topeka.
 Menninger, Karl, Topeka.
 Miller, Karl, Dodge City.
 Moore, Russell, Wichita.
 Motz, Frank, Hays.
 Rankin, Charles C., Lawrence.
 Raynesford, H. C., Ellis.
 Reed, Clyde M., Jr., Parsons.
 Rodkey, Clyde K., Manhattan.
 Shaw, Joseph C., Topeka.
 Somers, John G., Newton.
 Stewart, Donald, Independence.
 Thomas, E. A., Topeka.
 von der Heiden, Mrs. W. H., Newton.
 Walker, Mrs. Ida M., Norton.

DIRECTORS FOR THE YEAR ENDING OCTOBER, 1960

Bailey, Roy F., Salina.
 Baughman, Robert W., Liberal.
 Beezley, George F., Girard.
 Beougher, Edward M., Grinnell.
 Bowlus, Thomas H., Iola.
 Brinkerhoff, Fred W., Pittsburg.
 Brodrick, Lynn R., Marysville.
 Cron, F. H., El Dorado.
 Docking, George, Lawrence.
 Ebright, Homer K., Baldwin.
 Farrell, F. D., Manhattan.
 Hall, Fred, Topeka.
 Hamilton, R. L., Beloit.
 Harvey, Mrs. A. M., Topeka.
 Hauke, Frank, Council Grove.
 Hodges, Frank, Olathe.

Lingenfelser, Angelus, Atchison.
 Long, Richard M., Wichita.
 McArthur, Mrs. Vernon E., Hutchinson.
 McCain, James A., Manhattan.
 McFarland, Helen M., Topeka.
 McGrew, Mrs. Wm. E., Kansas City.
 Malone, James, Gem.
 Mechem, Kirke, Lindsborg.
 Mueller, Harrie S., Wichita.
 Murphy, Franklin D., Lawrence.
 Rogler, Wayne, Matfield Green.
 Ruppenthal, J. C., Russell.
 Simons, Dolph, Lawrence.
 Slagg, Mrs. C. M., Manhattan.
 Templar, George, Arkansas City.
 Townsley, Will, Great Bend.

Woodring, Harry H., Topeka.

Bypaths of Kansas History

SOMETHING ELSE TO BLAME ON THE KANSAS BALKANS

From *The Kansas Weekly Herald*, Leavenworth, April 17, 1858.

A society of Free Lovers has been organized on the Neosho, in the Southern part of Kansas. It now comprises forty members, and active exertions are being made to extend the influence and numbers of the association. They all take the *New York Tribune*, and of course are in for *Freedom*.

BUFFALO WITHIN THIRTY MILES OF JUNCTION CITY

From the *Junction City Statesman*, October 13, 1860.

BUFFALO HUNTING.—This sport is becoming quite popular. Everybody and all their relations are indulging. Men and women, married and single, take to it like a duck to water, or a hog to a mud-hole. Junction is nearly depopulated and has been all the fall, caused by this unprecedented rush to see the "monarch of the prairies." There's no one seriously injured yet, but we have some hopes that the news of a fatal accident will reach us by the next express—we mean, of course, fatal to the buffalo. They are grazing now within thirty miles of Junction—just one-half day's ride. All who wish to get a glimpse had better go now. We shall start in the morning on bull back! Who wants to ride behind?

NO SUNDAY BUSINESS IN MARYSVILLE

From *The Big Blue Union*, Marysville, June 11, 1864.

We hear it whispered around that one of our merchants broke the solemn pledge, last Sabbath, entered into a few weeks ago, to do no business on Sunday. We hope it is a mistake, and that the rumor is unfounded. The day was quiet here in town, the stores were closed, business suspended, and it really seemed like Sabbath, and as though we were becoming civilized. Let it continue.

BEFORE THE ERA OF COFFEE BREAKS

From *The Kansas Daily Commonwealth*, Topeka, March 26, 1872.

Paola can boast of a man—a doctor,—strange to say, who does not swear, drink, smoke nor chew; and, better still, he hasn't drank a cup of coffee for thirty-five years!

A SHORT MARRIAGE

From the *Washington Republican*, August 2, 1872.

LIFE IN KANSAS! . . . CHAPTER IST.—SHORT COURTSHIP.

Last week, not a hundred miles from Washington, out on the broad prairie, and under the canopy of Heaven, two souls met and pledged heart and hand to love, cherish and obey each other through the remaining days of their lives. Heaven seemed to smile on the would-be happy couple, and they resolved to have their desires consummated. An ox team at their command, and the two, wishing to be one, vended their way to Washington. It was a happy journey. The trees even seem to bow their branches in congratulations as the oxen passed, and flowers by the roadside looked more beautiful than ever before. Washington loomed up in the distance, and after a due course of time, the oxen were stopped at the public square. After a new hat was purchased from our friend Williams for the intended husband, by the owner of the ox team, everything seemed then to be ready.

CHAPTER II^D.—THE MARRIAGE.

Hon. Judge Wilson was never more sought for than on this occasion. A happy group assembled at the Court House. The bride and groom entered—Judge Wilson officiating. The ceremony was said. The knot was tied.—Two souls were made one. Congratulations and kisses were given. The wedded pair seemed to have a bright future in store for them.

CHAPTER III^D.—WEDDED LIFE.

"The world is not what it seems."—The happy pair bent their way to the ox cart. A start homeward was made. The husband not being a good ox driver, received angry words from the wife. Storms began to cross their pathway. Oxen received some fearful blows, and all looked dark. Storms and darkness set in around them.

CHAPTER IVTH.—A SAD PARTING.

"Dark clouds sometimes have a silver lining." Not any of this in the case of our hero and heroine. Home was reached. Blows and angry words came in where connubial bliss should have ruled supreme. The wife declared her husband was one of the poorest ox drivers in Kansas, and threatened to dissolve her allegiance to him forthwith. The husband possessed other qualities quite essential, yet she heeded them not. The farewell was uttered. The golden link of wedlock snapped asunder. With tearful eyes the husband saw the new made wife of the hour depart. He cast a last glance on the oxen and his departed, as they receded toward the setting sun. The new-made wife now is open to another engagement, but the husband of the hour, has fairly resolved never, *never* to marry a woman with a pair of horn cattle.

HE SHOULD KNOW THE WHITE MEN TODAY

From the *Ellis County Star*, Hays City, July 6, 1876.

Running Antelope, a Sioux chief, says that when he learned that the white men had killed their Saviour, he was astonished, but he changed his mind when he got better acquainted with them.

Kansas History as Published in the Press

Publication of a 60-page Indian Peace Treaty special edition by *The Barber County Index*, Medicine Lodge, October 3, 1957, marked the approach of the seventh performance of the Indian Peace Treaty pageant and a three-day celebration at Medicine Lodge, October 11-13. Among the historical articles in the edition were: "Forrest City Tells Sad Story of Birth and Death of Many Towns," "Battling Carrie's [Nation] First Raid," "Famous Men of Frontier Here for Treaty Meeting," "Suspicious Indians, and Wary Whites Gathered Here to Complete Peace," and "Work to Set Treaty Terms."

Stories of pioneer life, by Orvoe Swartz, Oklahoma City, have been published in recent issues of the *Bushton News*, beginning August 22, 1957. Swartz was born on a Kansas homestead in 1878.

Late in 1907 the Everest Christian church was organized, according to a history of the church, compiled by Lena Holley, in the *Everest Enterprise*, October 3, 1957.

Biographical sketches of the 11 presidents of Kansas State Teachers College, Emporia, began appearing in Orville Watson Mosher's column, "Museum Notes," in the *Emporia Gazette*, October 5, 1957. Lyman B. Kellogg was the school's first president.

Items of Doniphan county history were printed in the *Highland Vidette*, October 10, 1957, and on October 31 the *Vidette* published historical notes on the Highland Presbyterian mission and Highland College.

A history of the pony express entitled "Rugged Riders Fathered Southwest Mail Service," by Beatrice Levin, was published in the *Wichita Eagle*, October 13, 1957. The *Eagle* also printed "Kansans Revive Pre-Civil War History," by Lynne Holt, the story of Fort Scott's campaign to preserve buildings and relics of old Fort Scott, November 10; and "Adventure, Peril Marked Santa Fe Trail," by Philip S. Edwards, January 19, 1958.

Heinie Schmidt's column, "It's Worth Repeating," continues to appear regularly in the *High Plains Journal*, Dodge City. Included in recent months were: A biographical sketch of Richard L. Hall, Minneola pioneer, October 17, 1957; the story of the longhorns along the Dodge City-Ogallala trail, by Mrs. Cora Wood, October

24; a biographical sketch of Benjamin L. Stotts, November 14; a biographical sketch of Hercules Juneau, November 21 and 28; "Homesteader's [Zacariah F. Hodson] Life Recalls 1874 Grasshopper Plague," December 5; and "Christmas in 1884," December 26.

Mrs. Ruth Jackson is the compiler of a Wallace county history which began appearing in *The Western Times*, Sharon Springs, October 24, 1957.

An 88-page "Abilene Has It" edition of the *Abilene Reflector-Chronicle* was issued October 30, 1957. Several articles reviewed phases of Abilene history and one summarized the history of the community of Holland.

"Built in 1870's, Monrovia School House Still Serves," is the title of a short article by Charles Spencer in the *Atchison Daily Globe*, October 30, 1957, giving the history of the Atchison county school. On January 19, 1958, the *Globe* printed a history of Highland College, founded in 1858.

Historical articles in recent issues of the *Butler County News*, El Dorado, included: a biographical sketch of Ella Shriver Otten, Towanda artist, October 31, 1957; "Life in Oil Fields," a history of the Midian community, by Mrs. Cyril L. Green, November 14 and 21; and sketches of the Dr. L. A. Harper and Jedediah Hull families, December 26.

A history of the Cedar Vale Methodist church was published in the *Cedar Vale Messenger*, October 31, November 7, 14, and 21, 1957. The church had its beginning in 1871 as the Greenfield circuit.

The church history of the Mt. Pleasant community, Dickinson county, by Mrs. Frank Entriiken, was printed in the *Hope Dispatch*, October 31, 1957. At least five congregations have been active in this area, first of which were the Fairview Methodist and Presbyterian churches.

Garnett's First Christian church was organized in the autumn of 1857 by John Ramsey in the Cornelius Anderson home, a history of the church in the *Garnett Review*, November 4, 1957, reports. Sam McDaniel was the first pastor.

In observance of the 90th anniversary of the founding of the Ottawa United Presbyterian church, the *Ottawa Herald* printed a brief history of the church November 7, 1957.

Horton's First Baptist church was organized November 16, 1887, it is related in a history of the church printed in the *Horton Headlight*, November 14, 1957. The Rev. W. A. Biggart was the first pastor.

Articles of historical interest appearing in the *Hutchinson News* in recent months included: a description of the private museum established and maintained by Mr. and Mrs. Merle Young of Pretty Prairie, by Ted Blankenship, November 10, 1957; "Pretty Prairie Founded by Widow [Mary Newman Collingwood], Mother of Nine," by Blankenship, November 24; the reminiscences of S. F. Miller, November 28; and "Early Day Disasters Plagued Ellsworth's Survival," by Ruby Basye, December 15.

Emporia's First Congregational church observed its centennial November 24, 1957, and histories of the church appeared in Emporia newspapers: the daily *Gazette*, November 18; *Weekly Gazette*, November 21; and *Times*, November 28. Other historical articles in the daily *Gazette* recently included: a history of the First Christian church of Emporia, September 28, 1957; the recollections of J. W. Bolton concerning Twin Mound school, October 18; a history of the Emporia First Presbyterian church, November 7; a series of articles based on reports made from Emporia during 1857-1858 by the Rev. Grosvenor C. Morse to the American Home Missionary Society, December 4, 5, 6; and the reminiscences of C. L. Soule in regard to the opening of the Cherokee Strip, January 21, 1958.

Historical articles in recent issues of the *Independence Daily Reporter* included: "Cholera Epidemic in 19th Century Spread Much Like Asian Influenza," by Lily B. Rozar, November 18, 1957; a history of the Independence public library, November 24; the story of a battle between Indians and Confederate officers near Independence in 1863, by Lily B. Rozar, December 15; and a history of the Elk City Methodist church, January 26, 1958.

"A Chapter of Rawlins County History," by Alfaretta Courtright, was published in *The Citizen-Patriot*, Atwood, November 21, 1957. Many early families, businesses, and schools are mentioned.

Some of the early history of Neosho Falls, by Mrs. Belle Mefford, was published in the *Iola Register*, November 27, 1957. The first settlers arrived in the area in the spring of 1857.

A history of Arcadia, by G. W. Corporon, was published in two installments in the *Fort Scott Weekly Tribune*, November 28 and

December 5, 1957. Arcadia, first called Findlay (or Finley) City, had its beginning in the early 1860's.

Harold O. Taylor has written a story about the Marais des Cygnes massacre of May 19, 1858, which was published in the *Pittsburg Headlight*, *Topeka State Journal*, and *Newton Kansan*, November 30, 1957; and the *Manhattan Mercury*, December 1.

A history of the First Baptist church of Fredonia appeared in the *Wilson County Citizen*, Fredonia, December 5, 1957. The church was organized December 18, 1882, and the first minister was the Rev. A. E. Lewis.

Scott City's history was reviewed in a six-column article published in the *News Chronicle*, Scott City, December 12, 1957. Portions of the article are quoted from a brochure published in the middle 1880's to promote settlement in the Scott City area. Scott City was chartered in 1885.

Mrs. Hal Russell has recalled some of her experiences as an early-day school teacher in the Bird City area in a two-column article published in the *Bird City Times*, December 26, 1957.

An article entitled, "William Dean Howells, Ed Howe, and *The Story of a Country Town*," by James B. Stronks, was published in *American Literature*, Durham, N. C., January, 1958.

Publication of Virginia Johnson's series, "Gardner—Where the Trails Divide," in the *Gardner News*, has continued in recent issues. Gardner's history also appeared in a 73-page booklet by Mrs. Johnson and under the same title, as a centennial publication.

Kansas Historical Notes

Burlington celebrated its 100th anniversary September 28-October 3, 1957. Events during the period included a centennial ball, special religious services, historical pageant, parade, and other appropriate features.

More than 300 persons attended the annual Kiowa county old settler's reunion in Greensburg, October 3, 1957. Mrs. Mernie Ely was chosen president of the group. Other officers are: Mrs. E. E. Davis, vice-president; Mrs. B. O. Weaver, secretary; and Mrs. Jessie Keller, treasurer.

Angelo Scott addressed the annual meeting of the Allen County Historical Society in Iola, October 8, 1957, on the life of Frederick Funston. The following directors were elected during the business session: Lewis Drake, W. C. Caldwell, and Nat Armel, Humboldt; R. L. Thompson and Stanley Harris, Moran; Mrs. Mary Ruth Carpenter, Mary Hankins, Spencer Gard, and Angelo Scott, Iola.

The seventh quinquennial presentation of the Indian peace treaty pageant was held at Medicine Lodge, October 11-13, 1957. The outdoor pageant is presented every five years in observance of the 1867 treaties between the government and Indians made near Medicine Lodge. However, the pageant is scheduled to be given next in 1861, the year of the state's centennial.

Robert Jennison, Healy, was elected president of the Lane County Historical Society at its meeting in Dighton, October 14, 1957. Other officers elected were: Walter Herndon, vice-president; Mrs. Arle Boltz, secretary; Mrs. Dale Jewett, treasurer; and Frank Vycital, A. R. Bentley, and Mrs. W. A. Charles, directors. The featured speaker at the meeting was Lea Maranville, president of the Ness County Historical Society.

Homer D. Cory was named president of the Leavenworth County Historical Society at a meeting in Leavenworth, October 17, 1957. James E. Fussell was elected first vice-president; Mrs. Jesse M. Jones, second vice-president; Mrs. Gorman Hunt, secretary; and Col. Ralph Stewart, treasurer. Re-elected to the board of directors were: E. Bert Collard, Sr., D. R. Anthony, III, Byron Schroeder, Ruth Burgard, Hans Freinmuth, George S. Marshall, and J. V. Kelly. Mrs. Jones was the retiring president.

Re-elected for two-year terms at the annual meeting of the Dickinson County Historical Society at Mount Pleasant church, near Abilene, October 17, 1957, were: B. H. Oesterreich, Woodbine, president; Mrs. A. W. Ehrsam, Enterprise, first vice-president; and Mrs. Carl Peterson, Enterprise, secretary. Other officers are: Mrs. Ray Livingston, Abilene, second vice-president; Mrs. Walter Wilkins, Chapman, treasurer; and Marion Seelye, Abilene, historian.

Dr. C. W. McCampbell was the principal speaker at the annual meeting of the Riley County Historical Society October 18, 1957, in Manhattan. Officers elected included: Wm. E. Koch, president; N. D. Harwood, vice-president; Sam Charlson, treasurer; Homer E. Socolofsky, recording secretary; Mrs. C. M. Correll, membership chairman; Mrs. G. B. Harrop, corresponding secretary; Ed Amos, historian; Mrs. C. M. Slagg, curator; Mrs. Max Wolf, publicity secretary; and Mrs. C. B. Knox, James Carey, and Earl Ray, directors. Mrs. Slagg was the retiring president.

Mrs. Yolande M. Smith was installed as the new president of the Shawnee Mission Indian Historical Society, October 28, 1957. Other new officers are: Mrs. Roy E. Boxmeyer, first vice-president; Mrs. Robert F. Withers, second vice-president; Mrs. Eugene Kotterman, recording secretary; Mrs. W. A. Carr, corresponding secretary; Mrs. John L. Smith, treasurer; Margaret Hopkins, historian; Mrs. E. H. Walmer, curator; Mrs. John Barkley, member-in-waiting; Mrs. G. W. McAbee, chaplain; and Mrs. Percy M. Miller, parliamentarian. Lucile Larsen was the retiring president.

Mrs. Donald Booth was re-elected president of the Comanche County Historical Society at the annual meeting November 6, 1957, in Coldwater. Mrs. George Deewall was elected vice-president; Mrs. Ben Zane, recording secretary; Mrs. Dan Crowe, corresponding secretary; and F. H. Moberley, treasurer.

Tescott's history was featured at the meeting of the Ottawa County Historical Society in Minneapolis, November 9, 1957. At the business session Fred Miller was elected president; Ray Halberstadt, vice-president; Mrs. Myrtle Thompson, secretary; Mrs. Fred Jagger, treasurer; and Mrs. C. G. Heald, reporter. Marshall Constable was the retiring president. At a meeting of the society December 14, the history of the Niles area was presented, and the history of Culver was the feature of the January 11, 1958, gathering.

The annual meeting and pioneer mixer of the Clark County Historical Society was held in Ashland, November 23, 1957, with over 130 persons in attendance. New officers chosen at the business ses-

sion included: Mrs. Venna Vallentine, president; Mrs. Florence Walker, vice-president; Sidney Dorsey, first honorary vice-president; Chester L. Zimmerman, second honorary vice-president; Mrs. Melville C. Harper, recording secretary; Mrs. Kathryn B. Seacat, assistant recording secretary; Rhea Gross, corresponding secretary; Wm. T. Moore, treasurer; Mrs. Dorothy B. Shrewder, historian; Leo Brown, curator; and Willis A. Shattuck, auditor. Dorsey was the retiring president.

The Kearny County Historical Society was organized at a meeting in Lakin, November 25, 1957, and Mrs. Virginia Hicks was elected its first president. Other officers are Mrs. Helen Rardon, vice-president; Mrs. Edith Clements, secretary; Foster Eskelund, treasurer; and Margaret Hurst, historian. Vivian Thomas was appointed custodian at a later meeting.

Tecumseh was the theme of the annual meeting of the Shawnee County Historical Society in Topeka, December 5, 1957. Dr. Giles Theilmann, director of curriculum for the Topeka public schools, was the principal speaker. The following trustees were re-elected for three-year terms: J. Glenn Logan, Maude Bishop, Mrs. Harold Cone, Charles E. Holman, Tom Lillard, Helen McFarland, A. J. Carruth, Jr., J. Clyde Fink, Mrs. Frank J. Kambach, and Leland H. Schenck. The trustees met February 4, 1958, and elected Louis R. Smith, president; Robert H. Kingman, vice-president; Mrs. Cone, secretary; and Mrs. Kambach, treasurer.

Mrs. Harry M. Trowbridge was elected president of the Wyandotte County Historical Society at a meeting of the society January 9, 1958. Other officers chosen included: Harry Hanson, vice-president; Mrs. Hazel Zeller, secretary; Raymond Lees, treasurer; Harry M. Trowbridge, historian and curator; and Mrs. James L. Gille and Henry Gauert, trustees. Mrs. Clyde Glandon was the retiring president. The society's annual Kansas day dinner was held January 23. Fred Brinkerhoff, Pittsburg editor, was the principal speaker.

Elected to the board of directors of the Old Fort Hays Historical Association, Inc., at a meeting of its sponsoring group, the tourist and convention committee of the Hays Chamber of Commerce, January 24, 1958, were: Paul Ward, Austin Evans, Gene Baird, Clarence Isbell, and Dale Dunn. Bylaws for the association were adopted and plans were made for membership promotion.

Roy L. Bulkley, Topeka, was named president of the Native Sons, and Mrs. Hobart Hoyt, Lyons, president of the Native Daughters at the business meeting of the Native Sons and Daughters of Kansas

in Topeka, January 28, 1958. Other officers selected by the Native Sons included: Wayne T. Randall, Osage City, vice-president; Dean Yingling, Topeka, secretary; and Floyd R. Souders, Cheney, treasurer. Evelyn Ford, Topeka, was elected vice-president; Mrs. J. C. Tillotson, Norton, secretary; and Mrs. Chester Dunn, Oxford, treasurer, of the Native Daughters. The Rev. Dale Emerson Turner, pastor of the Plymouth Congregational church, Lawrence, was the principal speaker at the dinner meeting of the organization. Mrs. Olive Ann Beech, president of the Beech Aircraft Corporation, Wichita, was presented the "Kansan of the Year" award.

"Prominent Women of the Last Quarter of a Century" was the theme of the annual meeting of the Woman's Kansas Day Club in Topeka, January 29, 1958. The president, Mrs. Edna Peterson, Chanute, presided and gave a report of the year's work. Mrs. Lucile Rust, Manhattan, was elected president for the new year. Other officers elected include: Mrs. Harry Chaffee, Topeka, first vice-president; Mrs. Eugene McMillin, Lawrence, second vice-president; Mrs. Paul Wedin, Wichita, recording secretary; Mrs. Claude Stutzman, Kansas City, treasurer; Mrs. J. Raymond Smith, Parsons, historian; Mrs. McDill Boyd, Phillipsburg, auditor; and Mrs. Marion Beatty, Topeka, registrar. District directors are: Mrs. Lawrence Gabel, Topeka, Mrs. L. B. Gloyne, Kansas City; Mrs. Vincent McCune, Chanute; Mrs. Larry Vin Zant, Wichita; Mrs. Clyde Lillard, Great Bend; and Mrs. Rosemary Siebert, Beloit.

Directors elected for two-year terms by the Finney County Historical Society at the tenth annual meeting in Garden City, February 11, 1958, were: Edward E. Bill, John R. Burnside, C. H. Cleaver, A. M. Fleming, Abe Hubert, Clifford R. Hope, Jr., Mary Hope, Lester McCoy, Della Gobleman, Will Renick, and Cecil Wristen. Amy Gillespie was elected to fill an unexpired term. R. G. Brown is president of the society.

Kinsley has a new building—a 34- by 15-foot sod house. Built as a tourist attraction, the "soddy" is the result of the combined efforts of the Kinsley Booster Club, the Chamber of Commerce, and city officials.

A private museum has been opened to the public at the bank building in Scottsville. Items were collected and the display arranged by Mr. and Mrs. Carl Cox as a hobby. A description of the museum and of some of the articles on display, by Cosette McIntosh, appeared in the *Beloit Gazette*, December 28, 1957.

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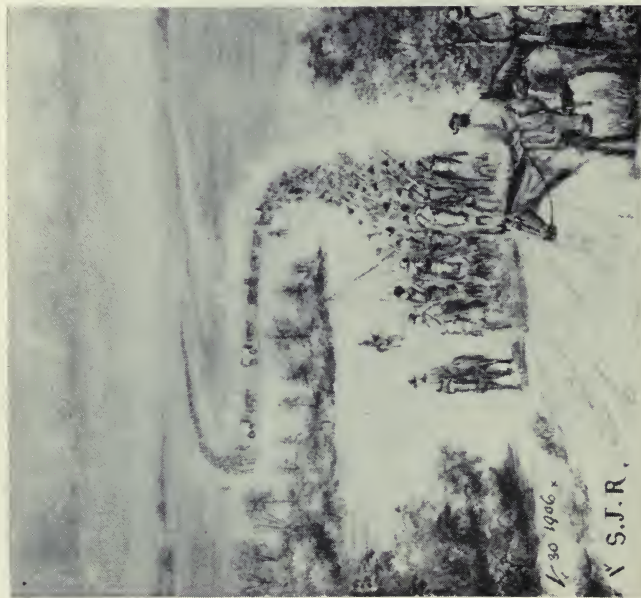
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THE COVER

"The Battle of the Big Blue, October 22, 1864,"
an 1897 painting in oil by Samuel J. Reader of Topeka.
The picture is in the museum of the Kansas State Historical Society.



A water color by Samuel Reader in 1865 showing members of the Second regiment, Kansas State Militia, as prisoners of war of Gen. Sterling "Pap" Price's Confederate army in the famed Price Raid of October, 1864.



The "Second Kansas State Militia Invading Missouri,"
Reader captioned this water color, then finished in verse:

With grub and baggage, flag and gun—

The State line no obstruction—

The forward movement has begun,

To compass 'Pop's' destruction.



"Yes, I Surrender," said Reader, and this time he did
not resort to verse. Reader was captured by the Con-
federate forces but soon escaped. These water colors
are from the Samuel J. Reader collection in the Kansas

State Historical Society.

THE KANSAS HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

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Summer, 1958

Number 2

War and Politics: The Price Raid of 1864

ALBERT CASTEL

THE people of Kansas early in the fall of 1864 probably felt more secure than at any time since the beginning of the war. To the south, the Confederate Trans-Mississippi armies were deep in Arkansas and Texas. To the east, Quantrill's bushwhackers had been forced by Order No. 11 into central Missouri where they no longer threatened the border.¹ Only in the west did the Plains Indians continue to disturb the outer fringe of settlements, but they did not constitute a serious menace to the state as a whole. Consequently, Kansans were inclined to regard the war as being practically over so far as they were directly concerned. Aside from the usual subjects of crops and the weather, their chief interest was the forthcoming state election.²

This election was being contested by the rival Republican factions of Sen. James H. Lane of Lawrence and Gov. Thomas Carney of Leavenworth; the Democrats, a hapless and persecuted minority, had found it "inexpedient" to nominate candidates of their own. Governor Carney, a rich wholesale merchant, owed his office to Lane's influence, but had quarreled with him over patronage matters, and now desired to supplant him as senator. Lane, for his part, was desperately resolved to secure re-election and so maintain his long-held domination of state politics. Under the name of "The Union Party," the Lane Republicans met at Topeka on September 8 and nominated Col. Samuel J. Crawford of Garnett for governor and Sidney Clarke of Lawrence for congressman. Five days later the Carney wing, calling itself "The Regular Republican Union Party," likewise assembled in Topeka and named a slate

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1. Order No. 11, issued by the Union military authorities on August 25, 1863, required all the inhabitants of the Missouri border counties of Jackson, Cass, and Bates, with the exception of those living in certain specified towns, to evacuate their homes by September 9. The order was occasioned by the Lawrence massacre of August 21, 1863, and was intended to deprive Quantrill's guerrillas of the support of the population of the area.

2. The above descriptions concerning the attitude of Kansans in the fall of 1864 are based on a study of the surviving newspapers, journals, and letters of the period.

headed by Judge Solon O. Thacher of Lawrence and Gen. Albert L. Lee of Doniphan county. A victory by the Union party would mean Lane's re-election when the legislature convened in January, whereas a Thacher-Lee success would result in the legislature electing Carney.

In the fierce campaign which followed, Lane enjoyed the powerful advantages of President Lincoln's support and of control of the regular state Republican organization. However, he had accumulated many influential enemies during his stormy career, was blamed in some quarters for unpopular military and railroad policies, and had alienated Leavenworth, then the state's most populous town, because Rep. A. Carter Wilder of that city had not been renominated for congress.³ As the election drew near, the Carney faction was confident of victory, while Lane was so despondent over his prospects that a friend found him suffering from "appalling" melancholy, even "aberration of mind."⁴

Before the election could take place, however, the political situation was radically altered by a series of military events over which neither Lane nor Carney had any control, but which were to be very helpful to the former and extremely harmful to the latter. On September 19, a Confederate army of 12,000, mostly cavalry, marched northward into Missouri. In command was Maj. Gen. Sterling Price, a former governor of that state. With him were the hard-riding Missourians of Gens. Jo Shelby and John Marmaduke, and the Arkansas troops of Gen. James Fagan. Price was determined to make one final effort for the Confederate cause in Missouri. He planned to strike at St. Louis and Jefferson City, march up the Missouri river to Kansas City, and withdraw southward by way of Kansas and the Indian territory. Recruits, plunder, and the encouragement of Confederate adherents were his main objectives.⁵

Maj. Gen. William S. Rosecrans, federal commander of Missouri, had been aware for some time of Price's intentions, but had relied on the Union forces of Maj. Gen. Frederick Steele in Arkansas to contain the Confederates. Steele, however, had remained behind the fortifications of Little Rock and had done nothing to

3. See Albert Castel, "A Frontier State at War: Kansas, 1861-1865" (Ph. D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1955), pp. 351-356, 377, 383-385, 388, 389.

4. Letter of Charles Robinson to Mrs. Sara T. Robinson, October 16, 1864, "Charles and Sara T. Robinson Papers," manuscript division, Kansas State Historical Society; White Cloud *Kansas Chief*, September 1, 8, 1864; John Speer, *Life of Gen. James H. Lane* (Garden City, Kan., 1897), pp. 333, 334.

5. *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1881-1901), Series I, v. 41, pt. 1, pp. 626, 627; pt. 2, pp. 1023, 1024, 1040, 1041. (In subsequent references this work will be cited as *Official Records*.)

halt Price. This failure left Rosecrans in an extremely perilous situation. His army of about 17,000 men was scattered throughout Missouri fighting guerrillas, and a large portion of it consisted of militia and recruits. As soon as he learned that Price had evaded Steele he began hurriedly concentrating all available troops, and at the same time obtained permission to use Maj. Gen. A. J. Smith's veteran infantry corps, then at Cairo, Ill., en route to Sherman's army.

Definite information as to Price's movements was lacking, and Rosecrans at first thought that his destination was western Missouri. Therefore, when he received word on September 24 that Shelby was near Pilot Knob, in the southeastern corner of the state, he ordered Brig. Gen. Thomas Ewing, Jr., to go there and ascertain whether Price was moving in that direction. If so, Ewing was to delay him as long as possible in order to gain additional time for strengthening the defenses of St. Louis.⁶

Ewing arrived at Pilot Knob on September 26 and on the following day was attacked by Price. Although the Confederates heavily outnumbered his garrison, Ewing beat off the assault and retained possession of the fort. However, he lost nearly one fourth of his command, and realized that another Confederate attempt would be successful. Hence, under cover of night, he evacuated the fort and slipped away to the northwest. By this gallant stand at Pilot Knob, called by one writer "The Thermopylae of the West," Ewing accomplished his mission of developing Price's plans and delaying his advance. Moreover, he inflicted heavy casualties on Price's army, blunting its fighting edge for the remainder of the campaign.⁷

Price merely demonstrated against St. Louis and Jefferson City, as both towns were now too heavily garrisoned to be attacked successfully. On October 10 he reached Boonville, on the Missouri river, where he remained nearly four days. During this period 1,200 to 1,500 Missourians, including Bill Anderson's bushwhackers, joined his army. He also sent orders to Quantrill to raid the Hannibal and St. Joseph railroad, but Quantrill did not receive the orders and took no part in the campaign. On October 13, after a skirmish with the advance elements of Maj. Gen. Alfred Pleasonton's cavalry division, which had been sent by Rosecrans in pursuit of the Confederates, Price left Boonville and headed west toward Kansas.⁸

6. *Ibid.*, pt. 1, pp. 307-309, 447; pt. 2, pp. 717, 967; pt. 3, pp. 82, 83, 113.

7. *Ibid.*, pt. 1, pp. 446-450, 628-630, 679, 680, 709.

8. *Ibid.*, pp. 340, 345, 387, 388, 630-632.

The commander of the Department of Kansas was Maj. Gen. Samuel R. Curtis. A West Point graduate, amiable and likable, he had commanded the victorious Union forces at the important battle of Pea Ridge, Ark., fought in March, 1862. Later on, however, he had become so deeply involved on the radical side in the factional politics of Missouri that Lincoln was forced to remove him from the command in that state. He owed his present post to the influence of Lane and other Western radicals, and to the personal friendship of the President.⁹

Curtis first received word on September 13 when he was at a camp on the Solomon river, where he had gone to supervise operations against the Indians, that Price had crossed the Arkansas river and possibly would invade Kansas. With less than 4,000 regular troops under his command, he realized that if Price did attempt to enter the state he would have to rely largely on the militia to stop him. Therefore he hurried to Fort Leavenworth and on September 20 requested Governor Carney to alert the militia. Carney replied that he would do so, but indicated an unwillingness to have the militia serve in the field. Curtis thereupon assured him that if at all possible the militia would be employed solely in garrison duty.

For a while Curtis was under a misconception as to Price's movements. Initially he thought that Price was in the vicinity of Fort Gibson, in the Indian territory. Then a dispatch from Fort Scott caused him to believe that Price was at Cane Hill, Ark., advancing from there on southern Kansas. Not until September 29 did he receive positive information in the form of a telegram from Rosecrans telling him of the battle of Pilot Knob and stating that "the question of Price's being in Missouri is settled." Even then he was unsure whether Price would march toward Kansas, but when a report arrived on October 5 that the Confederates were 15 miles below Jefferson City he concluded that the danger was real, and asked Carney to call out the entire state militia.¹⁰

At this juncture Curtis encountered serious opposition from the governor. Carney, like many other Kansans, believed it unlikely that Price would invade the state. Moreover, also like many other Kansans, in particular those of the anti-Lane faction, he regarded Curtis as being the mere tool of Lane. Consequently he suspected that Curtis' intention to mobilize the militia was simply a political trick cooked up by Lane, with the purpose of taking and keeping the voters away from their homes and the polls until after election

9. Castel, "Frontier State at War," pp. 343, 344.

10. *Official Records*, Series I, v. 41, pt. 1, pp. 523, 524; pt. 3, pp. 279, 290.

day, thus either preventing an election or making it possible for the Lane faction to win it. On the very day that Carney received the request from Curtis to order out the militia, his newspaper organ, the Leavenworth *Times*, openly voiced this suspicion, while on the following day Sol Miller, anti-Lane editor of the White Cloud *Kansas Chief*, proclaimed:

People of Kansas, do you know that Gen. Curtis has entered into a conspiracy with Lane, to call out the entire Kansas Militia, to compel their absence at election time? It is the only hope Lane has of succeeding. They admit that the danger is remote, but are determined to make Price's movements a pretext for taking the voters away into Missouri, or from their homes.

Past political tricks by Lane, and his unscrupulous reputation, made it easy for his opponents to believe that he was capable of anything, even this.¹¹ Therefore, instead of complying with Curtis' request, Carney asked that the call be deferred pending the receipt of more information regarding Price's movements. He also suggested that the western counties of the state share more of the burden of supplying the militia, since the border ones had been called on many times before, the interior ones hardly at all.¹² Inasmuch as Carney's political strength lay in the eastern, Lane's in the western, counties, the possible ulterior motive behind this proposal is obvious.

Carney's reluctance to order out the militia was intensified when on October 8 Maj. Gen. James G. Blunt arrived in Leavenworth to replace Maj. Gen. George Sykes as commander of the District of Southern Kansas. Blunt was the military and political henchman of Lane, and Carney correctly believed that Sykes' removal was made by Curtis at the prompting of Lane, who wanted Blunt to be in a position to control the Kansas troops and militia.¹³ Furthermore, Carney and Blunt were bitter personal enemies.¹⁴ But on October 9 word came from Rosecrans that Price had left the Jefferson City area and was moving westward in the direction of Leavenworth. This left Carney little choice except to issue a proclamation calling the militia into "the tented field until the rebel foe shall be

11. On one occasion Lane allegedly gained control of a Free-State convention by falsely reporting that the Proslavery party was attacking Free-State settlers.—George W. Brown, *Reminiscences of Gov. R. J. Walker, With the True Story of the Rescue of Kansas From Slavery* (Rockford, Ill., 1902), pp. 129-131. On another occasion, his supporters are said to have attempted to prevent the state legislature from voting on a matter to which he was opposed by falsely reporting that Quantrill was about to attack Topeka.—See Troy *Kansas Chief*, February 7, 1889; *House Journal of the Legislative Assembly of the State of Kansas*, 1864, pp. 297, 298.

12. *Official Records*, Series I, v. 41, pt. 3, pp. 650, 651.

13. Charles Robinson to Mrs. Robinson, October 9, 1864, "Robinson Papers"; James G. Blunt, "General Blunt's Account of His Civil War Experiences," *The Kansas Historical Quarterly*, Topeka, v. 1 (May, 1932), p. 252; Speer, *op. cit.*, p. 286.

14. During the summer of 1863 Blunt on one occasion threatened to challenge Carney to a duel.—See *Official Records*, Series I, v. 53, pp. 565-567.

baffled and beaten back." At the same time Curtis placed the state under martial law and directed "all men, white or black, between the ages of eighteen and sixty," to join some military organization.¹⁵

Intense excitement now gripped the state. Rumors circulated that Price was already above Kansas City. In Lawrence an accidental discharge of firearms created a near panic. At Leavenworth the sound of bells ringing and cannon firing to summon a citizens' defense rally caused "wild anxiety" as the townspeople thought that the rebels were upon them. All business halted throughout the state, and every man capable of bearing arms marched or rode in wagons to the threatened border. Those who remained behind, the very young and the extremely old, organized home guard units.¹⁶

Carney placed Gen. George Deitzler in command of the militia. Deitzler's "staff" consisted exclusively of prominent anti-Lane politicians: Gubernatorial Candidate Solon Thacher, Charles Robinson, D. W. Wilder, John Ingalls, and Mark Parrott. At first the militia concentrated at Olathe, but when the water supply proved inadequate, moved on to Shawneetown. By October 16 about 10,000 militiamen were assembled near the border, with another 2,600 stationed at interior points. Nearly all the militia were poorly equipped and armed, and badly deficient in training and discipline. Their only uniform was a red badge pinned to their hats.

Curtis divided his forces, which he entitled "The Army of the Border," into two divisions. The first he assigned to Blunt, who organized it into three brigades under Cols. Charles Jennison, Thomas Moonlight, and Charles Blair. Blunt advanced his division to Hickman Mills, Mo., on October 14, where it formed the right wing of Curtis' army. The other division, composed entirely of militia, was commanded by Deitzler and constituted the left wing. In all, Curtis had approximately 14,000 men in the field. His plan was to make a first stand along the Big Blue river in Missouri, then in front of Kansas City, and finally, if overpowered, at Wyandotte. Accordingly he had field works constructed at all these places by colored troops and civilian volunteers.¹⁷

Day after day passed, however, without any sign of Price's army

15. *Ibid.*, v. 41, pt. 1, pp. 467-470; pt. 3, pp. 762-765.

16. Wiley Britton, *The Civil War on the Border* (New York, 1904), v. 2, p. 437; Richard Cordley, *Pioneer Days in Kansas* (Boston, 1903), p. 242; S. W. Eldridge, *Recollections of Early Days in Kansas* (Publications of the Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka, v. 2, 1920), pp. 199, 200; Richard J. Hinton, *Rebel Invasion of Missouri and Kansas, and the Campaign of the Army of the Border Against General Sterling Price, in October and November, 1864* (Chicago, Ill., and Leavenworth, Kan., 1865), pp. 38, 54. Hinton was a newspaper correspondent and served on Blunt's staff during the campaign against Price.

17. Charles Robinson to Mrs. Robinson, October 16, 1864, "Robinson Papers"; *Official Records*, Series I, v. 41, pt. 1, p. 473; pt. 3, p. 897; Blunt, "Civil War Experiences," *loc. cit.*, p. 253; Hinton, *op. cit.*, p. 60.

or authentic news as to its location and movements. A great many Kansans decided that Price was not coming or had retreated south, and that there was no actual peril of invasion.¹⁸ In particular the suspicions of the anti-Lane men became rearoused, and by October 15 they were almost convinced that the mobilization of the militia was a political trick of the wily senator after all. The pro-Carney Oskaloosa *Independent* of that date expressed this view, and on the following day ex-Gov. Charles Robinson, Lane's archenemy, wrote his wife from Shawneetown that:

It is beginning to be thought that our being called out is all a sham & trick of Lane & Curtis's to make political capital. We cannot hear anything of importance as to the movements of Price. We think that we are kept in ignorance of the true condition of affairs in order to keep the people out as long as possible. Steps are being taken to ascertain all the facts. I have no doubt Price has gone South & that there are only a few guerrillas prowling about. Nobody thinks we shall have anything to do but go home in a few days & attend to our business.¹⁹

At Hickman Mills on October 16 a serious disturbance occurred among the militia in Blunt's division. Lt. Col. James D. Snoddy, a pro-Carney newspaper editor from Mound City, asked Blunt to permit his regiment to return to Linn county. Blunt of course refused, whereupon Snoddy started to march home anyway. Backed by another regiment, Blunt personally blocked the attempted desertion and placed Snoddy and Brig. Gen. William H. Fishback of the militia, who was also involved in the mutiny, under arrest. Blunt's action, however, did not prevent numerous desertions by the militia several days later when his division moved to the Big Blue.²⁰

The Leavenworth *Times*, the Lawrence *Journal*, and other anti-Lane papers soon began declaring that Price was no longer in Missouri and that the campaign against him was "an egregious humbug."²¹ Carney adherents circulated copies of these publications among the militia, who increasingly manifested a desire "to go home and attend to their fall plowing." Many of the militia regiments

18. O. E. Learnard to Mrs. Learnard, October 15, 1864, "Oscar Eugene Learnard Collection," University of Kansas, v. 4 (Learnard was on the staff of Deitzler); Cordley, *op. cit.*, pp. 245, 246. The telegraph lines east of Leavenworth were broken on October 7.—Leavenworth *Daily Conservative*, October 8, 1864.

19. Charles Robinson to Mrs. Robinson, October 16, 1864, "Robinson Papers." A week previously Robinson had been sure that Price was coming toward Kansas.—See Robinson to Mrs. Robinson, October 9, 1864, *ibid.*

20. *Official Records*, Series I, v. 41, pt. 1, pp. 572, 619, 620; pt. 4, pp. 18, 22, 23, 57, 58, 94, 97; Hinton, *op. cit.*, pp. 65, 66. Fishback, who was also a pro-Carney politician, apologized for his part in the mutiny, and was restored to duty.

21. Leavenworth *Daily Times*, October 18, 19, 1864; White Cloud *Kansas Chief*, October 13, 20, 1864; Oskaloosa *Independent*, October 22, 1864. The *Western Journal of Commerce*, Kansas City, Mo., October 22, 1864, stated that the general opinion was that Price had gone south. On this very date he was well within the present city limits of Kansas City, Mo.!

refused to cross the state line into Missouri, or if they did so, to go any distance. Deitzler, who believed that Price was south of the Arkansas river and had so told his troops, supported them in their refusal. The Leavenworth militia in particular were recalcitrant. On October 19 they burned Lane in effigy and paraded a jackass with Blunt's name on it through the camp at Shawneetown. And when, on the following day, they were ordered to march into Missouri, over one half of them went back to Leavenworth. Political speeches at the Shawneetown camp by Lane and Blunt did not improve matters.²²

By October 20, Carney had about decided that the danger of an invasion had ceased to exist, if in fact it had ever existed. He therefore asked Curtis to revoke martial law and, according to a subsequent charge by his opponents, prepared a proclamation disbanding the militia.²³ The Leavenworth *Times* of that date, in an editorial captioned "How Much Longer," also demanded that martial law be lifted, and declared that the militia should be permitted to go home. But at this juncture, before a real crisis involving the militia could develop, definite news as to Price's whereabouts at last arrived. An advance detachment of Blunt's division had encountered Shelby at Lexington, Mo., on the 19th. Heavy skirmishing had followed, with Lane in person participating with a carbine. Blunt immediately reported the action, and slowly fell back toward Independence, Mo. There was no longer any doubt, even among the most skeptical Carney supporters, that Price was coming.²⁴

Blunt continued to retreat before the advancing squadrons of Shelby until he arrived, on the morning of October 20, at the Little Blue, nine miles east of Independence. He decided that this stream would be the best place to make a stand against the enemy, and hence called on Curtis to send him reinforcements. Curtis, however, refused to abandon his plan of fighting the main battle at the Big Blue. Carney and the militia generals were unalterably opposed to having the state troops serve more than a few miles beyond the Kansas border, and he believed that in choosing a battle line it was necessary "to have united councils as well as a strong position." Therefore he ordered Blunt to conduct only a delaying action at the Little Blue with Moonlight's brigade.

22. *Official Records*, Series I, v. 41, pt. 4, pp. 96, 118, 144; *Kansas Weekly Tribune*, Lawrence, October 27, 1864; *Oskaloosa Independent*, October 29, 1864; Hinton, *op. cit.*, pp. 80, 81; Samuel J. Crawford, *Kansas in the Sixties* (Chicago, 1911), pp. 143, 144; Blunt, "Civil War Experiences," *loc. cit.*, p. 253; Cordley, *op. cit.*, pp. 245, 246.

23. *Official Records*, Series I, v. 41, pt. 4, pp. 142, 143; *Leavenworth Daily Conservative*, October 26, 27, 1864; *Kansas Weekly Tribune*, Lawrence, November 3, 1864; Blunt, "Civil War Experiences," *loc. cit.*, p. 256.

24. *Official Records*, Series I, v. 41, pt. 1, pp. 574, 633; *Leavenworth Daily Times*, October 20, 1864; Hinton, *op. cit.*, p. 52.

At noon on the 21st, Marmaduke's division appeared and endeavored to force its way across the bridge that spanned the Little Blue. Moonlight's troops were strongly posted behind stone walls overlooking the river and were armed with repeating rifles and a battery of howitzers. They held off the Confederates for several hours, and finally Price had to bring up Shelby's division to assist Marmaduke. This added pressure was too much, and Moonlight was obliged to give way. He retreated in good order through Independence and on to the Big Blue. The Confederates followed only as far as Independence, where they went into camp for the night.²⁵

Curtis now had his entire army, including the militia, in position behind trenches and barricades along the Big Blue. He hoped to hold Price at this line until Pleasonton could close up from the rear and destroy him. But when Price attacked at midday on October 22 he broke through the Union defenses with ease. Shelby crossed the river above and below Byram's Ford and turned the right flank of the Army of the Border, forcing it to fall back northward to Westport. Several regiments of raw militia tried to stem Shelby's advance on the prairies south of Westport, only to be ridden down and captured "en masse." According to Confederate sources Shelby could have kept on going, but withdrew on his own accord with the approach of darkness. Federal accounts, on the other hand, state that Curtis' troops rallied and drove Shelby back, after which they voluntarily retired again to Westport.²⁶

Meanwhile, to the east, Pleasonton's cavalry division was over a day's march behind the Confederates, not having reached Lexington until the morning of October 21. Pleasonton was ignorant of Curtis' plans and movements and feared that the Kansas troops were not yet ready or able to co-operate effectively with his force. But on the night of October 21 Daniel Boutwell, a volunteer scout from Curtis' army, contacted Pleasonton after a daring journey through guerrilla infested country and told him that Curtis was preparing to withstand Price on the Big Blue. Upon receiving this information Pleasonton quickened his pursuit. At four P. M., October 22, he

25. *Official Records*, Series 1, v. 41, pt. 1, pp. 476, 683; pt. 4, p. 145; Blunt, "Civil War Experiences," *loc. cit.*, pp. 254, 255; Britton, *op. cit.*, v. 2, pp. 448, 449.

26. For Confederate accounts of the Battle of the Big Blue, see *Official Records*, Series I, v. 41, pt. 1, pp. 634, 635, 658; John N. Edwards, *Shelby and His Men: or, The War in the West* (Cincinnati, Ohio, 1867), p. 425; Joseph O. Shelby, "Price's Raid," *Kansas City (Mo.) Journal*, November 24, 1881. For the Union versions, see *Official Records*, Series I, v. 41, pt. 1, pp. 478-485, 526, 575, 584, 585, 593; Thomas Moonlight, letter of December 5, 1881, unlabeled newspaper clipping in "Kansas in the Civil War" clippings, v. 1, Kansas State Historical Society library; Hinton, *op. cit.*, pp. 128-132; Crawford, *op. cit.*, pp. 146-148. See, also, the diary of Samuel J. Reader, October 21, 22, 1864, in manuscripts division, Kansas State Historical Society.

reached Independence, where he engaged Price's rearguard under Marmaduke. By nightfall he had driven Marmaduke to the Big Blue and inflicted heavy losses on his division.²⁷

Messengers from Pleasonton saying that he had closed up with Price reached Curtis and Blunt at sundown—the first intelligence they had received in three days of his movements. Yet, notwithstanding this heartening news, Curtis ordered Blunt's division to fall back to Kansas City. But Blunt countermanded the order and backed by Lane, Samuel J. Crawford, and other members of Curtis' staff, persuaded Curtis to retain the army in front of Westport.²⁸ During the night Curtis and Blunt withdrew Deitzler's militia from the northern portion of the front and placed them in the trenches south of Kansas City as a reserve. Large numbers of the militia discovered a "peculiar attraction" in the north side of the Kansas river, and the staff officers had to threaten, then plead, to keep them in line.

The morning of Sunday, October 23, dawned clear and cold. On the prairie in front of Westport both Blunt and Shelby advanced to attack. At first the battle went in favor of Shelby, as his men forced Blunt almost into the streets of Westport. Shelby, however, was fighting only to cover the retreat of the rest of Price's army. Up to this point, he later declared, the campaign had been a "walk-over," but now the Confederates were in danger of being surrounded. Hence Price's only desire now was to escape to the south with his immense train of plunder.

At this juncture disaster struck the rear of the Confederate army. Price had assigned Marmaduke's division to protect the train, which he had sent off to the southwest along the Fort Scott road. Marmaduke endeavored to prevent Pleasonton from crossing the Big Blue at Byram's Ford, but a savage onslaught by Pleasonton drove him back. Price, fearful for the safety of his train, ordered Shelby to come to Marmaduke's assistance. But as Shelby started to do so the Union forces at Westport, heavily reinforced with militia, counterattacked. Soon Shelby was not only withdrawing to aid Marmaduke, but was being driven back by Curtis and Blunt. Pleasonton's troopers intercepted him, and his men had to fight

27. *Official Records*, Series I, v. 41, pt. 1, pp. 340, 683; pt. 4, pp. 163, 183, 184; Hinton, *op. cit.*, pp. 117-119.

28. Blunt, "Civil War Experiences," *loc. cit.*, pp. 258, 259; Moonlight, letter on the Price raid, *loc. cit.*; Crawford, *op. cit.*, pp. 148-150. Crawford asserts that Curtis wanted to retreat all the way back to Leavenworth, that he abandoned this intention only when the staff officers threatened to depose him and put Blunt in command. This is undoubtedly greatly exaggerated. Blunt, who had little respect for Curtis, does not mention any such threat in his account, and states that Curtis wished to fall back only as far as Kansas City, which would have been in accordance with his original plan.

their way through the Union lines. They then retreated till they caught up with the remainder of Price's army, now in full flight to the south.²⁹

Blunt and Curtis pushed on till they met Pleasonton at a farm house ten miles south of Westport. The generals held a conference and determined to pursue Price in order both to destroy him and protect southern Kansas. Pleasonton, however, wanted to return to Missouri. He maintained that Curtis had enough men to take care of Price, whereas his horses and soldiers were exhausted from 30 days of constant marching. Carney and Deitzler, who were also present, objected. They argued that the Kansas militia should be allowed to go home first. Curtis and Blunt supported this view, and Pleasonton finally acquiesced. Curtis then rescinded martial law in northern Kansas and ordered the militia from that area mustered out. He retained the militia from southern Kansas since that section was still threatened. These matters settled, the conference ended, and the combined forces of Curtis and Pleasonton continued on to Little Santa Fe (ten miles south of Westport in Johnson county, Kansas), where they encamped for the night.³⁰

At sunrise on October 24 the Union forces were on the march. Curtis was in command, with Blunt's division in advance and Pleasonton's following. A separate column under Moonlight moved parallel to Price's right flank in order to prevent him from raiding Mound City and Fort Scott. Price had retreated all night, but was less than five miles ahead. The country along the line of march was entirely desolate. Here and there were the stark chimneys of burnt houses—called by Missourians "Jennison's monuments," in reference to the border raids allegedly perpetrated by Kansas Jayhawkers led by that commander. The road was littered with broken wagons, caissons, rifles, blankets, bits of harness, and other debris. The Union troops captured many Confederates who had fallen by the wayside, sick, wounded, or exhausted.

The day's march ended near Trading Post, Kan. The advance guard found the body of an elderly preacher lying in a field, shot by some of Price's men. His family was "frantic and crazed with terror and grief," his cabin plundered and afire. A dead horse had been dumped into the well. The Confederates had robbed and

29. The above account of the Battle of Westport is based on the following sources: *Official Records*, Series I, v. 41, pt. 1, pp. 486, 576, 635, 658, 659; pt. 4, p. 209; Hinton, *op. cit.*, pp. 144-181; Shelby, "Price Raid," *loc. cit.*; Crawford, *op. cit.*, pp. 150-152; Blunt, "Civil War Experiences," *loc. cit.*, pp. 258-260. Again there are differing Confederate and Federal versions, and even these versions contradict themselves. It would require a special monograph to collate them.

30. *Official Records*, Series I, v. 41, pt. 1, pp. 341, 491, 492; Hinton, *op. cit.*, pp. 175-177.

murdered three other settlers in the neighborhood and shot at several more.³¹ These and other atrocities were probably committed by Shelby's Missourians, in whose ranks were numerous bushwhackers. Shelby's chief of staff, Maj. John N. Edwards, wrote a few years later:

Shelby was soothing the wounds of Missouri by stabbing the breast of Kansas. . . . He was fighting the devil with fire and smoking him to death. Haystacks, houses, barns, produce, crops, and farming implements were consumed before the march of his squadrons, and what the flames spared the bullet finished. . . . If the crows could not fly over the valleys of the Shenandoah without carrying rations, the buzzards of the prairies had no need of haversacks. . . .³²

During the day the Union forces had gained ground on Price and were within striking distance. Blunt, "with great pertinacity," urged Curtis to move around Price's western flank so as to block his retreat, thereby compelling him to fight or surrender. Curtis, however, thought that this plan was impracticable and rejected it. He then proceeded to waste several hours shifting Pleasonton's division to the front. At daybreak Sanborn's brigade of Pleasonton's division attacked the Confederates in their camp south of Trading Post. They offered little resistance but simply resumed their retreat, departing in great haste and leaving behind cattle, captured Negroes, and partially cooked provisions. They attempted a stand at the ford of the Marais des Cygnes, only to abandon the position quickly when Sanborn again charged their line.

Price continued to retreat until he reached Mine creek. Here he was forced to halt, for his train had become bogged down in the ford and blocked the crossing. In order to save the train he turned back with Fagan's and Marmaduke's divisions and prepared to give battle. But before he could complete his dispositions Pleasonton's troopers were upon him. They thundered across the plain at a gallop and struck Price's lines with a terrific impact. Panic broke out among the Confederates. Men and regiments threw away their guns and fled across Mine creek like a "herd of buffalo." Pleasonton's troops captured over 500 Confederates, including General Marmaduke. Only the timely intervention of Shelby's division, frantically summoned to the front by Price, saved the Confederate army from complete rout and destruction.

Price made another stand two miles north of the Marmaton river. The fighting that followed was neither vigorous nor important.

31. *Official Records*, Series I, v. 41, pt. 1, p. 492; Hinton, *op. cit.*, pp. 183-190.

32. Edwards, *op. cit.*, pp. 447, 448.

Only one of Pleasonton's brigades, McNeil's, attacked, and a Confederate countermove nearly flanked it. The rest of Pleasonton's division was strung out over the countryside, badly disorganized, both men and horses exhausted. Blunt's division had failed to catch up with the battle, and could not be expected to come up before nightfall. Consequently Pleasonton turned his division westward to Fort Scott to secure food and rest. Blunt, by some mix-up, did not receive orders sent him by Curtis to keep after Price, but also marched to Fort Scott. As a result Price continued his retreat unpursued.³³

Soon after arriving at Fort Scott, Curtis abolished martial law in southern Kansas and relieved the militia of that section from further duty. He felt that the danger to the state was over, and that the regular troops would now be sufficient to dispose of Price. At noon on October 26 his army resumed the pursuit, stopping for the night at Shanghai, Mo. The next day, however, Pleasonton notified Curtis that he was withdrawing himself, one of his brigades, and his artillery from the army. He gave personal illness and the great fatigue of his troops and horses as the reason. Curtis protested, but since the army was now in Missouri, Pleasonton was subject only to the orders of Rosecrans, who telegraphed him permission to do as he desired. Pleasonton left the brigades of Sanborn and McNeil with Curtis. Probably the real reason he departed was because he had quarreled with Curtis over the credit and spoils of the victories at Westport and Mine creek.

Curtis took up the march again and on the morning of October 28 reached Carthage, Mo. Blunt pushed on ahead with his division and came upon the Confederates at Newtonia. Although he had only 1,000 men and was far in advance of the rest of the army, he attacked, in a desperate personal gamble to win the glory of an independent victory. But a Confederate counterattack led by Shelby soon placed Blunt in a perilous situation. His troops, however, held on until Sanborn's brigade arrived. The combined forces of Sanborn and Blunt then forced Price to retreat once more, and that evening the Army of the Border occupied Newtonia.³⁴

Before Curtis could follow Price any farther, Rosecrans, who regarded Curtis as incompetent, ordered Sanborn and McNeil back to their districts in Missouri. This left Curtis with only Blunt's depleted command and therefore with no alternative except to break

33. *Official Records*, Series I, v. 41, pt. 1, pp. 335, 341, 493-496, 502, 503, 559, 637, 659, 660, 684, 700; Edwards, *op. cit.*, pp. 450-455; Hinton, *op. cit.*, pp. 179-238.

34. *Official Records*, Series I, v. 41, pt. 1, pp. 314, 342, 504-507, 547-549, 577, 638; Blunt, "Civil War Experiences," *loc. cit.*, pp. 262, 263; Edwards, *op. cit.*, pp. 455-459; Hinton, *op. cit.*, pp. 266-275.

off the pursuit. Much disappointed, he was in the course of returning to Kansas when he received instructions from Grant, supreme commander of the Union armies, to keep after Price until he was driven south of the Arkansas river. Backed by this higher authority he countermanded Rosecrans' orders and regained control of 1,800 of Pleasonton's troops. He then turned about and again resumed the pursuit.³⁵ On November 6, after a march in a snowstorm through the rugged country of northwestern Arkansas, he reached Cane Hill, which had been evacuated by the Confederates two days previously. Two days later his advance guard rode up to the banks of the Arkansas river at Pheasant Ford, only to find that Price's army had already passed over. One of the Union batteries fired a parting salvo across the river and the campaign came to an end.³⁶

The same day that Curtis terminated his pursuit of Price the voters of Kansas went to the polls. For awhile the *Leavenworth Times*, whistling in the political dark, claimed a victory for the anti-Lane Republicans, but it was soon apparent that the regular Republican ticket had won a complete and decisive triumph. Crawford received 13,387 votes and carried 28 of the state's 35 counties. Thacher got only 8,448 votes and lost even in his home county. Lee came much closer to defeating Clarke, losing by only a little over 1,000 votes. Most importantly, nearly all of the new members of the legislature were committed to Lane's re-election as senator. On January 12 a joint session of the legislature, on the first ballot, by a vote of 82 to 16, named Lane to another term in the U. S. senate. Carney was not even nominated.³⁷

Although Lane possibly would have been triumphant in any event, owing to Lincoln's backing and his control of the Republican organization, both his adherents and his opponents were of the opinion that the Price raid "made Lane successful."³⁸ Carney's unwillingness to call out the militia, the foolish statements of the *Times*, the *White Cloud Kansas Chief*, Deitzler, and other Carney supporters that Price was not in Missouri, the mutinies and desertions in the militia traceable to these statements, and Carney's probable intention to disband the militia when Price was only a

35. *Official Records*, Series I, v. 41, pt. 1, pp. 511-514. Rosecrans' action in withdrawing the troops from Curtis was in direct violation of the orders he had received from Maj. Gen. Henry W. Halleck, chief of staff of the Union army, and Maj. Gen. E. R. S. Canby, commander of the Military Division of the Mississippi.—See Canby to Halleck, October 15, 1864, *ibid.*, pt. 3, p. 879; and Halleck to Rosecrans, October 27, 1864, *ibid.*, pt. 4, p. 274.

36. *Ibid.*, pt. 1, pp. 516, 517; Hinton, *op. cit.*, pp. 292, 293.

37. D. W. Wilder, *The Annals of Kansas* (Topeka, 1886), pp. 398-404; *Leavenworth Daily Conservative*, January 14, 1865.

38. Wilder, *op. cit.*, p. 406; Speer, *op. cit.*, p. 334.

few miles from the state, all combined to make the governor and his faction appear not only unpatriotic but fatuous. The Lane newspapers did not fail to make the most of these errors by "Carney and his bolting copperhead crew," and to contrast them unfavorably to the supposedly heroic exploits of Lane and Crawford in repelling Price and saving Kansas.³⁹ Charges of blatant corruption against Lane by the Carney press had little effect. As one editor expressed it in a post-mortem on the election, if the people of Kansas "cannot have an honest man in the Senate they prefer that the *rascal* who represents them, should be a man of brains."⁴⁰

None of the major commanders who participated in the campaign against Price emerged from it with credit. Grant angrily removed Rosecrans and Steele for what he deemed to be their gross incompetence in permitting Price to march clear through Arkansas and Missouri, and he shunted Curtis, who had at least won a nominal victory, off to the Department of the Northwest, with headquarters at Milwaukee, Wis.⁴¹ As for Price, he was being tried by a court of inquiry when the end of the war brought an abrupt termination to its proceedings.⁴² His army had been completely shattered, and along with the other Southern forces in the Trans-Mississippi it could only await the coming of spring and the inevitable collapse of the Confederacy. Militarily, the Price raid culminated the Civil War in Kansas and the West.

39. *Freedom's Champion*, Atchison, January 19, 1865; *Leavenworth Daily Conservative*, October 26, 27, November 2-4, 6, 1864; *Kansas Weekly Tribune*, Lawrence, November 3, 1864.

40. *Troy Investigator*, quoted in *Leavenworth Daily Conservative*, November 24, 1864.

41. *Official Records*, Series I, v. 41, pt. 4, pp. 126, 673, 674, 811; v. 48, pt. 1, pp. 656, 780.

42. *Ibid.*, v. 41, pt. 1, pp. 701-729.

The Sacking of Lawrence

ALAN CONWAY

I. INTRODUCTION

IN 1841 the Rev. Benjamin Williams became the minister of Tabernacle Baptist Church in Merthyr Tydfil, South Wales. Fourteen years later his son, Peter Williams, became founder, publisher, printer, and editor of the Merthyr *Telegraph*, a weekly penny newspaper which lasted until 1881. The paper was violently anti-Catholic and fairly radical in its political ideas. When the Civil War broke out in the United States, the initial reaction was strangely cautious; whilst unable to support the South on account of slavery, the paper adopted a chiding tone towards the North on account of its failure to come out immediately in favour of emancipation.

If there is any one thing which would weaken the South and strengthen sympathy for the North it would be the determination of the latter to incorporate with . . . the preservation of the union, the abolition of slavery. . . .

But the North refuses to exercise the power placed in its hands. The rank fumes of slavery will still contaminate the nation and the Southern plantations re-echo the shriek of the tortured negro. The bloodhound's bay will still proclaim the abhorred institution's existence and the crack of the driver's whip the domineering tyranny of the white man over the black. . . . War may ravage and desolate North and South, hundreds of thousands of gallant citizens may fall, millions of money may be expended, the union must be preserved, and with it slavery. This is the text of Mr. Lincoln's policy. Who will justify it? . . . The North requires a better cause than that of honour. . . . Let the emancipation of the negro be her battle cry . . . and then every patriot, every freeman, every lover of liberty will say, go on and conquer for the redemption of the slave.¹

Like many others, however, Peter Williams had to wait for Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation but in his New Year editorial of 1863 he declared his intention to destroy, if at all possible the sympathy among his countrymen for the "vile, tyrannical South" created by the agents of the Confederacy with the co-operation of the London *Times*.²

The opportunity to deal a telling blow in this direction occurred in September, 1863, when an eye-witness account of the sacking of

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1. Merthyr *Telegraph* July 27, August 10, 1861.

2. *Ibid.*, January 3, 1863.

Lawrence came into his hands. Together with a violent diatribe against the South he printed the letter as coming from the Rev. Samuel Roberts. The latter was a Congregational minister from Llanbrynmair in Montgomeryshire, a man of great influence and known throughout Wales as "S. R." Considerably troubled by the difficulties of the Welsh tenant farmers, he organized a company which bought 100,000 acres of land in east Tennessee in 1856 for the purpose of founding a Welsh settlement. Disputed titles to the land, court cases and finally the Civil War rendered the project virtually still born and eventually Samuel Roberts followed the majority of those who had emigrated with him in 1857 to the North.

The editor of the *Merthyr Telegraph*, by attributing the authorship of the letter to Samuel Roberts, was, however, wielding a dangerous two-edged weapon. Undoubtedly the latter still had great influence in Wales but to many of the Welsh both in the United States and in Wales itself, deeply concerned over the abolition of slavery, Samuel Roberts was suspect, firstly on account of his attempt to establish a settlement in Tennessee and secondly because he had shrewdly, if unwisely, pointed out that the abolition of slavery could create as many problems as that of slavery itself. Typical of such feeling was a letter written in June, 1861, from Ohio by Humphrey and Sarah Roberts to their family:

The Welsh in America have worshipped Samuel Roberts, Llanbrynmair like Great Diana of Ephesus. He sent a letter here to the North recently saying that he had swallowed the accursed doctrine of the Slave dealers in Tennessee. . . . If he came with his letter, the preachers of the North would give him the coat of tar and feathers which he deserves.³

Whether the editor was aware of this feeling towards Samuel Roberts or whether he felt his residual prestige justified the printing of the letter is problematic.

Unfortunately, he would seem to have been mistaken on this question of authorship, because a study of the papers of Samuel Roberts in the National Library of Wales⁴ indicates that at the time of the raid he was travelling in Ohio and Pennsylvania. Moreover there is no knowledge of Samuel Roberts ever having been in Lawrence, let alone the eight years mentioned in the letter, as he did not leave Wales until 1857.

As a result of the researches of the editorial board of the Kansas State Historical Society, the identity of the writer has been established as that of Samuel Reynolds. The U. S. census for Kansas,

3. National Library of Wales—Ms. 2600 E.

4. National Library of Wales—"S. R.," Tennessee papers.

1860, shows that one T. Reynolds, age 32, a native of England, was farming in Wakarusa township of Douglas county, and S. Reynolds held agricultural lands in the same township, although apparently out of the county at the time the census was taken. In the Kansas state census, 1865, Thomas Reynolds, age 37, is listed in the city of Lawrence as a tailor, and Samuel Reynolds, a native of England, age 40, is shown as a farmer of Wakarusa township. Samuel's family included a child, age 9, born in Kansas, which would put him in the area at the latest by 1856.⁵ The fact that the men's birth places are listed as "England" does not preclude the probability that they were emigrants from Wales.

An examination of the Merthyr parish records for the period 1824-1826 shows a family by the name of "Reynolds" living in the Merthyr area but the baptismal records make no mention of either Samuel or Thomas. They may well have been born in another parish as the sending of the letter to the Merthyr *Telegraph* is no guarantee that they were originally from Merthyr. It is, therefore, virtually certain that the true writer of the letter was Samuel Reynolds but the historian is left to speculate whether Peter Williams, the editor, over-hastily jumped to the conclusion that "S. R." could only be Samuel Roberts or whether, in his eagerness to damn the South, he changed the authorship of the letter on the basis that the name of Samuel Roberts, famous throughout Wales despite a decline in prestige, would carry more weight than that of the unknown Samuel Reynolds. The first explanation is the more likely and the more charitable but why were no protests forthcoming from Reynolds' brother to whom the letter was sent or from those who knew that Samuel Roberts had never lived in Lawrence or, if received, why were they not published?

Nevertheless the following editorial comment and letter on the "Tragedy of Lawrence," published in the Merthyr *Telegraph* on October 3, 1863, undoubtedly had considerable influence on the attitude of many Welshmen towards the Civil War and provided a formidable stick with which to beat the Confederacy.

II. THE WELSH EDITOR INTRODUCES THE LETTER OF 1863 UNDER THE TITLE, "THE TRAGEDY OF LAWRENCE"

A letter from the Rev. Samuel Roberts (late of Llanbrynmair) now residing in Lawrence, a town in Kansas, one of the Western States of America.

5. The Kansas State Historical Society has a Douglas county map of 1857, compiled by J. Cooper Stuck from field notes in the Surveyor General's Office at LeCompton, which shows that S. Reynolds occupied the NE $\frac{1}{4}$, Sec. 13, T 13 S, R 19 E, and T. Reynolds occupied the SW $\frac{1}{4}$, Sec. 7, T 13 S, R 20 E.

Horrible as are the details of the following letter, their correctness is beyond question, as they are written by a gentleman known throughout Wales, not only for his eloquence as a minister, and pre-eminence as author of some of the best hymns of our Welsh Sanctuary but for his undoubted christian character. Much has been said by the sympathizers of the South, and we regret to know that some of these may be found in Merthyr, that the army of the Confederacy is composed of men moved exclusively by patriotic feelings and that in the prosecution of the war, it is they only who practice what are called the amenities of modern warfare. The "Tragedy of Lawrence" will show the falsity of this, and will prove—if anything is capable of proof—that this army is a herd of assassins and that in their raids among unarmed people, neither the cries of women and children, nor the entreaties of old age, have any influence in staying their hands from shedding innocent blood. There is no doubt that for years past the cruelties of these pro-slavery people have been such as to call forth, by means of this rebellion, the vengeance of Almighty God upon them and that in His good time unnumbered hosts of these cut-throats, cowards, off-scourings of Europe and the American Continent, which now compose the Southern army, will be drained away from the face of the earth and that with their ignominious end will dawn an era of liberty and justice for the oppressed negroes, as well as many politically enslaved whites of the Southern States of America.

May God strengthen, say we, the arms of the noble army of the North, to bring about such a noble consummation and the world will be better by being rid of men whose conduct like that in Lawrence, is a reflection on our common humanity.

III. THE LETTER

LAWRENCE, 23 August 1863.

DEAR BROTHER,

You have doubtless heard before this will reach you of the dreadful calamity that has befallen Lawrence and vicinity, by the sacking and burning of the town and the indiscriminate slaughter of its citizens, on Friday, the 21st inst. by Quantrell and his band of incarnate demons (Flying cavalry in the Confederate service). The record will make a page in the history of America alike humiliating to every American who has a spark of manhood left within him, and disgracing, insulting and outraging to common humanity. Such a record would degrade the wildest savage tribe of

our Western plains; and yet these beings, animals (for I cannot call them men) are said to be our "erring brethren" whose rights have been invaded and whose institutions have been trampled upon.

What rights has a murderer, an assassin, a highway-man, but the right to be shot whenever and wherever found? The issue is forced upon us, the people of Kansas. These bushwhackers will kill us or we must kill them. They have proclaimed this policy for some time, and now they have practically and fully adopted it; and by the blessing of God, the issue shall be met by us, as men and patriots, firmly, quickly and, I hope, courageously.

Language fails me to depict the scenes enacted on last Friday. May I never behold the like again. But I must give you some idea of the raid and its dire results.

About sunrise, or a little before, on the 21st ult., four men forcibly entered the house of a Rev. Mr. Snyder, living about a mile southwest of Lawrence, and pierced him through and through with balls from their revolvers, while lying in bed by the side of his wife. At the same time, a body of about three hundred well mounted beings in the shape of men, and armed to the teeth, dashed into the town and spread themselves instantly over the whole business part of the place, shooting down every man who dared to show himself.

In this dash, two small camps of recruits on Massachusetts street (one of white, and the other coloured) were surrounded and the poor defenceless fellows, without a gun in camp and begging most piteously for their lives, were pierced through and through with bullets and all but four of the two unfilled companies [*sic*] left mangled corpses on the ground. One of these poor fellows thus barbarously murdered for daring to become a Union soldier was a nephew of mine, the sight of whose bleeding, mangled body I shall never forget.

The armoury was cut off from the citizens, pickets stationed around the town and no chance whatever of concentrating even twenty men with arms. The people were completely paralysed by this sudden and audacious dash; indeed the most of them were still in their beds when the work of murder commenced. The banks were robbed, safes broken open, stores ransacked and the best of everything taken, and then the buildings fired. Every man that was encountered was met by them with "Your money or your life" and with few exceptions the poor victim would be shot dead after handing over his purse and answering what questions they chose to put to him.

In several instances they ordered men to get water for them and

wait upon them in various ways, pledging themselves if they would do so their lives should be spared, and as soon as they had done with them, would turn round and shoot them down like mad dogs. One little child they shot dead because it cried. There were those with them who were evidently well acquainted with the town, as the places and persons of active and prominent Union men were made the special marks of vengeance.

General Lane's residence was among the first, and he himself had a narrow escape. The editors of the several papers were objects of special vengeance and two of them were caught and murdered. I shall not attempt to give you a list of the precious lives taken, nor shall I attempt to make an estimate of the property destroyed. This will be done through the papers more correctly than I can do it. I believe, however, that half our business men were either shot down or burnt alive in their houses; and out of the fine blocks of stores of every description only two solitary buildings remain and they were sacked. The rest is a mass of blackened ruins, under which lies, I fear, many a charred body, as many were shot down while attempting to escape from the burning buildings. I fear the dead will foot up nearly, or quite, two hundred. Nearly every house was fired and the best ones fired; but owing to the very stillness of the air at the time, the flames were extinguished in many of the houses as soon as the rebels would leave, and as they had such a large programme before them, the[y] could not repeat any of the performance. The work of murder, arson and robbery lasted about two hours and a half, in which time they had sent over 100 innocent men to the eternal world—deprived a large number of families of food, raiment, house and home and destroyed about two million dollars' worth of property. They then took up their line of march due south, detailing squads of men on either side of the road to burn every house and murder every man. Family after family would slip out into their cornfields to watch their houses burned by these invaders, without being able to offer the least resistance; and woe to any man who had the hardihood to remain at his house and offer remonstrance.

I live but two miles south of Lawrence, and three men were shot between Lawrence and my place for daring to remain in sight—all of them quite peaceable men, and two of them too old to be called upon to do military duty. And now comes the practical application of my own case. A squad of six men were sent from the main body to visit my house. With guns cocked and eyes glaring more ferociously than a tiger's, they dash up to the buildings, apply

the match to a large stack of Hungarian, then to the outbuildings, the barn and sheds and while these are rolling up their volumes of smoke and flames, the house is visited, trunks burst open, drawers and shelves ransacked, all valuables that could be crammed into pockets or strapped on their horses, taken and the rest enveloped in flames.

In a little longer than it has taken me to write this, everything inflammable was consumed—houses, furniture, bedding, clothing, books, provisions, outbuildings—all, all utterly destroyed. The work of eight years hard toil gone in as many minutes and another family thrown out of house and shelter.

By the time the flames began to recede the next house south of mine is rolling up dense volumes of smoke and soon the next, and next and next; and now they visit the house of the old greyheaded Dunkard, who, alas, thought that his age and religion would protect him, but the infuriated demons, thirsting for blood, shot him down regardless of the poor old man's cries and entreaties to spare his life. The track by fire and sword of these murderous villians was made through the valleys and over the hills as far as the eye could reach.

I cannot refrain from giving you an instance or two of the savage barbarity practised by these demons. They brought Mr Trask to the door of his house and told him if he would give up his money they would not shoot him, but as soon as he had given it up, he was instantly shot—he then tried to escape by running, but they shot him dead.

Dr Griswold was in his house when they attacked him. His wife ran and put her arms around him and begged most piteously for his life, when one of them passed his arm holding a revolver, around her and shot him dead.

Mr Fitch they shot in his house and his wife while running to his rescue was dragged away, the house fired and poor Mr Fitch burned up, it may be, alive.

A gentleman by the name of Palmer and his son were burnt up in their shop before dying from their wounds.

Mr Allison of the firm of Duncan and Allison, crawled out from under the burning ruins and they threw him back again into the fire.

But the heart sickens. I can write no more. Oh! God! who shall avenge?

Your brother. S. R.

The Evolution of a Home Grown Product, Capper Publications

HOMER E. SOCOLOFSKY

THE recent purchase of Capper Publications by Stauffer Publications reveals again the size of the enterprise to which Arthur Capper devoted his business career.¹ This transfer of ownership involved buildings and business equipment, two daily newspapers, a monthly home magazine, a weekly newspaper, a printing company, an engraving company, a farm monthly, five state farm papers, two radio stations and a television station.²

Arthur Capper, the son of Herbert and Isabella McGrew Capper, was born in Garnett on July 14, 1865.³ Except for a brief sojourn in Elk county, Capper's youth was spent in Garnett where he began selling and delivering the Kansas City (Mo.) *Times* at ten years of age.⁴ At 13 he began his first real newspaper work as "devil" on the Garnett *Journal*. For a while he edited a young folks department in the newspaper and he had letters published in *American Young Folks*, a monthly periodical in Topeka.⁵ The serious and intent interest of the young Capper in a career in journalism is shown in these letters. During his high-school years Capper continued his work at the *Journal* and learned the printing trade. Upon graduating in 1884 he set out to look for work which he hoped to find in one of the larger towns of the Kansas river valley or farther upstream at Salina. After stopping at Lawrence, and finding no opening for a young printer, he went on to Topeka.⁶ There he was befriended by Will Scott, foreman in the composing room of the *Capital*, who put him to work on May 16, 1884.⁷ As

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1. Capper had no other business interests and owned no other real estate than that related to his multimillion dollar business and his home.

2. Radio station KCKN of Kansas City, Kan., was sold by Stauffer before the final transfer was completed.

3. Letter from Earl L. Knauss of the Garnett *Review*, n. d., to Clif Stratton, in the "Capper Collection" in the Kansas State Historical Society, tells that Mary, another sister, was born in 1863 and died the next year, so Arthur was considered the oldest child. The births and deaths of the other members of the family were: Herbert Capper, 1833-1897; Mrs. Herbert Capper, 1841-1903; Mary May Capper, 1866-1939; Bessie Capper Myers, 1870-1909; Benjamin Herbert Capper, 1874-1887; Edith Capper Eustice, 1879-1953. Herbert Capper was one of the founders of Garnett.

4. Copy of letter from Capper to J. Howard Rusco, July 27, 1946.—"Capper Collection."

5. *American Young Folks*, Topeka, July and December, 1878.

6. Zula Bennington Greene, "As Peggy of the Flint Hills Sees It," *Topeka Daily Capital*, July 14, 1944; Boonville (Mo.) *Weekly Advertiser*, November 3, 1911; interview with F. D. Farrell, July 10, 1952. Dr. Farrell, the former president of Kansas State College, heard the story from Capper on at least three occasions.

7. *Topeka Daily Capital*, February 28, 1909. This friendly act was important in contributing to Capper's later feeling that he, too, should help young people.

a printer, Capper continued to learn his trade and when he heard a newly elected official declare in a speech that he would enforce the law against the Topeka "jointists," he wrote up the story and followed through to see that it was printed in the next morning's paper. As a result, publisher J. K. Hudson encouraged Capper to accept a job as reporter even though it meant a reduction in weekly salary. After working a short time as a cub reporter Capper became city editor of the *Capital* on June 9, 1885, a job which required that he gather news from business and governmental establishments and report the meetings of the legislature when it was in session.⁸

In the early summer of 1887 Capper visited Hugoton, in southwest Kansas, with every intention of buying the Hugoton *Hermes*. Stevens county was just being settled and State Representative John L. Pancoast wanted a newspaper to compete with "Colonel" Sam Wood's paper in nearby Woodsdale. Wood suspected Capper's mission and tried to point out the difficulties and disadvantages of settling in Hugoton. Capper's brief encounter with the boisterous, raw frontier soon ended his intention of becoming a western Kansas editor.⁹

Back home on the *Capital*, Capper's fortunes continued to rise. In a reorganization of the newspaper company, he became a director, but his ambitions extended beyond the *Capital* alone.¹⁰ He took a leave of absence from the Topeka paper and went to New York, where he obtained a reporting job on the *Tribune*, under the editor, Whitelaw Reid. After a time in New York he moved to the *Mail and Express*, and then on to Washington in 1892 where he reported the activities of the Kansas delegation for the *Capital*.¹¹

8. *Ibid.*, February 28, 1909; *Jewell County Record*, Mankato, December 27, 1951.

9. C. C. Isely, "Senator Capper Once Almost Became Hugoton Editor," *Wichita Evening Eagle*, March 2, 1945; See, also, *Topeka State Journal*, October 28, 1911.

10. Reprint from *Brown County World*, Hiawatha, in "Biographical Scrapbook C," v. 1, Kansas State Historical Society; stock certificates in the vault of the Capper building show that one share of stock, apparently the qualifying share as director, in the Topeka Capital Company was made out to Arthur Capper on July 1, 1890. Four other stock certificates were assigned to him on July 2, 1890, for a total transfer of ownership of 19 shares from J. K. Hudson. Attached to the last ten shares is a promissory note for \$3,000 "payable in one year from July 2nd 1890 bearing 8 per cent interest." This amount was paid June 1, 1892. Par value of a single share was \$500. Another stock certificate of 22 shares in the company was transferred to Capper on March 23, 1894. This was some six months after Capper had purchased the *Mail*. By that time he had a total of 42 shares or about eight per cent ownership in the Topeka Capital Company. The presence of these stock certificates in the vault of the Capper building is a mystery to Capper's associates for they had never heard him mention them. The Topeka Capital Company went bankrupt in 1895 and Capper, no doubt, lost money in this investment. "Corporation Charters (official copybooks from office of secretary of state, now in Archives division, Kansas State Historical Society)," v. 40, p. 299, show that the charter of the Topeka Capital Company was filed June 6, 1890, and that Capper was one of six directors.

11. Anne Hard, "Printer's Devil to Fame," *New York Herald Tribune*, May 20, 1928. Some of the stories were also used by the *Tribune*; the *Topeka Daily Capital* of January 29, 1892, is a typical issue in promoting Capper's efforts in Washington. The Kansas delegation in the house had been enlarged as a result of the 1890 census, and such men as "Sockless" Jerry Simpson and Sen. William A. Pepper were now in Washington. The *Capital*, as a Republican paper, was probably more concerned with reporting every activity of the Populists in hopes of discrediting them.

After congress adjourned, Capper returned to Topeka to his job on the *Capital*. He was married to Florence Crawford, the only daughter of the third governor of Kansas, Samuel J. Crawford, on December 1, 1892. After a wedding trip he began to look for a newspaper and in 1893 the North Topeka *Mail* looked like a good buy at \$2,500.¹² Capper was able to borrow \$1,000 from the Citizen's Bank of North Topeka, which together with his own \$1,000 savings in building and loan stock, enabled him to complete the transaction. In buying a newspaper he did not have to depend upon the plentiful financial resources of his father-in-law at this time nor in the future.¹³

Capper had very little help when he began the operation of the *Mail*. He spruced up the first page of his paper and actively sought advertising among Topeka merchants. He was soon receiving pleasant notices of his new venture in the state press. New features, including articles written by distinguished Kansans, were used to promote circulation. He continued to study trade journals to see what was new in journalism and who was doing it, but he seemingly had no definite long-term policy other than to get out a good paper.¹⁴ Unsuccessful competitors apparently offered to sell out to him so that they could escape the burden of refunding subscription money. Capper maintained years later that he had been asked to buy all his papers except one; that exception was presumably the *Mail*.¹⁵

In 1895 Thomas A. McNeal approached Capper with an offer to sell his paper—a proposition which resulted in the consolidation on September 5 of the Topeka *Mail* and the *Kansas Breeze*. McNeal's publication is said to have cost Capper \$2,500 and the consolidated paper, under McNeal as editor, had the largest circulation of any weekly newspaper in Kansas.¹⁶

The *Mail and Breeze* moved gradually in the direction of agricultural journalism during the next decade. In the meantime new features were introduced in the paper to attract new subscribers.

12. A photostat of the three-page contract in Capper's handwriting on the Topeka *Mail* stationery is in the "Capper Collection." Payment of \$200 sealed the bargain and \$1,600 was to be paid to Frank Root, the owner, on the date of transfer, September 21, 1893. Of the remainder, \$500 was to be paid in 90 days and \$200 worth of advertising was due Root. Root retained his railroad pass and visited the Chicago World's Fair and his mother in Pennsylvania.

13. Notes on Capper's speech at the E. H. Crosby dinner on the occasion of the first 50th business anniversary in Topeka, n. d., ca1930, "Capper Collection"; interview with Marco Morrow, June 16, 1952. Capper always expressed such sentiments with pride.

14. Interview with Marco Morrow, August 1, 1952.

15. Interview with F. D. Farrell, July 10, 1951.

16. Reprint from *Brown County World*, Hiawatha, in "Biographical Scrapbook C," v. 1, Kansas State Historical Society. McNeal and F. C. Montgomery were the owners of the *Breeze* and they presumably were not aggressive in gaining advertising support.

One of the first of these was the series of political cartoons by Albert T. Reid, then a young man from Clyde, Kan.¹⁷

The growth of his paper caused Capper to obtain new quarters at 501-503 Jackson street, nearer the principal business district in Topeka. New printing equipment was added and the Mail Printing House was established early in 1897.¹⁸

In April, 1900, with the purchase of the *Missouri Valley Farmer*, Capper stepped into the field of agricultural journalism.¹⁹ Changes were immediately made to departmentalize the journal and a wider circulation was obtained.

In the meantime the Topeka *Daily Capital*, with its weekly paper the *Kansas Weekly Capital*, was having serious financial difficulties. John R. and David W. Mulvane, Topeka bankers, became owners in 1895 and operated the newspaper until 1899 when a newly organized Capital Publishing Company took over.²⁰ It was during ownership by this company that Charles M. Sheldon, of *In His Steps* fame, engaged in his famous experiment as editor of the *Capital*. But financially the *Capital* was still in poor shape, so the Bank of Topeka sought a new buyer for the publishing firm. On March 23 and May 10, 1901, contracts were made for the sale of the Capital Publishing Company stock for \$56,529 of which \$5,000 was a down payment. The new owners were Arthur Capper with majority control, his wife, Florence, Harold T. Chase, R. L. Thomas, and W. B. Robey.²¹ Capper took over complete control of the company by December 30, 1904.²² In his quiet way Capper led his papers into the fight, along with other Kansas newspapers, against railroad domination of state government. He lost railroad advertising and eventually his own railroad pass because of his campaign but he did not permit this to disrupt his personal friendship with many Topeka railroad officials.

Although he was greatly interested in politics Capper's growing

17. Albert T. Reid, "Friends Continue to Praise Arthur Capper's Character," *Topeka Daily Capital*, December 25, 1951. Reid dated the regular use of his cartoons in the *Mail and Breeze* from August, 1896.

18. *Topeka Daily Capital*, July 16, 1899. A three-way partnership of Capper, Mary May, his sister, and George H. Crawford, his brother-in-law, made up the organizers of the new business. It was not Capper's practice to bring relatives into his business but this may have been his way of providing extra income for his closest relatives.

19. No figures on the cost of the *Missouri Valley Farmer* have been discovered. There is a general feeling among many Capper employees that this monthly magazine, with a circulation of about 16,000 was run-down at the time of the sale.

20. The *Topeka Mail and Kansas Breeze*, November 15, 1895; *Topeka Daily Capital*, February 28, 1909. The directors of the new company were Fred O. Popenoe, Chas. L. Holman, Dell Keizer, Harold T. Chase, Richard L. Thomas, and Col. A. S. Johnson.

21. The contract for the purchase of the *Capital* is in the vault of the Capper building. This purchase set no precedent for future Capper newspaper purchases as each transaction was an individual matter. Chase, Thomas, and Robey were all employees of the *Capital*.

22. Notes in the "Capper Collection" indicates that Thomas' shares were purchased August 10, 1904, and those of Chase and Robey on December 30, 1904. Mrs. Capper retained ownership of a single share.

publishing business required a considerable amount of his time.²³ One of his acquisitions was a little publication, named *Push*, which Tom McNeal and Albert T. Reid began as a non-partisan, literary, fun-and-art magazine, in September, 1902. They were interested in presenting material of the nature of the defunct *Kansas Magazine* or of *Agora* but were unable to obtain sufficient advertising and circulation to sustain their publication. So they sold out to Capper in 1903.²⁴ In February, 1904, *Household*, successor to *Push*, made its appearance with the volume number of the preceding journal. Circulation was expanded and "Arthur Capper, Publisher," along with a stated advertising policy appeared for the first time in *Household* in the issue of April, 1906.

The oldest Capper paper, the *Mail and Breeze*, continued its noticeable evolution in the direction of a strictly agricultural publication after the purchase of the *Capital* and the *Kansas Weekly Capital*. Capper then had two weekly newspapers which caused advertisers to consider carefully before using both of them. While Capper maintained that his papers "don't compete" he made changes in the *Mail and Breeze* to make the differences more evident.²⁵

By October 1, 1904, the *Mail and Breeze* had a subtitle of "An Agricultural and Family Journal for the People of the Great West," but the change in character to a farm paper was not generally known to national advertisers.²⁶ So a new name, *Farmers Mail and Breeze*, appeared on the paper with the issue of February 17, 1906.

By 1906 Capper was solidly established as a Kansas publisher with his publications, except for *Household* and the *Missouri Valley Farmer*, still confined primarily to Kansas.²⁷ In anticipation of future growth of his business and to bring his widespread organization under one roof, the publisher ordered the construction of the Capper building at the southeast corner of the intersection of Eighth and Jackson streets in downtown Topeka. Construction began in 1907 and the five story, fireproof, stone, terra cotta, and

23. Capper was frequently mentioned as a choice for state printer, then an appointive position made by the legislature.

24. The transfer of ownership probably came with v. 1, No. 8 (April, 1903), the first issue which did not have a Reid cartoon on the cover and a named editor on the masthead. The cost, presumably low, has not been determined.

25. Interview with Marco Morrow, August 1, 1952.

26. *Ibid.*, Morrow, then in the agricultural advertising business in Chicago, did not know of the change until 1905, when he made a business trip to Salina.

27. N. W. Ayer and Son's *American Newspaper Annual* . . . (N. W. Ayer and Son, Inc., Philadelphia, 1907), 1907, pp. 1186, 1187. Total circulation amounted to almost one half million. Of political importance was the fact that Capper published Topeka's largest daily and it was one of the largest dailies in the state.

reinforced-concrete building was completed and occupied by December 10, 1908. The first new executives from outside the organization, Marco Morrow in the advertising department and Frank Ball in the circulation department, were also added in 1908.

The next new Capper publication, in April, 1908, was *Poultry Culture*, the official organ of the Kansas State Poultry Association. This journal was published in the interests of the specialized poultry raiser and as such was different from the usual Capper paper which attempted to satisfy wider and more general interests. Probably because of these characteristics, *Poultry Culture* was sold on February 1, 1916, to Victor O. Hobbs of Trenton, Mo.²⁸

The expansion of Capper's publishing business had been limited to journals that had a large Kansas circulation until August, 1908, when he bought the *Nebraska Farm Journal* from W. T. Laing of Omaha.²⁹ The Capper policy toward this Nebraska paper was to stress the interests of Nebraska agriculture and to identify the paper closely with the state by maintaining editorial and business offices in Omaha. But the paper was printed in Topeka.

In 1910 Capper bought *The Ruralist* of Sedalia, Mo., from W. E. Hurlbut. The initiative for this purchase was probably taken by Col. Ed R. Dorsey of Topeka because he received a letter from Hurlbut early in June, enclosing a complete inventory and an offer to sell the paper and its assets for \$10,000.³⁰ Since Capper purchased the paper before the end of June and renamed it *Missouri Ruralist*, this letter presumably played a part in the negotiations.³¹ The formula for close identification with the local area, as used in Nebraska, was applied in Missouri. Department editors and editorial contributors, mostly Missourians, were obtained and a circulation drive netted many new subscribers. Part of the increase in circulation was due to the purchase of the *Breeder's Special*, of Kansas City, on August 16, 1910, and its consolidation with the *Missouri Ruralist* on December 10, 1910.³² The editorial office was moved to Kansas City at that time, and in 1914 to St.

28. Winifred Gregory, editor, *Union List of Serials in Libraries of the United States and Canada*, 2d ed. (The H. W. Wilson Company, N. Y., 1943), pp. 2246, 2848. This journal was subsequently known as *Useful Poultry Journal*; see, also, "First Things," a manuscript copy of changes around Capper Publications, in the "Capper Collection."

29. Ayer, *op cit.*, 1909, next to p. 1233; interview with Marco Morrow, April 7, 1953. Laing had been struggling to keep his paper going so he sold it to Capper and got a job with Capper Publications.

30. Letter from W. E. Hurlbut to Col. Ed R. Dorsey, June 10, 1910.—"Capper Collection."

31. *Missouri Ruralist*, Sedalia, Mo., August 20, 1910. Capper's name does not appear in the paper until this issue, but letters congratulating him for purchasing the paper were dated as early as June 23, 1910.

32. Ayer, *op. cit.*, 1911, p. 501. There were no reports on the circulation of *Breeder's Special*, which was presumably very small.

Louis, where John F. Case, for years identified with the *Missouri Ruralist*, became its editor.

The Capper invasion of Oklahoma was announced in the April 1, 1912, issue of the *Oklahoma Farmer*, of Guthrie. In this sale the Farmer Publishing Company sold the paper to M. L. Crowther, a former Osage City, Kan., newspaperman, for \$1,000 in cash and \$2,000 in notes. Crowther then transferred the Oklahoma paper to Capper.³³ In Oklahoma, as in Missouri, Capper set about to gain circulation, to consolidate with other papers and to employ local editors for the special departments. A consolidation was made with the *Oklahoma State Farmer* on May 1, 1912, and with the *Oklahoma Farm Journal* on December 25, 1915.³⁴

Meanwhile the name of the *Kansas Weekly Capital* was changed on September 6, 1913, to *Capper's Weekly*.³⁵ The change in name, which came after Capper's narrow defeat in 1912 as a candidate for governor of Kansas may have been politically inspired by a desire for greater recognition, but the justification for the new name was that

The Kansas Weekly Capital has outgrown the title given it years ago in its infancy. . . . Its growth was so rapid that the realization that it had so far outstripped its name came as a surprise. The word "Kansas" didn't cover the field at all. . . . "Capper's Weekly" seemed better suited than any other name proposed and was adopted.³⁶

Prolonged negotiations with Charles W. Bryan of Lincoln, Neb., in 1915 resulted in Capper's purchase of *The American Homestead*, a monthly farm magazine.³⁷ Capper agreed to send his own publications to each subscriber turned in by Bryan, at no extra cost, until the number of subscriptions at a low pre-determined rate (12½¢ per year for the *Missouri Valley Farmer*) would amount to \$10,000.

Other developments in the composition of Capper's papers came after his first election to the United States senate in 1918. The *Missouri Valley Farmer* became *Capper's Farmer* on April 21, 1919, and the first issue under the new title was in June. The change, which could have been politically motivated in a desire for more

33. The contract and bill of sale transferring *Oklahoma Farmer* to Crowther and the acceptance by Capper are in the vault at the Capper building.

34. *Oklahoma Farmer*, Guthrie, Okla., May 1, 1912, and December 25, 1915. The price of the *State Farmer* has not been determined, but Capper paid \$24,000 for the *Farm Journal*, a price that included some equipment.

35. *Capper's Weekly*, September 6, 1913.

36. *Ibid.*; Capper's first public office was membership on the board of regents of Kansas State Agricultural College in 1909.—See *Topeka State Journal*, March 4 and 6, 1909.

37. Letters from Charles W. Bryan to Capper, October 26, and November 1, 1915.—"Capper Collection." The major source of income for farm papers was through advertising and as far as Capper was concerned, subscription departments never made money on the first subscription.

widespread recognition of the Capper name, was warranted by the same reason for renaming the *Kansas Weekly Capital*.³⁸ Announcement was made that the circulation of *Missouri Valley Farmer*

has not been confined to the valley of the Missouri River nor has the paper editorially limited itself to the peculiar farm problems of the Missouri Valley; hence it is apparent that we should not retain a name local in character. In selecting a new name we are happy in being permitted to identify the paper with the owner and publisher, a man who is a champion of the rights of common people in general and the farmers in particular. . . .

We shall not handle any subject, agricultural, economical or political, with gloved hands or in a hesitating manner. . . . Capper's Farmer will always endeavor to recognize the light ahead that will brighten and make more perfect a life on the farm, realizing in full measure that here is the foundation of all true prosperity and national existence.³⁹

Another change in 1919 resulted in the purchase of the *Kansas Farmer* and its consolidation with the *Farmers Mail and Breeze* as the *Kansas Farmer and Mail and Breeze*.⁴⁰ The sale of the *Kansas Farmer*, according to its last independent issue, December 6, 1919, was reputed to have resulted from a "deplorable scarcity" of print paper. There was a paper shortage, but due to agreements within the agricultural press, 16-page papers such as the *Kansas Farmer* were not reduced in size by governmental restrictions which were placed on farm publishers as a group. Most publishers had presses with a minimum press capacity of 16 pages.⁴¹ A glance at the issues of *Kansas Farmer* during 1919 show a deplorable lack of revenue-producing advertising matter.⁴² Circulation had reached a high point of 63,071 in 1913 but declined to 20,728 by 1919.⁴³ The entire *Kansas Farmer* staff was offered employment with Capper Publications. Thus, through purchase and consolidation Capper cleared the field of competition for his old *Mail and Breeze*.⁴⁴

Long hours and intensive labor helped Capper become the head of a large business early in the 20th century. His employees considered him a prodigious worker.⁴⁵ The usual routine, before the construction of the Capper building, would find Capper at the of-

38. See above.

39. *Capper's Farmer*, June, 1919.

40. Ever since the formation of the *Farmer's Mail and Breeze*, the Capper paper had circulated two to three times as many papers each week than did the *Kansas Farmer*.

41. Interview with Marco Morrow, November 28, 1953. The purchase price has not been determined.

42. *Kansas Farmer*, January 4 to December 6, 1919.

43. Ayer, *op. cit.*, 1914, p. 339; *ibid.*, 1920, p. 351.

44. There was a national trend for a slight increase in the number of agricultural publications from 1910 to 1920 with a sharp drop in the next few years. Competition still existed with such papers as the *Weekly Kansas City Star*, now the *Weekly Star Farmer*, but there was no state farm competition.

45. Interviews with Marco Morrow and Leland Schenck, April 7, 1953.

fice of the *Daily Capital* on East Eighth street during the mornings. Afternoons were spent five blocks away in the office of the *Mail and Breeze* at 501-505 Jackson street. After dinner, almost every evening, including Sunday, he would again be at the office of the daily, thus working six full days and Sunday evening each week.

On the surface, Capper seemed to have few rules to guide him. In some matters he was inclined to go into great detail. After obtaining heads for the advertising and circulation departments in 1908, Capper stopped looking at mail relating to those fields, except that he had a policy to read all pro-and-con comment about his papers. After becoming governor of Kansas he requested that none of his employees come to the governor's office to talk business. As a rule, he stopped at his own business office in the Capper building, after five o'clock to take care of business matters. When he left Topeka for Washington after his election to the senate, he found it necessary to turn over more control of his business to employees. His publications by 1919 were *Capper's Farmer*, *Topeka Daily Capital*, *Capper's Weekly*, *Household*, *Kansas Farmer*, *Missouri Ruralist*, *Oklahoma Farmer*, and *Nebraska Farm Journal*.⁴⁶

The pent-up demand of the war years caused expectations for widespread sale of American farm products in 1919 and 1920. Plans were formulated at Capper Publications to make use of the newly enlarged Topeka plant, to increase circulation and to improve the reading matter and format of various papers.⁴⁷ To facilitate this expansion Capper made use of the good will and prestige of his name and papers among his subscribers. In July, 1920, subscribers were offered "Capper Certificates" in denominations of \$100 and \$500 with seven percent interest payable semiannually. These were a kind of promissory note backed by Capper's personal pledge. Interest rates were later lowered and by 1937 the aggregate amount of these unsecured demand notes was \$3,952,400.⁴⁸

Almost immediately after the first sale of the certificates, Capper purchased *Field and Farm*, a Denver, Colo., farm journal.⁴⁹ The general Capper formula for operation of the new journal was made to direct its appeal to the diversified farming interests of Colorado,

46. A four story, 75-foot addition, at a cost of \$300,000 for the building and equipment, was constructed east of the original structure in 1919. Other publications, used mostly for advertising publicity, were published irregularly under such titles as the *Capper Bulletin* and *Rural Trade*.

47. Copy of a letter from Capper to Ralph W. Mitchell, January 3, 1919.—"Capper Collection."

48. From the prospectus of Capper Publications, Inc., which was sent to the Securities and Exchange Commission, ca1952, p. 8. There was no particular objection to other sources of capital but Capper felt he had more freedom in this financing method.

49. *Field and Farm*, Denver, Colo., September 25, 1920.

Wyoming, Utah, and New Mexico.⁵⁰ Prices of agricultural commodities took such a precipitous decline during the last quarter of 1920 that Capper became alarmed over possible injury to his business. A cutback in costs was almost immediately achieved in December, 1920, by having the subscription list of *Field and Farm* absorbed by the *Kansas Farmer*.⁵¹

Retrenchment in Missouri resulted in Capper's purchase of the Missouri Agricultural Publishing Company, and its paper, the *Journal of Agriculture*, from John M. Branham for \$86,500.⁵² Thus, Capper cleared away all Missouri competition through consolidation in the same way that he had done earlier in Kansas. However, the mechanical work, as well as the editorial, advertising, and circulation offices were located in the building of the Missouri Agricultural Publishing Company in St. Louis. To save expenses the printing of *Missouri Ruralist* was transferred to Topeka on January 1, 1933.⁵³

Capper's empire expanded greatly in 1922 with the surprise purchase of the Lawrence Publishing Company, the owner of the *Ohio Farmer*, *Michigan Farmer*, and *Pennsylvania Farmer*.⁵⁴ Capper paid \$594,550 for most of the stock of this company. The sale was culminated on January 12, 1922, and the Lawrence farm journals announced the change in ownership in their January 28, 1922, issues. Newspaper wire services picked up the story under a January 31 date line.⁵⁵ Editorial employees of Lawrence Publishing Company had fully expected to have a chance to "buy in" to the company when their publisher was ready to sell his stock.⁵⁶ Some of them were minor stockholders and Capper offered to buy their shares then or in the future at the current price.

Thus far, purchases of newspapers and magazines had been accomplished in spite of no over-all Capper plan for increasing his holdings. After buying the Lawrence papers considerable time was spent investigating the *Indiana Farmer's Guide*, the *Rural New Yorker*, the *Florida Farmer*, and perhaps other journals.⁵⁷ Though

50. Letter from Marco Morrow to agencies and advertisers, October 22, 1920.—"Capper Collection."

51. Interviews with Marco Morrow, June 16, August 1, 1952, and April 7, 1953. The last issue of the *Field and Farm* was December 5, 1920.

52. *Missouri Ruralist*, St. Louis, February 1 and 15, 1921; "First Things."

53. "First Things." The St. Louis building was sold for \$40,000 on October 5, 1944.

54. *Pennsylvania Farmer*, Philadelphia, January 28, 1922.

55. "First Things"; Topeka *State Journal*, January 31, 1922; additional material about this sale is found in Topeka *Daily Capital*, July 16, 1939, and in the prospectus of Capper Publications, Inc., which was sent to the SEC.

56. Interview with Marco Morrow, June 16, 1952.

57. Interviews with Marco Morrow, April 7, 1953, Leland Schenck, April 7, 1953, and Rod Runyan, April 7, 1953.

TO TEACHER OF PUBLIC SCHOOL OR DEPARTMENT, HAVING AN ATTENDANCE OF 20 SCHOLARS

If you will permit your school to decide by public ballot, within ten days after receipt of this paper, who is the BEST SCHOLAR—Department, Fidelity and Perfect lessons to be considered—and send by letter or post, and report of the same to this office, we will print the scholar's name among "THE PRIZE SCHOLARS," and send a AMERICAN YOUNG FOLKS, for the year 1888.



A Journal for the Amusement and Instruction of the Boys and Girls of America.

HUDSON & EWING, Editors and Proprietors

TOPEKA, KANSAS, DECEMBER, 1878

[Vol. IV.—No. 12.]



101
and pleasant
be frozen over, and then I will na
er is long enough for this time so I will
Yours truly.

Garnett, Kansas.
AUNT MARY: I have not written to the YOUNG FOLKS for a long while. I have been working in the office of the Garnett Journal, for over two months, I like the printer's trade very well. I am getting along slowly, I set up a column to-day. We were very busy printing tickets before election, there were a great variety of tickets. Democratic tickets with Greenback men on them, Greenback tickets with Democrats and Republicans, and almost every kind you could think of. A young man, a printer by trade, told me when I commenced to learn the trade, that it was the poorest trade there was, and that I could not make a living at it. I do not think it can be the poorest trade. Since I have been at this trade I find that a great many printers chew and smoke, and drink. I have been figuring it up, if a man spent ten cents a day for whiskey, that in ten years, without any interest it would amount to \$365.00, and for tobacco, if they spent only twenty cents a week, that would amount to \$104.00 in ten years, and both together would make \$469.00 enough to buy a good second hand press and type. I am now thirteen years old, and I am going to try to put my savings out by the time I am twenty-one do you think I will have enough to buy a good second hand press, or will it turn out as the young man I mentioned said, that printing was the poorest trade in America?

Yours Truly,
ARTHUR CAPPER.

mother have kind friends.

Arthur talks in a business-like manner, and 'Aunt Mary' feels quite safe in predicting that printing will not turn out to be the worst trade in America; no trade would in the hands of a boy who makes such sensible calculations and such good resolutions.

Clarissa may have some

sport

Excerpts from the American Young Folks, Topeka, December, 1878, when 13-year-old Arthur Capper of Garnett early broke into print.



Arthur Capper
(1865-1951)
Famed Kansas Publisher, Governor
and U. S. Senator.



Erected in 1908 at Eighth and Jackson in Topeka, this building was long the main office of Capper Publications, and is now headquarters for the Stauffer Publications.

tempted, Capper never again went into a new state to buy a newspaper. Instead he seemed inclined to withdraw. On May 21, 1924, he sold the *Oklahoma Farmer* to the publishers of the *Oklahoma Farmer-Stockman*.⁵⁸ The following month the *Nebraska Farm Journal* was purchased by Samuel R. McKelvie, owner of the *Nebraska Farmer*.⁵⁹

In keeping with the trend towards consolidation of state farm papers throughout the country, the two leading state farm journals in each of the states of Ohio, Michigan, and Pennsylvania were consolidated in September, 1928.⁶⁰ The names of his Eastern farm papers were retained and Capper owned 60 per cent of the stock of the new company, Capper-Harman-Slocum, Inc.⁶¹

In the nonagricultural part of Capper Publications there was considerable change just as there had been with the farm journals. Beginning on January 31, 1921, the Kansas City *Kansan*, a daily, was published in Kansas City, Kan., under Capper's auspices.⁶² The Kansas city had found it difficult to support a daily because of the local strength of the *Star* and *Times*. Kansas City, Kan., had the dubious distinction of being the largest city in the United States without a daily newspaper. Previous publishers had failed to develop a paper which would do much more than carry the legal advertising of the city. In hopes of promoting more community spirit the Chamber of Commerce sent representatives to Capper to persuade him to sponsor a Kansas City paper. In spite of his efforts to retrench elsewhere, Capper agreed to take over the name and good will of the old *Kansan*, if the Chamber would guarantee 15,000 subscribers and obtain pledges of \$200,000 in advertising for the first year.⁶³ The *Kansan* failed to show a profit during its first three years of operation. Nevertheless, it obtained a position of influence, for the Kansas City *Star* Company shifted its policy to carry news about Kansas City, Kan., rather than about the "West end," and special editions were delivered to the Kansas City, Kan., reader.⁶⁴

Another expansion of the Capper papers was the extensive pro-

58. The handwritten contract of the sale on stationery of the New Willard Hotel, Washington, D. C., is on file in the vault at the Capper building. The price was \$85,000. The last issue of *Oklahoma Farmer* was May 25, 1924.

59. Interview with Marco Morrow, June 16, 1952. The last issue of *Nebraska Farm Journal* was June 15, 1924.

60. *Ohio Farmer*, Cleveland, September 22, 1928.

61. *Topeka Daily Capital*, July 16, 1939.

62. "First Things."

63. Elbert B. Macv. "Former Educators Among Kansas Editors and Publishers," M. S. thesis, Kansas State College, 1939, pp. 54-57.

64. *Ibid.*; interview with Marco Morrow, June 16, 1952. Capper invested \$350,000 in the *Kansan* in getting started and he arranged the business so that he expected a six per cent profit. He was cautious in his Kansas City venture so that he would offer no serious competition to the *Star* and *Times*.

motion of several journals designed for readers in the Eastern United States. *Capper's Weekly* began operation of an Eastern edition, published from Washington, D. C., on January 6, 1923.⁶⁵ It was identified as a political publication and was organized for the purpose of enhancing Capper's political career by making his name more widely known in the East.⁶⁶ The circulation of all editions of *Capper's Weekly* increased rapidly, but financial losses were great and the Eastern edition ceased publication with the issue of June 6, 1925.⁶⁷ In its place, *Capper's Magazine*, a monthly, made its first appearance the following month with no greater monetary success, and it suspended operations on January 1, 1927.⁶⁸

Still interested in offering a journal that would appeal to the businessmen and businesswomen who wanted to keep informed on public matters, Capper took over the publication of *Public Affairs* in January, 1929.⁶⁹ This was a short-article magazine, which presented the news in a factual, readable manner, and was printed in Topeka.⁷⁰ In September, 1929, the journal's name was changed to *Capper's Magazine* and it ceased publication after continued losses, in October, 1931.⁷¹

The radio activities of Capper Publications were closely related to the publishing media of the company. Capper obtained a license for WJAP, one of the nation's pioneer stations, in 1922, only to have it leave the air in 1924. In 1927 he sponsored the move of WIBW, originally intended for Loganport, Ind., to Topeka. By September, 1928, he had controlling interest in the station and in 1934 the studios and business offices were housed in the Capper residence at 1035 Topeka boulevard.⁷² WIBW-FM operated as a sister station for a short time after World War II. KCKN of Kansas City, Kan., was acquired on November 13, 1935, and operated in close harmony with the Kansas City *Kansan*.⁷³

Although plans for incorporation of Capper Publications were begun in 1935, the business did not begin operations as a corporation of the state of Kansas until October 9, 1937. All but 114 of the

65. "First Things."

66. Interview with Marco Morrow, April 7, 1953; Topeka *Daily Capital*, July 16, 1939. Carl Sandburg described *Capper's Weekly* as the folklore publication of American journalism.

67. Ayer, *op. cit.*, 1923, p. 377; *ibid.*, 1924, p. 386; *ibid.*, 1925, p. 394; "First Things."

68. "First Things."

69. Topeka *Daily Capital*, August 25, 1929.

70. *Ibid.* This magazine had been published from Washington, D. C., for 11 years.

71. "First Things"; according to Marco Morrow, interview, April 7, 1953, *Capper's Magazine* was suspended without saying anything to its subscribers.

72. Topeka *Daily Capital*, June 7, 1953.

73. "First Things." The option for purchase of KCKN was signed December 26, 1934, and was extended three times.

100,000 shares, which were issued to 114 individuals, were retained by Capper.⁷⁴

The Capper Printing Company, Inc., was chartered at the same time. Capper, his sister, Mary, and his sister-in-law, Mrs. George M. Crawford, held all but two of the 10,000 shares.⁷⁵

When Oscar S. Stauffer purchased the *Topeka State Journal* early in 1939 an opportunity to make changes in the Topeka newspaper field seemed to present itself. Negotiations between Stauffer and the management of the *Topeka Daily Capital* were begun almost a year later to determine the advisability of some sort of consolidation.⁷⁶ Much study was made of the possible methods of consolidating.⁷⁷ There was a general consensus that Topeka could not support two papers such as the *Journal* and *Capital* except in above average times. A schedule of prospective savings to the *Capital* of such a merger was developed. In general, discussion seemed to bog down on the division of ownership of the new consolidation. Stauffer seemed willing to give Capper Publications 60 percent ownership while Capper seemed to feel that a more equitable division would give two thirds ownership to Capper Publications.⁷⁸ One of the big questions was the political consequence of such a move. Capper received advice that the two papers should be autonomous; that they should be as independent of each other editorially as they could be, without having the public say, "Capper is straddling the fence. He blows hot and he blows cold."⁷⁹

Finally after prolonged study, the business, advertising, circulation, and mechanical departments of the *Topeka Daily Capital* and the *Topeka State Journal* were combined to form the Topeka Newspaper Printing Company, Incorporated, on July 31, 1941.⁸⁰ The new joint publishing operation was patterned after the plan of development of the Nashville Printing Company in Tennessee.⁸¹ The *Journal* moved its offices into the Capper building. Both papers maintained separate editorial expressions and independent news policies.⁸² Capper Publications held two thirds of the stock in the new com-

74. "Amendments and Miscellaneous Charters (official copybooks from office of secretary of state, now in the archives division of the Kansas State Historical Society)," v. A-44, pp. 432-436.

75. *Ibid.*, pp. 436, 437. The Capper Engraving Company that was located in Wichita was sold on April 16, 1937, for \$25,000.

76. Letter from H. S. Blake to Capper, January 17, 1940.—"Capper Collection."

77. Letters from H. S. Blake to Capper, February 8, 1940, and from Marco Morrow to Capper, March 22, 1940.—*Ibid.*

78. Letter from Marco Morrow to Capper, March 22, 1940.

79. *Ibid.*

80. "First Things"; *Topeka Daily Capital*, August 1, 1941.

81. *Editor and Publisher*, New York, August 2, 1941, p. 18.

82. *Printers' Ink*, New York, August 8, 1941, p. 65.

pany and was responsible for two thirds of the members of the new board of directors.⁸³ Profits or losses were to be divided on the basis of ownership.

Expansion of business activities after 1920 made it impossible to accommodate the entire staff and necessary equipment in the Capper building. Especially after World War II, Capper Publications employees worked in buildings which were often some distance from the Capper building. Changes in magazine publishing also made greater use of color so that much of the mechanical work for *Household* and eventually *Capper's Farmer* was shifted to Louisville, Ky., where it was printed and mailed by Dearing Company.⁸⁴

In 1949 Capper returned to Topeka, after 34 years in public service. Though actively interested in his business, his long immersion in politics had seen control of business decisions pass to other hands.⁸⁵ He enjoyed coming to his office each day to be among his employees. And he greatly appreciated the recognition received from many organizations, for it gave him an additional opportunity to be among friendly people.⁸⁶

Capper died December 19, 1951, at the age of 86 years.⁸⁷ President Harry S. Truman wired that "it may almost be said that an era in the history of the old Midwest came to a close with the passing of Senator Capper."⁸⁸ Capper was honored while he lived, and he was honored and remembered at his death.

Capper's ten-year-old will was filed in the Shawnee county probate court on December 27, 1951.⁸⁹ The major bequest was \$250,000 for the Capper Foundation for Crippled Children. Thirteen Topeka charities were named to receive \$1,000 each and \$10,800 in cash was bequeathed to relatives.

Provision was made for the perpetuation of Capper Publications, Inc., under the same managers who had operated the company for many years. Mrs. Edith Capper Eustice, Capper's surviving sister, and 29 employees, on condition that they were living at the time of his death and in his employ or that of Capper Publications were to receive stock in the company.⁹⁰ About half of the named employees were able to qualify for their bequests.

83. Topeka *Daily Capital*, August 1, 1941.

84. Letter from H. S. Blake to Capper, March 21, 1947.—"Capper Collection"; *Capper's Farmer*, February, 1953.

85. Interview with Arthur Capper, April 7, 1950.

86. Interview with Julia McKee, Capper's private secretary, April 7, 1950.

87. Topeka *Daily Capital*, December 20, 1951.

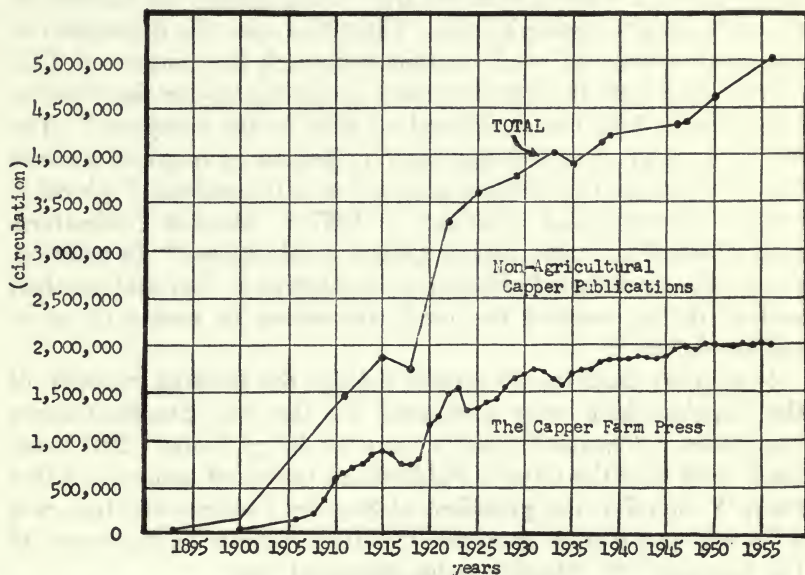
88. *Capper's Weekly*, December 29, 1951.

89. Kansas *City Times*, December 28, 1951; Topeka *Daily Capital*, December 28, 1951. The will was executed March 19, 1941, and the witnesses were Frank Carlson, Clifford R. Hope, Thomas D. Winter, and W. P. Lambertson, who were all members of the Kansas delegation to congress.

90. Topeka *Daily Capital*, December 28, 1951.

Capper's plan for his company was probably influenced by the development of the Kansas City *Star* Company but the manner in which his ownership was transferred was more like developments in the Milwaukee *Journal*. There was no provision requiring the new owners of Capper Publications, Inc., stock to dispose of their ownership upon retirement from the business, but the new owners made private arrangements for maintenance of ownership by active stockholders.⁹¹ Henry S. Blake, long a vice-president in the com-

CIRCULATION OF CAPPER PUBLICATIONS



This chart was compiled from figures found in N. W. Ayer and Sons, *Directory of Newspapers and Periodicals*, 1894 to 1957.

The lower line shows the development of the Capper Farm Press while the upper line shows the total circulation of all Capper Publications. The difference between the upper and lower lines is the circulation of the non-agricultural Capper Publications.

pany, was named executor to serve without bond. Blake also became president of Capper Publications.

In June, 1953, a construction permit was obtained by Capper Publications for the erection of facilities for WIBW-TV.⁹² A Columbia Broadcasting System hookup was obtained and the main studio was housed in the old school building on the grounds of the Security Benefit Association, located just west of Topeka. Operations on a daily schedule began in November, 1953.⁹³

91. *Ibid.*, April 24, 1956.

92. *Ibid.*, June 7, 1953.

93. *Ibid.*, November 11, 1953.

Final settlement of the Capper estate was not completed before the death, in March, 1956, of Blake.⁹⁴ Under Blake's tenure as executor the Shawnee county probate court agreed to use 25,000 shares of stock in Capper Publications to satisfy the bequest for the Capper Foundation for Crippled Children.⁹⁵ But after Blake's death a new petition was filed with the court asking that the earlier ruling be set aside and the Capper Foundation bequest be handled with cash rather than stock. The petitioners held that the trustees of Blake's estate, who were also directors of the Capper Foundation, were in a position whereby they could control the majority of the publishing company's stock. Litigation over the disposition of Capper Publications' stock continued through the summer of 1956 only to cease with the announcement in mid-September that Stauffer Publications, Inc., had purchased all stock in the company.⁹⁶ The formal transfer of ownership, delayed because of required Federal Communications Commission approval over the radio and television properties, took place February 1, 1957.⁹⁷ Stauffer Publications paid \$2,498,675 for the stock in Capper Publications.⁹⁸ In addition, the purchaser assumed obligations amounting to four and one half million dollars making the total transaction in excess of seven million dollars.⁹⁹

New press facilities, to greatly enlarge the printing capacity of the Topeka plant, were purchased for the joint Stauffer-Capper companies. Personnel changes were made gradually. Phil Zach, for a short time the Capper Publications president, announced that Oscar S. Stauffer, the president of Stauffer Publications, Inc., was a "logical and worthy successor to Arthur Capper as the owner of this business."¹⁰⁰ Stauffer in his statement said,

Capper Publications, through its many years under the leadership of the late Senator Capper and his associates, has a heritage of which Kansans can be proud.

It shall be the aim of the new owners, insofar as possible, to live up to these traditions, ideals and standards.¹⁰¹

The Capper enterprise showed an extensive growth by almost any measure. At least 20 publications were purchased or consolidated by 1930. The staff had increased greatly. The number of com-

94. *Ibid.*, March 10, 1956.

95. *Ibid.*, April 24, 1956. March, 1953, was the time of the court ruling.

96. *Ibid.*, September 16, 1956.

97. *Ibid.*, February 2, 1957.

98. *Ibid.*, December 21, 1956.

99. *Editor and Publisher*, September 22, 1956, p. 9; November 17, 1956, p. 42; December 22, 1956.

100. *Ibid.*, September 22, 1956, p. 9; *Topeka Daily Capital*, September 16, 1956.

101. *Topeka Daily Capital*, September 16, 1956.

munication media had grown. Circulation had increased from 1,600 for the *Mail* in 1893 to more than 5,000,000 for ten varied publications in 1956.¹⁰² These were *Household*, *Capper's Farmer*, *Topeka Daily Capital*, *Capper's Weekly*, *Kansas City Kansan*, *Kansas Farmer*, *Missouri Ruralist*, *Ohio Farmer*, *Michigan Farmer*, and *Pennsylvania Farmer*. In addition, the radio stations, WIBW in Topeka, and KCKN in Kansas City, and WIBW-TV in Topeka claimed an extensive although unnumbered audience.

102. See the chart for circulation of the Capper periodicals, p. 165.

Kansas Philosophers, 1871— T. B. Taylor, Joel Moody, and Edward Schiller

JAMES C. MALIN

I. SCIENCE, PHILOSOPHY, AND THEOLOGY: FORT SCOTT AS A PHILOSOPHICAL CENTER

THE material interests of Fort Scott were intimately involved in the successful exploitation of the mineral resources of the area and in relations with neighboring communities. This meant the discovery and development of deposits of coal, oil, gas, hydraulic cement, paint, lead, and zinc. The press gave attention to such subjects as news. The state geological surveys of Mudge and Swallow were studied and private surveys were always a source of interest for what promise they would turn up. Thus an amateur interest in the sciences of geology and paleontology was widespread, and some acquired a certain competence in that field. When the Rev. Jacob B. Saxe preached on "Geology and Revelation," some, at least, in his audience, and among the readers of the *Monitor*, which reported the discourse, possessed some scientific background for an appreciation of the issues. It was a subject that came up frequently, because the controversies precipitated by geological and biological science over evolution of the human species were known and discussed.

Neither Kansas as a state nor Fort Scott, one of the lesser cities of the state, is usually considered a philosophical or theological center. Yet, after their peculiar fashion, both gave a rather courageous account of themselves during the decade of the 1870's. On July 22, 1871, D. W. Wilder wrote an editorial "Who Reads a Kansas Book?" of which this is the final paragraph:

Within five months, four citizens of Kansas have published books—Joel Moody, the "Science of Evil," Edward Schiller, "Progressive Philosophy," C. C. Hutchinson, "Resources of Kansas," and T. B. Taylor, "Old Theology." Mr. Schiller's book was printed in New York, the others in this State. It is not a little singular that three of these books are on religious topics, and that they all agree in rejecting the common theological notions. Is Kansas to be as radical on religions as she has been on political questions?

The only feature of this paragraph that was strange was the failure to point out that two of the three books on "religious topics"

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were written by Fort Scott men—Schiller and Taylor—that Moody was a close neighbor and had been intimately identified with Fort Scott, and that Taylor's book had been printed by the *Monitor* company. One objection might have been raised by a purist whether or not these books were on religious topics; possibly "philosophical" would have been a more accurate term, at least for two of the three.

In these several works and commentary upon them science occupied a conspicuous role. As the word was used it was too inclusive except as the concept of science was associated with an emphasis upon the inductive method—conclusions drawn from an array of established facts. The new disciplines of psychology, archeology, anthropology, geology, and biology, along with a new critical spirit in history derived especially from the German historian Leopold von Ranke (1795-1886), provided new intellectual tools that were being brought to bear upon all areas of knowledge, and especially as they related to the role of man on the earth. That they should be applied also to religion was only normal procedure. But like all new instruments they might be subject to misuse. Also, legitimate applications might be misunderstood and arouse hostility when they ran counter to established tradition.

The English historian, Henry T. Buckle (1821-1862), in his book *A History of Civilization in England* (1857-1861), had viewed history as determined by natural phenomena; physical agencies such as climate, soil, food, etc. David Friederich Strauss (1808-1874), a German theologian and philosopher, wrote *Das Leben Jesu* (1835), translated into English and published in the United States as *The Life of Jesus*, in 1855. Ernest Renan (1823-1892), a French philologist and historian, published *Vie de Jésus* (1863), translated and issued in the United States as *The Life of Jesus*, in 1864. These books and other publications in the same vein as these authors represented Jesus as a mortal man, a historical character as other men, stripped of the supernatural. Herbert Spencer (1820-1903), English sociologist, published *Social Statics*, in 1851, an essay on the development hypothesis in 1852, in which organic evolution was stated seven years prior to Darwin's *Origin of Species*, and several other works on science and psychology. Charles Darwin's (1809-1882) *Origin of Species* (1859) and *The Descent of Man* (1871) formulated the doctrine of evolution of man from lower forms of life. Thomas H. Huxley (1825-1895), also an English biologist, did not accept fully the Darwinian doctrine, but wrote that: "of moral purpose I see no trace in nature. This is an article of exclusive human manufacture." His early books which were widely read

by the public included *Zoological Evidences as to Man's Place in Nature* (1863), and *On the Physical Bases of Life* (1868). He gave currency to the term "agnostic" that "the existence of anything beyond and behind material phenomena is unknown and (so far as can be judged) unknowable. . . ." ¹

All these names appeared repeatedly in the news articles printed in the Fort Scott *Daily Monitor* during the year 1871, and reappeared from time to time during the next five years. How accurately the issues raised by these men were understood by Kansans is another question. Nevertheless, the pros and cons were discussed in Fort Scott, sometimes intellectually in good temper, and sometimes emotionally in anger. And the *Daily Monitor* reported them, but not always sympathetically or accurately.

II. THE REV. MR. T. B. TAYLOR

The book by the Rev. T. B. Taylor, carried a long descriptive title: "*Old Theology Turned Upside Down or Right Side Up; by a Methodist Preacher; or Eight Lectures:—Six on the Resurrection of the Dead, One on the Second Coming of Christ, and One on the Last Judgment—Showing From the Standpoint of Common Sense, Reason, Science, Philosophy, and the Bible, the Utter Folly There Is in the Doctrine of the Literal Resurrection of the Body, a Literal Coming of Christ at the End of the World, and a Literal Judgment to Follow.* By Rev. T. B. Taylor, A. M., author of 'The Inebriate,' 'Death on the Plains,' and one anonymous work." ² The author's advertisement appeared in the *Daily Monitor*, July 14, 1871, and a young woman was to start canvassing the city for sales.

In his introduction Taylor explained the origin of the book, a series of lectures delivered at the Methodist church in Fort Scott during the previous winter "to crowded audiences, such as had not been witnessed in that city, on ordinary occasions of religious worship at any previous time; thereby evincing the interest the people were taking in the subject. . . ." The publication of the lectures was alleged to have been undertaken at the instance of S. T. Armstrong and others who heard them, the letter of request and Taylor's reply, both dated February, 1871, being reproduced in full. The critical resurrection question was discussed briefly, calling upon St. Paul (I Corinthians 15:44) for support: "There is a natural body, and there is a spiritual body"—the resurrection was of the latter. This introduction was dated May 4, 1871. Then, prior to going to press

1. *The Oxford English Dictionary* (1933), under "agnostic."

2. The present writer has not found copies of either of the Taylor books, *The Inebriate*, or *Death on the Plains*.

a note, or postscript, was added below the date: "The lectures were given while yet the author was a member of the Methodist ministry: hence the title of the book."

A brief examination of the contents of Taylor's book is in order. He insisted that "the fog, rubbish, nonsense, absurdity" which dogmatists "during the past days of ignorance and creed worship, gathered around this profoundly interesting subject" must be cleared. Taylor insisted that he had believed for years, "that Religion and Science were twin sisters, and ought to stand up proudly, side by side," but he suggested to religious teachers that "when a well established fact of science comes in contact with a theory of religion, let the theory in religion, quietly, but as speedily as possible, be remodeled. . . ." He concluded the admonition by asserting "that the facts of science, when once established, are . . . unalterable; and as quiet as the goddess of science seems to stand, when she does strike at false theories, it is with a most crushing power."

Taylor's argument is a reminder of a dictum that once upon a time religion was the chief source of error, but in recent times science has assumed that unenviable role. He did not differentiate facts, theories, and philosophical speculation, and did not explain how affection could survive between the loving "twin sisters" if religion must always submit abjectly to science. Taylor did not explain who was to act as umpire in disputes about whether facts, theories, and philosophical speculations of either religion or science were "well established." He did raise the question in his first lecture, however, about the status of difference of opinion in religion: "Are opinions, when honestly entertained, either criminal or virtuous? If so, what, or who, is to be the umpire?" His answer was that among Roman Catholics the church decided, and among Protestants, the Bible was the arbiter: "But [unfortunately for certainty] the believers in the Bible have as many phases of belief as Proteus had shapes." And then he admonished his Methodist brethren to have "patience with, and charity for those who differ with us in matters of opinion, inasmuch as there is and can be no absolute standard of human opinions." Taylor's confusion about absolutes and relativism was not new in his time and has not been resolved since.

In Taylor's eight lectures dealing directly with the resurrection theme he recognized three main views: (1) outright denial; (2) a general literal resurrection of the physical body, judgment, and reward and punishment, followed by destruction of the world; (3)

immediate resurrection of everyone who dies. Taylor defended a version of the third view in which he held that the resurrection was of the spiritual body, and not of the natural or physical body "which we wear as we do our clothes, and which we lay off in death as we do our clothes when we retire."

On the subject of the judgment, Taylor argued that it began as soon as man was created and became a responsible moral agent, and would continue until men and angels cease to be created. The umpire in this judgment was not God or Christ in person, but "the word of eternal truth, addressed to man's intelligent understanding, whether written in a book with pen and ink, or upon the never-ending pages of man's own conscience by the spirit of God, or upon the ever-unfolding pages of nature. . . ." In another place the working was somewhat different—each was judged "according to the principles of progress and development," and that "judgment commences in their state of probation, and ends in eternity."

In a final lecture, "The Magnetic Forces of the Universe," not numbered into the series of lectures, Taylor elaborated more fully upon the points suggested in the final numbered lecture. Of all the natural forces, he asserted that "electricity, or the Magnetic Forces of the Universe is the most wonderful. . . ." This he associated with man's mind and nervous system. After referring to strange religious experiences, observed during his 23 years as an ordained minister, and his service during 1868-1869 on a committee of scientific men who investigated spiritualist phenomena that excited Ohio and Indiana about that period, Taylor concluded that all such phenomena could be explained upon purely natural and scientific principles—electricity and magnetic force—and the more "the occult and hidden forces of nature" were understood, the less the occasion "to look to the supernatural for a solution. . . ."

These preliminaries prepared the way for an application to "the domain of futurity, of spirituality and religion." Taking the principle of action and reaction from natural science as his point of departure Taylor suggested that every act of man had its repercussions, not only throughout the world, but throughout the universe, and, for better or worse, these constituted the irrevocable record of every man's life; and conscious beings in other worlds might possess perceptions so acute that they could read the records of men on earth; and furthermore, after this life of men on earth was over each might read the other's history. Thus, every man was his own recording angel, and "every man must see in eternity . . . his

own most truthful record written, signed and sealed with his own hand, not on paper or parchment, but upon the more durable materials of the material, though spiritualized universe."

Strictly speaking, all this was not new. In the course of the discussion Taylor quoted from a Dr. Hitchcock as an authority but without citation of the full name of the author, or of the title of the work in question. The reference was, however, to Dr. Edward Hitchcock, president of Amherst College, and professor of natural theology and geology, and to his book of lectures *The Religion of Geology and Its Connected Sciences* (Boston, 1852). In Hitchcock's preface, besides pleading for theologians trained in the sciences and in natural theology, he recounted that these lectures had first been written eight to ten years earlier, or about 1842-1844, and had been delivered before many audiences prior to publication. The one from which Taylor quoted was the 12th: "The telegraphic system of the universe." A comparison of the Hitchcock and Taylor printed lectures reveals the fact that Taylor, except for his own autobiographical introduction had not only quoted from Hitchcock, but had done little more than condense, at times in close paraphrase, the Hitchcock lecture. In this perspective, the question occurs; why all the controversy about Taylor's ministry in Fort Scott? The ideas were not new in fact, but were new only to the local audience.

The crisis which terminated Taylor's ministerial career occurred between the time of his commitment to the *Monitor* company for printing the book of lectures and the actual presswork. The foreshadowing of it can be seen in an exchange of letters in the *Daily Monitor*, February 25 and 26, 1871. A letter to the editor signed "Chairman" called attention to Taylor's sermon scheduled the coming Sunday evening on the "Effects of Anger," and recounted the advance notice by Taylor the previous Sunday intended to arouse the interest of his listeners. A hypothetical case was described: if Taylor was unexpectedly struck by one person, arousing anger, and at the same instant, he was killed by an accidental shot of another person, "where would I go?" "Chairman" insisted that the answer was simple—under such circumstances anger was an instinctive reaction associated with self defense, and "the conscience would go free," even if a blow was instantly struck in return before reason acted. "Chairman" continued by asserting that this simple case in Taylor's opinion involved such metaphysics and theology that he would devote a whole evening to it, and what he would make of it "Chairman" did not know, but as he had upon other occasions

shown himself "wiser than the Scriptures," on this "he may be able to give it a *Spiritual* meaning. But we are weary of Spiritualism, Swedenborgianism and skepticism from a Methodist pulpit."

Taylor replied "in anger" in the Sunday morning *Monitor* denouncing the anonymous attack, which he compared with a snake in the grass, or a skunk behind a stump, and yet "Chairman" claimed to be a Christian. Taylor insisted that "Chairman" had not learned the first law of Heaven: "Harmony is Heaven; discord is Hell"—a soul in anger was not in harmony with the element that is heaven. At the Methodist church, that evening, Taylor insisted he would "put a little common sense, reason and Scripture into the discussion of this subject. . . ."

The meeting of the Methodist conference at Paola which dismissed Taylor had occurred shortly thereafter. On Sunday, March 26, Taylor spoke at McDonald Hall on the subject of "Intolerance," even standing room being occupied. The writer of the *Monitor* article, probably Wilder himself, admitted he had not heard Taylor before, and went in a frame of mind not favorably disposed toward him. But Taylor's conduct made a favorable impression, the sermon being such as might have been heard elsewhere: "but very little was said about his own case. He did not charge the Methodist Church with intolerance in expelling him." His one witticism, which brought laughter and applause, was that "he had lately attended a diet of the worms at Paola, and been consumed by the worms. Perhaps the laughter aroused by this was heightened by the fact that Mr. Taylor was so lately a 'worm' himself, and that he may want to consume other worms—which would be intolerance again."

At the close of the meeting a subscription was raised to employ Taylor as pastor of

The Independent Congregation of Fort Scott. The man and his friends are plainly in earnest, and the movement will succeed. Fort Scott is large enough and liberal enough to sustain an independent church, and we hope there are very few here who are not willing to let the worship of God be free—republican and democratic in the highest sense of those words. The world is large enough for us all, but life is too short to be spent in abusing all who differ from us in opinion.

The temper of the times was such, however, that some took offense at the *Monitor's* comment, and the next day an explanation appeared:

We did not say yesterday, and no one ought to infer from what we said, that the Methodists had persecuted Mr. Taylor. . . . Republicans cease to elect men to office who do not stand on the party platform, and that is

precisely what the Methodists have done. . . . Our remarks were on the general question of toleration.³

On April 1, at Institute Hall, "The First Independent Society of Fort Scott" was organized, and the necessary machinery of operation set up. Each Wednesday evening, a sociable of the society was to be held. On Sundays, morning and evening sermons were scheduled, and on Sunday afternoons a service for the children. Meeting places caused some trouble, but when summer came the sociables were held at the residences of the pastor and members.⁴ Theological conflict was not at an end, however, one instance being an invitation extended to the Rev. Mr. Saxe, Universalist minister, to occupy the pulpit on Sunday evening, April 22, on the subject "Resurrection of the Dead," intended as a reply to the sermons of the Rev. A. Beatty, rector at St. Andrew's Episcopal church.⁵

The Methodists were very much embarrassed by the turn of events, the number of prominent men involved, and the apparent strength of the Independent society. In order to present their case to the public, an extract was published from the report of the committee to whom the charges against Taylor had been referred—three charges, each supported by specifications. The first charge was doctrinal and dealt with his view of resurrection, conversion, inspiration of parts of the Bible, miracles and "Stating that human probation does not terminate with the present life, and teaching the doctrine of purgatory." The second charge was personal: slang, vulgar witticisms, irreverence, violent language, and threats to split the congregation because some complained of his preaching. The third charge was falsehood; that in seeking the Fort Scott assignment the preceding year, he had lied to the presiding bishop and to the presiding elder of the district in saying

that he had no sympathy with the views of Modern Spiritualism and afterwards publicly and privately disseminating such views.

On the last charge the committee were divided in opinion and the charge was not sustained, but the specification under this charge was sustained unanimously.

Taylor replied vigorously, alleging: (1) that the accusation of falsehood had not been made in the copy of the charges sent to him through the post office, and he learned of it only when it was read before the committee; (2) that he had been denied a hearing by the "Paola inquisition"; (3) that the printed extract relating to the third charge had been falsified—that the original document merely

3. *The Daily Monitor*, Fort Scott, March 28, 29, 1871.

4. *Ibid.*, April 4, 11, 12, 15, 22, 27, 1871.

5. *Ibid.*, April 22, 1871.

stated: "Not sustained." Taylor had appealed his case to the general conference of May, 1872, filing seven exceptions to the rulings of the court, and five to the finding of the jury as not being in accord with the evidence.⁶

By going back into the record of the circumstances of Taylor's coming to Fort Scott, his version appears to have had substantial support. The manner of his first contact with the congregation has not been determined, but on February 20, 1870, Prof. F. B. Taylor was advertised to preach at both the morning and evening services, and was represented as "one of the leading Methodist divines. . . ." The report on his appearance made no reference to his sermon subjects or the substance of his remarks, merely that he "drew a full house," and that "the audience were well repaid for the coming." Several weeks later his assignment to the Fort Scott charge was announced thus: "Mr. Taylor comes among us at the urgent solicitations of a large number of the members of the congregation. . . ." Also the explanation was made that he had been associated with the *Northwestern Farmer*, Indianapolis, selling out his interest in the paper to return to the ministerial profession, and to accept the appointment to Fort Scott. The implication of the data points to the conclusion that his visit of February 20 had been a tryout and that he had made so favorable an impression as to give rise to the remark about the solicitation from the members of the congregation.⁷

Shortly after arrival, and on Easter Sunday, Taylor had preached upon the subject "Evidence of Immortality." He explained that he did so on request:

A subject of such profound importance cannot but be of interest to every human being, and we question if there is a person in existence who does not anxiously incline to hear everything that may be advanced in proof of the gravest and most momentuous question that can agitate the human mind. Once convinced of immortality, men cannot but embrace such religious belief as he feels convinced will secure him happiness in the eternal hereafter. There is little doubt that the great neglect manifested toward Christianity, and the apathy prevailing in regard to what is claimed as "revealed religion," arises more from want of actual evidence of the immortality of the human soul than from any other cause.

Taylor immediately found himself, not between two fires, but in the midst of several. One letter to the editor signed "X" related that Taylor's morning sermon was only an introduction to his evening discourse so he had heard both. Among many other things

6. *Ibid.*, April 8, 9, 1871.

7. *Ibid.*, February 20, 22, March 31, April 1, 6, 1870. The *Monitor*, February 20, had given his initials F. B. instead of T. B.

"X" declared that in repudiating modern spiritualism, Taylor had exhibited "narrow-minded bigotry." Taylor replied through the *Monitor* declaring that criticism was both legitimate and desirable, but that the "X" letter was mere faultfinding and misrepresentation. Thus for the guidance of those who were not present, but who read the paper, Taylor outlined his main arguments under four heads:

1. REASON says, "If man is not immortal, then his creation was a grand mistake."

2. THE BIBLE, which no where argues the immortality of the soul, nevertheless lays down this doctrine as the great substratum on which true religion is based. If man be not immortal then the whole Bible story is a farce.

3. THE VOICE OF THE NATIONS PROCLAIM THIS TRUTH, and the argument [of the original] was based upon the probable truth of the Platonic philosophy—that "the voice of the people is the voice of God." Here I cited the ancient Egyptians, Persians, Babylonians, Scythians, Grecians, etc., quoting from Zoroaster the Second, Socrates, Plato, and Homer.

4. ANCIENT and MODERN facts come to the defence of these three premisses, and *demonstrate the truth of human immortality*. . . .⁸

On June 1, 1870, the Ministerial Association of the Fort Scott District of the Methodist Church met in the city. The presiding elder of the district, the Rev. J. Paulson, formerly minister at Fort Scott, was chosen chairman, and the Rev. T. B. Taylor, secretary. One item of the proceedings as reported in the *Daily Monitor*, June 2, is pertinent to the present narrative:

Rev. Mr. Taylor of the church of this city made a report of his charge, which though in the main satisfactory and encouraging, still showed some slight indications that the congregation were not staying up the hands of their pastor in the good work he has auspiciously commenced.

Further evidence in the negative direction was not long in being presented. Near the end of July, Taylor apologized publicly through the press for his illness and the resulting impairment of his ability to perform his pastoral duties. He considered illness a sin, but placed the blame upon climate—he found it necessary to keep out of the sun until he became acclimated. A physician, writing over the name "Nux Vomica," accused him of bad taste and with being a publicity seeker. Taylor admitted that friends advised him to ignore the attack, but he denounced "Nux Vomica" on two counts: (1) a personal attack under an assumed name; (2) he was a slanderer. If he would only sign his name, Taylor would fill out the details, but "otherwise I shall treat you as I would a 'barking fiste'." Others then joined in the controversy, but added nothing pertinent to the present story.⁹

8. *Ibid.*, April 16, 17, 20, 21, 1870.

9. *Ibid.*, July 30, 31, August 5, 6, 1870.

Of a positive nature was a letter to the editor in September written by a man who admitted not being a habitual church goer. The announced subject of Taylor's sermon, telegraphy and its relation to religion, aroused his curiosity because he could not see the connection. The letter was by way of report and an appreciation of Taylor's sermon:

Here, however, was something new. His text I have heard quoted an hundred times. "They have sought out many inventions," but always heretofore, in opposition to science, to progress and all discovery.

The Rev. gentleman proceeded to address his very large and intelligent audience upon the very great importance and intimate relation of those forces in the universe around us, to our moral as well as physical being.

He quoted passages of scripture, which, if they do not support this theory, do not have any meaning at all. The theory is, that sound, light, and even thought, make an indellible impression upon the material universe around us. How grand and overwhelming is the very idea indeed, which the book of life will one day open to our view; the bare possibility of its truth should make men and women ponder well their conduct.

I must confess that in all my long and eventful life, I have never yet heard so good an argument in favor of a virtuous life as this theory affords.

We are made our own recording angels, and as we surely can never get away from ourselves, our every *sin* and short-coming must be known; and when we add to this that other important fact that we can never forget anything, that some time or other our memory will picture to us our whole past life; how very appalling does *sin* seem to be!

His assertions were Bible extracts and were well supported by quotations from those who are at the lead of all science, such as Hitchcock and Babbage, and the eminent Professor of chemistry, Prof. Hare.

We were well entertained, much instructed and benefitted, and notwithstanding the assaults of men who have "finished their education" upon Rev. Taylor, we earnestly hope he will feel called upon to give us more such sermons, and thus help on the reformation of

AN OLD FRIEND.¹⁰

This leads the story full circle to the point of beginning, the sermons of midwinter, and the announcement in the *Daily Monitor*, February 9, 1871, that Taylor had responded to the urgent request of hearers of his lectures on the "Resurrection of the Dead," and would publish them in a few weeks in book form, printed by the *Monitor* press. But the crises these lectures precipitated brought his loyal admirers face to face with a social reality. After the capacity for heroic action in the face of emergency had been demonstrated by the organization, April 1, 1871, of the First Independent Society of Fort Scott, what of the capacity to demonstrate the continuity of interest and performance necessary to insure lasting success?

10. *Ibid.*, September 13, 1870. Evidently this discourse was the one that was printed as the final chapter of Taylor's book.

In due course, April, May, and June passed, and on July 1, Saturday, the *Monitor* announced that T. B. Taylor would take a July vacation: Accordingly, after Sunday, July 2, services at Institute Hall would be closed: "In the meantime the Society will make a vigorous effort, as tight as money matters are, to bring up all arrearages." The sermon subjects for Sunday were to be: "The Reform Essential to the Perpetuity of National Life," and "The Coming Fate of the Physical World." Applicable to the latter title, the remark was added that the philosophers had speculated on it for ages. Also, a 25 cent admission charge would be asked for the benefit of Mr. Taylor. The next day the Sunday *Monitor* announced a change; that as the Rev. S. S. Hunting, Western secretary of the American Unitarian Association, was in town, Taylor had yielded the pulpit to him for the morning service, but Taylor would speak in the evening as announced, when a good attendance was solicited for his benefit as the salary arrearages amounted to \$300. The amount of salary promised him had not been announced, but had it been \$100 per month, probably thus far he had not been paid anything. Apparently, services were not resumed.

Still maintaining residence in Fort Scott, and still with loyal friends, Taylor in late December, again found himself in difficulty. Upon the death of Phineas Clough, a former member of his congregation, Taylor had been asked to officiate at the funeral. The Methodist minister, the Rev. M. A. Buckner, had permitted the use of the church. In reporting the funeral service, the *Monitor* had inadvertently linked the names of Taylor and Buckner. The latter published a card in which he explained that "so far as Mr. Taylor is concerned, he is an expelled member and minister of the M. E. Church, and has no right to partake of its sacraments. . . . [But out of consideration of the family and friends] we thought it would be very unkind to object to a funeral service being held in the church." The Pleasanton *Observer* made a bitter attack upon Buckner, but later apologized after a conversation with the latter in which it was learned that the use of the church was requested by Mrs. Clough. But the *Observer* added a gloss of its own, which Buckner corrected in a second card, explaining that his first card had not been published, as alleged by the *Observer* ". . . to satisfy a gossiping, croaking public. . . . I did it from a sense of duty and for no other reason."¹¹

Approximately three months later, Taylor was reported to be lecturing at Topeka for the spiritualists society where he was assaulted

11. *Ibid.*, December 29, 1871, January 9, 10, 1872.

by R. N. Collingsworth, a revivalist, recently converted from spiritualism, who beat him with a cane. The background of the incident was that Collingsworth had attacked spiritualism and spiritualists in his sermons and a group of men approved a written reply prepared by Taylor, which he published in the *Commonwealth*. After the beating of Taylor they published over their own names a statement of the circumstances. All were men of distinction in Topeka, and particularly well known were F. P. Baker, G. S. and E. Chase, and George W. and F. L. Crane, and they jointly took responsibility for Taylor's article.¹²

Nearly a year later, Taylor was reported lecturing on spiritualism in Manhattan, where the *Nationalist* said that "the Doctor unquestionably proved that the Bible refers to the return of departed spirits to this earth. . . ." ¹³ Toward the end of the same year, Taylor was reported to be lecturing in Chicago where he was more heterodox than when in Fort Scott.¹⁴ By using the terminology of orthodoxy and heterodoxy, and harping upon doctrinal conflicts, the main issue was confused. Science had led many to reject immortality, and many more were harassed with doubt. The central concern of the spiritualist emphasis, whether within the Christian denominations as Taylor had pursued the quest, or within the ranks of modern spiritualism as a movement opposed to Christianity, was a renewed certainty about immortality that would insure meaning to life on this earth. The prevailing faith in science and reason was being turned to account in trying to prove immortality.

The excesses of modern spiritualism disturbed many people during the decades of the 1860's and the 1870's, and for different reasons. That topic is dealt with more appropriately elsewhere, but one aspect applicable here was focused as follows:

While these people [scientific spiritualists] are active and zealous trying to demonstrate the immortality of the soul, we learn that the big gun of the Materialists, B. F. Underwood, of Boston, designs invading us with two lectures next week at McDonald Hall. Mr. Underwood will try to prove that we have no soul, or at least that we have no existence after death. He is the extreme opposite of Spiritualism.¹⁵

Here was indeed the crux of the matter—the search for certainty about immortality which had been under attack by many scientists and others using science. By employing the method of science—experiment and demonstration—the sincere spiritualist hoped to

12. *Ibid.*, March 29, 30, 1872, reprinted from the Topeka *Daily Commonwealth*.

13. *Daily Monitor*, January 28, 1873, the wording is the *Monitor's* summary.

14. *Ibid.*, November 29, 1873, commenting upon a Chicago *Tribune* report of his lectures.

15. *Ibid.*, January 4, 5, 8, 1873.

provide conclusive proof of immortality, which, thus far in the history of the culture of man, had been based upon faith alone. If the sceptic argued that even this resort to scientific method and to science was nothing more than an exercise in faith, then a sufficient reply was that scientific spiritualism and scientific materialism were both based upon the same faith. Of course, such a formula would be two-edged, but that was proper, because scientific method and science were often abused by both materialists and spiritualists. The truth is that all was not "sweetness and light" within the ranks of either spiritualism or scientism.

III. JOEL MOODY

Joel Moody's *The Science of Evil; or First Principles of Human Action: Together With Three Lectures; Salvation and Damnation Before Birth, or the Scientific and Theological Methods of Salvation Compared.—Sunday;—Its History, Uses and Abuses.—Prayer;—the True and False Methods Compared*, was claimed by its publishers, Crane & Byron, Topeka, to be "the first literary work published in Kansas." Wilder challenged that claim, but what was more important was the content of the book which he condemned unmercifully: "The book does not seem to us to be wise or profound, and critics will deny that it is literature. The reading of it would not make us wiser or better, and we prefer to read authors who either instruct or amuse."¹⁶ Unfortunately, Wilder was too conservative, too prejudiced because of matters on which they were at odds, or simply too obtuse in matters of philosophy and theology to state accurately for the information of his readers the trend of Moody's argument. Agreement is not necessary for a reviewer to discuss a book at an intellectual level.

Joel Moody was born at or near Lake George, New Brunswick, October 28, 1833, and died at Topeka, February 18, 1914. His family moved to St. Charles, Ill., in 1834, so Joel's early years were spent in that state. As his parents died in 1846 he shifted for himself, graduated from Oberlin College, received a degree, in 1858, from the University of Michigan, and was admitted to the bar at Columbus, Ohio, the same year. On January 1, 1859, he was married to Elizabeth King and came to Kansas. The young couple lived at Leavenworth from February to October, 1859, at Belmont, Woodson County, from October, 1859, to 1866, when they moved

16. *Ibid.*, January 28, 1871. In his *Annals of Kansas* (1886) p. 546, Wilder gave the date of publication of Moody's book as February 14, 1871, but Wilder's review appeared in the *Monitor* January 28, with the announcement that the book was then for sale by Dyer Smith at the post office news depot.

to Linn county which continued to be the Moody home until August, 1892, Elizabeth having died during the 1880's. He served in the house of representatives from Woodson county in 1865 and from Linn county in 1881, and in the state senate 1889 and 1891 where, as chairman of the committee on education, he sponsored a bill "to place the University of Kansas on a plane above the preparatory school, and to take rank among the higher universities of the country." As a member of the board of regents he had a hand "in its management as well as in its new birth."¹⁷ Also, Moody achieved some local distinction as a poet: *The Song of Kansas, and Other Poems* (Topeka, 1890).

In 1881, when a reporter was refused biographical data by Moody, he wrote to Mrs. Moody to supply them. Her reply is precious and opened thus:

In answer to your conundrums about my husband, I will say: Mr. Moody has been quite a study to me. I have lived with him a long time, and the longer I live with him the more I find out and the less I know really about him.

When and where he was born are questions I know nothing about, but that he was born I have very little doubt, and really on the whole do not regret it.

By the time Mrs. Moody had finished her letter the reporter was none the wiser about the biographical facts he needed. But, surely he had received a memorable document that suggests that life with Joel, Elizabeth, and their three boys at Mound City must have been anything but dull.

When Moody began lecturing on the subjects that found their way into his book *The Science of Evil* . . . is not yet clear, but he delivered several series of such lectures during the years 1868-1870 at Mound City, Topeka, Leavenworth, Lawrence, Fort Scott and other places in Kansas, and in Eastern cities, and apparently with some success. At that time he was referred to as the "Rev. Joel Moody, Minister of the Free Religious Society at Mound City," or "Professor" Moody.

No record has been found of the factors which induced the Moody family to throw in its lot with the Mound City community. The unorthodoxy of both may suggest more than the facts warranted, but from the major beginnings of 1857 onward, radicalism was conspicuous at Mound City in the form of Quaker abolitionism,

17. Kansas State Historical Society, "Biographical Circulars"; *Collections*, K. S. H. S., v. 14 (1915-1918), p. 208 note, portrait p. 211; *Admire's Political and Legislative Handbook for Kansas, 1891*, p. 405, is the authority for the credit attributed to him for the University bill. See, also, his annual opening address delivered September 13, 1889, at Lawrence on "The University and the Student."

woman's rights, and prohibition. In 1864 the Ladies Enterprise Society, one of the earliest woman's clubs in the United States, built the Free Meeting House "for religious worship, educational purposes, scientific, literary and political lectures or meetings. . . ." In 1869 the building was donated to the county and became the Linn county courthouse, and the Ladies Enterprise Society came to an end.¹⁸

In October, 1868, the Linn County Spiritualist Association was organized.¹⁹ Another group fostered in Mound City in the community tradition was the Free Religious Society with which Joel Moody was conspicuously associated.

At Fort Scott, beginning December 14, 1868, Moody delivered at the City Hall a series of five free lectures on "The History and Philosophy of Evil." Concerning these a sympathetic correspondent furnished an extended report saying that: "For Sermons they are out of the track of popular preaching, being not only scientific and historic, but philosophic in the highest sense of that term. . . ." Because these are the first series on which reports have been found, the brief references to their content are important to indicate something of the intellectual path he was to follow until his ideas were printed formally in the book. The first sermon was introductory to the whole series and

contained a historic and philosophic account of the Devil.—His second . . . treated . . . the popular and false theory of Evil . . . a stunner to Orthodoxy.—The third . . . was "Gods providence in man and nature," showed a knowledge of the Physical Sciences inostentatiously wrought into a "Sermon" which seemed to fall upon the ear like *manna* into the wilderness, of popular preaching.

He argued from the perfection of God, that if He ever created a Devil, He must have meant the very best to the life of the Devil; that he created no evil as evil, He meant no evil as evil; and that there could be no absolute evil in the Universe. Sins there are many, but no sin absolute and generic tainting the whole race.

Extracts from the manuscript of the fourth lecture were printed, one of which may fairly indicate the trend of his argument:

No vicarious atonements can prevent the effects of our sins or errors on the coming generations of man. No blood of Christ can wash away the diseases of the flesh transmitted to children. . . . Ministers urge men and women to prepare for the next world. Would to God they would spend their feeble

18. William Ansel Mitchell, *Linn County, Kansas, A History* (Kansas City, Mo., 1928), pp. 331-340; Andreas-Cutler, *History of Kansas*, p. 1108, offered a variant on some points.

19. *The Border Sentinel*, Mound City, November 13, 1868, printed the text of the constitution.

talents and earnest breath in teaching fathers and mothers to prepare themselves and their children for this world. . . . It is not the soul of man that must be saved so much after death, it must be saved before birth. It is not death, it is life which is a fearful thing.

The fifth sermon was not summarized, but the account closed: "Suffice it to say, the course was the word fitly spoken—broadly and well, at the right time, and in the right place. In the language of one of our best citizens, 'Thank God there is one man who has the courage to speak the truth.' Mr. Moody is a graduate of the University of Michigan, an accomplished and finished scholar, but his best recommendation is the Sermons he preaches." The writer announced the "intention to have him preach to us once a month." The phrasing of this last remark implied that a sponsoring organization was involved, but none was named.²⁰ In a card printed in the *Monitor*, Moody thanked the people for the donation of \$50 for the lectures: "It pleases me to find the most influential, intelligent and business part of the people, wherever I go, so interested in the cause of Man and True Religion in the world."

The plan for monthly lectures by Moody did materialize, the announcement saying he would "preach to the liberal religious element of Fort Scott," February 7, 1869, in McDonald Hall, 4 P. M.; again March 7, subject—"Immortal Life"; April 4, subject not announced; and May 1, "Education."²¹

His sermon of June 6, at Mound City, inspired a signed request that the *Border Sentinel* print it in full: "Use and Philosophy of the Sunday." He stripped Sunday of what he called "the black pall of Superstition," and proposed that it be made a day of rest, recreation, rejoicing, social enjoyment, instruction, "or labor suited to the condition of each human being. . . . Labor must be reclaimed from the curse of the Bible, the curse of the law, and the curse of avarice. . . . The Scientific lecture might profitably be made to take the place of the popular sermon. . . . The world demands a new religion. . . . That it will come and that right soon, is inevitable."²² When preparations were announced for the Fourth of July celebration of July 5 (Monday), July 4 falling on a Sunday, with Moody scheduled for a public role, his principles were put to a test. He published a card, a defiance, he

20. *Weekly Monitor*, December 9, 23, 1868; *Border Sentinel*, Mound City, January 1, 1869. The issue of the *Monitor* for December 16 is missing from the file and it may have supplied more specific information.

21. *Weekly Monitor*, February 3, March 3, April 7, 28, 1869.

22. *The Border Sentinel*, Mound City, June 18, 1869. The text of the sermon was Romans 14:5.

would not "burlesque" the Fourth of July, the National holiday in that fashion.²³

By July, 1869, but the date of organization has not yet been determined, Fort Scott had a society to sponsor Moody's lectures. Wiley Britton, its secretary, wrote to an editor under the date line of July 25: "We have organized a Free Religious Society here, called 'The Fort Scott Institute'" and from its constitution and bylaws he reprinted sufficient to set forth its objects. They recognized "the great principle of the unity and harmony of Nature," and the conviction "that a religion to be strictly true, must be strictly scientific; and that any system of religious belief which has its claims upon authority instead of science—the hand-maiden of God—must necessarily be false. . . ." They proposed:

The establishment and maintenance of a library of useful books and periodicals, in a place accessible to members, and the procuring of, from time to time, lecturers on scientific and religious subjects; for furnishing rational and healthful amusements; and for the purpose of better enabling us to discharge all other acts of charity and benevolence, and whatever else tends to elevating and benefiting mankind.

Britton concluded his communication by reporting that:

The Society is flourishing, and our reading room is well attended every Sunday morning at nine o'clock. Mr. Joel Moody, of Mound City, gives us a lecture about once a month, and his high literary attainments can hardly be equalled in the West, and doubtless [are] not far behind Prof. Denton. Kansas has done much in liberating and unfastening the shackles of the slave, and I think will be equally as active in liberating and relieving the mind from superstition and bigotry.²⁴

By order of the Fort Scott Institute a communication was published in the *Weekly Monitor*, September 1, 1869, under the title: "A Prophet Not Without Honor Save in His Own Country":

The truth of the above saying was never better exemplified than in the reception the Rev. Joel Moody has met with in this place, contrasted with his reception in Lawrence, Chicago, and other Eastern cities. Here perhaps not over forty or fifty persons at a time have listened to his teachings. There overflowing houses have greeted him, have published his lectures, and have besought him to come again. And well they might, for a gentleman so perfectly conversant with the writings of Parker, Buckle, Herbert Spencer, Huxley, and other great modern philosophers and thinkers, must needs interest and delight an audience with living, vital truths; truths that men know and feel accord with the great laws of life. And yet what shall we say of a people that, neglecting such teachings, will waste one-seventh part of their time listening to the crude and superstitious dogmas of the dark ages; and strangest

23. *Ibid.*, June 18, 25, 1869; his card was reprinted in the *Monitor*, June 30, 1869.

24. Joel Moody "Scrapbook" (K. S. H. S.), p. 61. Probably a Leavenworth paper, not the *Times Conservative*. The Free Religious Association as a movement and its relation to Kansas will be presented separately.

of all, though these *orthodox* doctrines do not accord with a single law of nature, but come in direct conflict with nearly all. Though the modern discoveries of science proclaim the system a lie, and though the whole world practically disbelieves it, yet for no other reason than that which actuates a majority of people when they abstain from commencing an undertaking on Friday, or from changing a garment after being put on wrong side out,—they still persist in paying the *superstition* a lip homage. But is that right? If the laws which control the great questions of Intemperance, Poverty, Crime, and Prostitution, can be found in any other system of philosophy—if we can by any stretch of courtesy call this superstition a system of philosophy—it is our duty to study that system. As well might we insist that our scholars should found a system of astronomy on the principle that the earth is the center of the solar system, as to try and base the laws of life upon this huge superstition.

Mr. Moody will deliver one of his great sermons next Sunday, at City Hall, at 7½ o'clock. P. M. Subject—Who Makes Our Idiots and Villains? Turn out and hear him.

Proudly the Mound City *Border Sentinel*, September 10, reprinted praise of its fellow-citizen from Lawrence, Chicago, and Fort Scott papers and commented favorably upon the Fort Scott Institute: "A society of men and women who fearlessly discuss all questions of theology and human nature, and are organized for the good of man not to teach theological dogma."

Beginning December 20, 1869, Moody announced a series of five lectures at the court house in Mound City, which still served as a community forum as it had while maintained as the Free Meeting House. The theme was "Progress of Thought":

While they are philosophic, the philosophy is NEW, and the result of the scientific requirements of the world, and peculiarly of this age. It may be expressed in a sentence,—evolution instead of manufacture. This age is peculiar. It may be called the Individualizing age. . . . But what the people learn is particular. . . . It has been my object to generalize and give a more comprehensive view than people have usually been in the habit of taking. . . .

After trying out the new series on his neighbors, Moody again made a tour of Eastern cities during January and the larger cities of Kansas in February, 1870.²⁵

In the Moody "Scrapbook," the clipping from the Topeka *Daily Commonwealth* was marked in pencil—"Orthodox Paper," and in that light its contents was more illuminating than the comments which had nothing but praise for the lecture "Progress of Thought." He drew his illustrations from "the different historic ages, the nebular hypothesis, the development theory, the development of science and religion, and the growth of law. The lecturer did not

25. *Border Sentinel*, December 10, 1869, January 6, 1870; *Daily Kansas State Record*, Topeka, February 2, 3, 1870; *Topeka Daily Commonwealth*, February 1, 1870.

find special creative acts, such as miracles, and derived all things by evolution. All religious faiths were developed one from another, and put on the same level as brother and sister."

The editor thought Moody's weakest point was inaccuracies of statement and generalization: "Another mind might perhaps take the same facts and arrive at an opposite result." Among other things Moody held that the world's greatest intellectual achievements were found along an isothermal zone of 40°. In closing the editor expressed the hope that Moody would "follow his law of progress until he shall have eliminated all error from his system and shall take his stand on the everlasting platform of truth."

Returning the story to home ground, that multiple purpose organization, the Fort Scott Institute, requires attention again. Having been launched during 1869, it had been called a free religious society in which capacity it had sponsored Moody's lectures, it had promoted a library, and in December, 1869, it had launched weekly Wednesday evening sociables, held often in the new *Monitor* reading room, which sometimes, at least, included lectures as well as dancing. Because Moody's relations with Fort Scott were so closely allied with the activities of the Fort Scott Institute it seems justified to present briefly in continuity some of the highlights of both themes at this point, extending through the period 1870-1871.

On February 15, 1870, the institute sponsored a lecture "Life Without and Life Within," by the Rev. J. C. Post, the Baptist minister. The next night they spent dancing, and to their music in the *Monitor* reading room, the compositors set the type for the *Monitor* issued the morning of March 17. On a Sunday, March 27, Moody lectured, both morning and evening in the same place. The following month, the institute provided a lecture by one of its members, D. A. Millington, on "Speculative Astronomy." By mid-June Moody's book *The Science of Evil* . . . had been written, at least in a trial draft. He gave a series of five readings from the book in Fort Scott and again in Mound City. The *Monitor* commented facetiously that: "He will find no lack of material on which to work in reducing the subject to a science."²⁶

In July Susan B. Anthony was visiting her brother, and while in Fort Scott, the institute engaged her to lecture, July 14, on "Work and Wages," admission charge 50 cents. A small but select audience was said to have been present to hear her insist that women could free themselves only through the ballot. On Saturday evening, July

26. *Daily Monitor*, February 15, 17, March 29, April 24, May 3, June 19, 1870; *Border Sentinel*, April 1, June 17, 1870.

16, she spoke again; "Why not?" in the Methodist church, answering objections to woman's suffrage. For full measure, Taylor asked her to share the Methodist pulpit with him the next evening on the subject of temperance. The *Monitor* congratulated Taylor on being a consistent advocate of woman's rights, and suggested that Susan "has a somewhat new theory on the temperance problem."

"An astonishing crowd congregated at the Methodist Church on Sunday evening," the *Monitor* reported—in spite of the almost unbearable heat, and many were turned away. After being introduced by the minister, Miss Anthony spoke for nearly two hours: "She contends that man, in the management of society, is a grand failure, . . . but she does not omit occasionally to upbraid her strong-minded sisters—but this for their mild submission to the tyranny of the male portion of the species." The editor then concluded: "We cannot help thinking that if Miss Anthony had ever married it would have improved her opinion of the male sex."²⁷

As this lecture was delivered at the evening, or young people's service, a constructive suggestion offered by Miss Anthony, other than her hobby, was quite in order; the development of an institute to serve generally the needs of young people in the community. The local implications of that suggestion through the intervention of interested local elements led into the problem of the Y. M. C. A. and must be summarized in another context. In conclusion of this particular Susan B. Anthony episode, however, attention should be called explicitly to what had happened. The Fort Scott Institute had been her original sponsor, and admission had been charged, resulting in a small audience. The Anthony following "snowballed" in spite of the heat when transferred to the Methodist church, the second, and particularly the third night, as a part of the regular Sunday evening service. The original sponsors were forgotten and such stimulus as Miss Anthony may have given to doing something more for young people was capitalized upon by the more conservative Y. M. C. A. group at the expense of the institute, the much more radical "free religious society." Of course, nothing of this sort had been "planned" by anybody. On the other hand, but quite unrelated to the foregoing, the position of the institute was strengthened by the American Unitarian Association of Boston which sent a gift of 41 volumes of its publications including "the works of Channing, Norton, Stanley, Wilson, Ware, Clarke, Bellows, Morrison, Sears, and others."²⁸

27. *Daily Monitor*, July 12-17, 19, 1870.

28. *Ibid.*, August 17, 1870, the text of resolution of thanks dated August 14, 1870.

At Mound City, Moody had used the Congregational church for the five evenings beginning June 20, 1870, upon which he had read installments from his *Science of Evil*. . . . Publicly, the *Border Sentinel* and its readers registered no expression about the incongruity of this procedure. A similar tolerance was in evidence when Moody endorsed a spiritualist lecturer, scheduled to speak in the Mound City courthouse, September 20, 21: "He is one of the champions of Spiritualism, and has long been doing gallant and honorable service in the cause of Reform. Turn out and hear *the friend of man*."²⁹

For the winter lecture season of 1870-1871, Moody prepared a lecture "The Reformer," which was presented first at the Mound City courthouse, November 29:

Prof. Moody's lecture . . . was characteristic of the man who delivered it: bold and fearless. Announcing truths which popular opinion is not prepared to endorse, yet which are incontrovertable, and will shine with brighter lustre as science and philosophy advance. . . .

Prof. Moody is too conversant with the history of the world to have his zeal dampened by a small audience in Mound City. As an offering of consolation, we beg to quote the old adage: "A prophet is not without honor, save in his own country."

The editor explained further in the Moody vein, that current accepted ideas were once heresies.³⁰

"The Reformer" was next delivered by Moody before the Fort Scott Institute in the *Monitor* reading room December 1. In announcing Moody, the *Monitor* volunteered the comment that: "He gained the name of a talented lecturer last winter in the northern cities, and is recognized among the best thinkers and philosophers in this country, as Huxley and Spencer are in Europe." Public co-operation with the institute was asked in encouragement of first class lectures for the coming winter. Apparently this kind thought was wasted upon Fort Scott, because: "Mr. Moody's lecture last night was not as well attended as it should have been. It was a most beautiful and instructive lecture . . . Aside from the merits of the discourse, Mr. Moody had a pleasing and elegant delivery which is the soul of a lecture." Next, Moody took his "Reformer" to Topeka.³¹

Tangible results of prolonged efforts came to both Moody and the institute early in 1871. The publication of *The Science of Evil*

29. *Border Sentinel*, September 16, 1870.

30. *Ibid.*, November 25, December 2, 1870.

31. *Daily Monitor*, November 29, December 1, 2, 16, 1870; *Border Sentinel*, December 16, 1870.

has been recorded already. In March, 1871, "The Fort Scott Institute" was incorporated, without capital stock, for the purpose of "the advancement of Science, the diffusion of knowledge and the maintenance of a library."³² The charter was notarized before E. F. Ware, March 4, and filed March 7, 1871. The five incorporators, who were also its directors were O. A. Millington, J. R. Morley, Wiley Britton, V. W. Sunderlin, and John Farnsworth. The "Sociable" of March 29 was held at the residence of Farnsworth. All members were invited to be present and to bring their friends: "Joel Moody will be present and 'dish up' the 'Darwinian theory' to the lovers of scientific knowledge."³³ Sometime during the ensuing months, after depending so long upon the *Monitor* reading room, the institute acquired a meeting place of its own. For some reason not now apparent, no historical account of the organization has been found and the reports of its activities in the *Monitor* were so irregular that a continuity cannot be satisfactorily established. But, in concluding this sketch it should be said, that before its passing from the scene Institute Hall provided another meeting place for various community gatherings.

IV. *The Science of Evil*

In his book, *The Science of Evil*, Moody's inquiry into the origin of evil started with the questions and answers of primitive man: "Since the dawn of history a theological notion has embraced a scientific fact. . . . The early mind struggling for truth, seized a fact of Nature, and dressing it in a mythical garb, passed it down in song to the world. . . . Yet every explanation has some truth in it. Myths are by no means devoid of truth. They are the harbingers of Science; the nursery songs of the world's infancy."

The introduction to the book continued by declaring that most controversies turned, not on substance, but on a question of definition: "This is the whole story of the controversy between the Idealist and Materialist; the whole story about Fate and Freedom. There is truth in both; and the one is dependent upon the other." He warned of misconceptions about natural law, insisting that it was not a cause, but an effect, and that the characteristics of a law could only be inferred from the effects: "a law is only an effect of the action of [Infinite] Force on matter. Strictly speaking then, a law of Nature cannot be violated,"—we cannot violate an eclipse

32. "Corporation Charters (official copybooks from office of secretary of state, now in archives division, Kansas State Historical Society)," v. 3, p. 192.

33. *Daily Monitor*, March 29, 1871.

—and violations of a law of nature as popularly misunderstood could not affect human welfare. Thus scientific predictability was an effect, or an evidence of law.

With these premises held firmly in mind, Moody sought to describe a subjective relativism of knowledge and ethics and reconcile them with the unique but finite individual and with infinite force and universal matter:

That the world is in a continual transition, that it is forever "a becoming," and never reaches any special goal, which can be clearly defined; that Theology must precede Science and is typical of it; and in fact that the whole religious history of the world is only typical of Science, and all god-names are only symbols of Force, he [Moody] has endeavored to make quite plain. *Force personified in the god; is only Force made real in Science.* The tyranny of a monotheistic worship, and the comparative freedom of a polytheistic one, is strikingly manifested throughout the world. The latter is conducive to the advancement of Science; the former is inimical thereto. . . . Science must be strangled by the hand of the ancient Jew and Catholic, while it is nourished by the Greek and Protestant. . . . That the freedom of Science will one day take the place of a theologic tyranny, and that the scientific lecture will take the place of the Sunday sermon, is a fact shortly to be realized. It is a fact already knocking at the door of the Church.

Having challenged his readers' attention by a provocative introduction Moody proceeded to execute, in eight chapters, his plan of presentation of the science of evil. He concluded that evil had always existed and was necessary to a consciousness of good, and to a freedom of choice from alternatives in conduct. To Moody, man was the product of development, of a dualism: a finite manifestation of infinite force and universal matter. Man is no different from other animals except that he achieved an intelligence that set him apart from those animals that did not have it; and in consequence Moody found religion and morals the product of development also, but insisted that no necessary relation existed between them. As indicated in his introduction, science was evolved out of religion—the question "What?" was religious; the question "How?" was moral; and the question "Why?" was science.

Moody cited two illustrations to serve as concrete examples of relativism. First, the wolf-lamb-grass chain of subsistence in which the wolf and the lamb differed in what was considered good and evil—lamb ate grass, and wolf ate lamb. The second was an imaginary conversation about ethics among eight participants representing different time periods and cultures; Jesus, Moses, David, Luther, a Protestant Christian, a Universalist, Whittier, and a Spiritualist. Each defined ethical values differently, yet documented his view by

a suitable citation to the Bible. Moody concluded: "how useless it is for one amidst such a complexity of opinions to define morality." For him, wisdom and ignorance were absolutes, but there existed also, all gradations between: "It is just the same with morality. It is a variable quantity, and passes onward from imperfection, as the starting point, towards absolute perfection. The standards of individuals and the ages are all different, and must necessarily be so, else there would be no varying conditions."

The several individuals or branches of the human race did not advance equally, according to Moody's system, and he compared the relations of human cultures with those of geological structures:

This age is not superimposed upon the past, burying it entirely . . .; but, like the geological strata, all the formations of past ages crop out on the surface of this age somewhere, showing us the changes which time has brought about. We study the past in its fossil remains, both in earth and man . . . so there are living representatives of moral doctrines which predominated in past ages, but which are now looked upon as barbarous and out of place.

This law of varying conditions is organic, and perhaps inheres in the ultimate atom. Some generalizations upon this fact may not be out of place.

The first great law we find in the world is, *Nature, distributively, never repeats herself*. No two men, no two women, no two children, can be found exactly alike . . .; no two animals . . . no two plants alike . . . and we presume no two ultimate atoms of matter alike. . . .

We are now able to see the immediate cause of so many conflicting opinions, and why people are engaged in an endless discussion of rights, privileges and duties. The true cause of an opinion lies further remote, and depends on the degree of knowledge.

It is not safe to jump at conclusions about the consequences of Moody's reasoning. His chapter two was headed: "Perfection in Man Forever Impossible." He insisted upon "man's unlimited imperfection" in contrast with the traditional 18th century doctrine of the unlimited perfectibility of man. A person started from absolute ignorance, "having inherited . . . at most only a certain tendency or capacity to know, and perhaps certain instincts that are irrational," but finite man could never reach absolute perfection. Misconception on that score, Moody concluded, had "always led to failure in ethical teachings" and to an erroneous concept of "the perfect law," also impossible. The admonition of Jesus: "Be ye therefore perfect," according to this logic was impossible, the practical alternative being merely to "aim at perfection" leaving the course "open for each fallible person to aim as he sees fit. . . ."

The task which Moody imposed upon himself was formidable—the reconciliation of the apparent complete relativism of knowledge

and of morals with his concept of the absolute ethical principle. Immediately there was no certainty, all was relative—but the eventual goal of human striving was the reconciliation of the finite with the infinite force through the instrumentality of science. Whether or not his attempt was successful as a philosophical system may be open to question, but in any case, Moody was not alone in challenging the still unsolved relativist dilemma. At any rate, he did not accept the defeatist position of the prevailing 20th century relativism.

V. EDWARD SCHILLER

The third of the Kansas authored books of 1871 was Edward Schiller's *Hand-Book of Progressive Philosophy* (New York: J. S. Redfield). This was the same Schiller who had established the Fort Scott *Evening Post* in 1869. The United States census of 1870 listed him as a Saxon, and 42 years of age. His wife was born in New York, and his two children in Louisiana in 1862 and 1864, indicating that he had been within the Southern Confederacy during the American Civil War. He dedicated his book to Wiley Britton, later to be widely known as the historian of the Civil War on the Kansas-Missouri border. He explained in the preface that the book was designed for the general reader, and there was no pretense of originality. "Living remote from the great centres of thought, I have not recently had access to extensive libraries, and some of my quotations have been made from memory:"

After commenting on the general uselessness of encyclopedias for philosophy, he explained further that many of his notes had been made years earlier, and might be rusty. In chapter 11 he explained that an innate impulsion within man for self-expression was his reason for writing this book. It was made up of 39 short chapters divided into three groups. In part one, he laid his philosophical ground work about the nature of the individual man. Two properties of the soul were thought and love the soul's sojourn on earth was preparatory, any return to earth was improbable, and a day of judgment was repudiated. "Truth was born with us," and was lost, he said, by contact with the world: "Children will naturally speak the truth," and "The aim of science . . . is the discovery of truth." Furthermore: "virtue cannot exist without truth." The powers of the soul were dormant until developed by the mutual influence of others in society, and as authority for this view, he cited Aristotle. Although man was created in God's image, Schiller in-

sisted that he was not a mere instrument, but possessed reason and choice, doubt preceding knowledge.

In part two, Schiller described his theories of religious belief and a cyclical pattern of development of theological thought in all religions: monotheism to polytheism, and return to monotheism. As applied to Christianity, he saw the universal principle illustrated in the monotheism of Jesus, then the introduction of polytheism step by step with the victory of trinitarianism over unitarianism, and the introduction of the virgin, the apostles, and saints as intermediaries who must be venerated. He insisted, as against August Comte, the French sociologist, that Protestantism, however deficient in some respects, nevertheless made a positive contribution toward separation of philosophy from religion. But Schiller dated this separation as an explicit issue as stemming from G. W. F. Hegel (1770-1831) through David Friederich Strauss (1808-1874), and Joseph Ernest Renan (1823-1892), especially the latter.³⁴

Both Strauss and Renan had been orthodox Christians, one Protestant and the other Catholic, and both reluctantly arrived at substantially the same conclusions: Jesus was a mortal man only; the Christian religion contained things that Jesus did not teach; and the tendency of the age was toward monotheism—religion reconstructed through the aid of philosophy. Schiller insisted that Strauss and Renan did not wish to destroy the church, but to save it—reconstructed. He refused to condemn ceremonies outright, because “they have been of vast benefit to humanity itself.” For him, prayer and worship were a human necessity, because through these rites men turned aside “to ponder on the great source of all existence—the Creator. They inculcated love, not of God alone, but of their fellow-men.” For Schiller: “Philosophy . . . has simplified religion.” In the United States he pointed to Unitarianism as the American manifestation of the return to monotheism; but he warned that the achievement of that ideal of pure monotheistic religion as a general condition was slow and would not occur in his or even the next generation.

In reviewing Schiller's *Hand-Book of Progressive Philosophy*, editor Wilder, evidently not prepared to endorse the contents personally, wrote:

If this book finds many readers, it will find many haters, for it arrays itself against the whole theological world. The author does not believe in the inspiration of the Scriptures or the Divinity of Christ, and is one of the

34. Schiller dismissed Hegel's philosophical system as such as “comparatively unnoticed at present.”

coolest iconoclasts we have ever read. . . . But it lacks the eloquence, the rhetoric, the enthusiasm, the wit, and the imagination which have given to the books of Buckle, Renan and Theodore Parker, advocating the same theories, so much of their popularity."

Although living in the same town nearly five months, Wilder confessed that he had not talked to Schiller.³⁵ But about the same time, Wilder called the attention of his readers to Charles Darwin's new book, *The Descent of Man*, in which the conclusion was made explicit that man had evolved from a lower form of life: "The present work of Darwin, like his 'Origin of Species,' is attracting wide notice and extensive and varied comment."³⁶

The Topeka *Kansas State Record* looked upon Schiller's book with favor, approved its "plain English" and commended it to the clergy and to all interested in philosophy: "It bears evidence of being the work of a thoughtful and intelligent person, who undoubtedly knows more than he gets credit for among his neighbors." The Buffalo (N. Y.) *Courier* said that he "rambles throughout history to find support for his preconceived theories," but had no system of his own. The Philadelphia *Argus* said: "This book is full of modesty and mistakes. As to modesty, it is founded on truth, and we admire its candor." The term "Progressive" was thought to be unwarranted because men rate progress differently, and the readers were warned about the blind leading the blind.³⁷

At home Wilder was giving the book some second thoughts, partly stimulated by the report of the local book dealer:

The Fort Scott Philosophy, Mr. Grossman informs us, has met with a good sale in this city, and the demand continues. It is evident that Fort Scott is determined to know what kind of a philosopher she has living with her, and what his philosophy is. The book has been generally and favorably noticed by the press—more attention having been given to it than we supposed it would receive. The author was unwise in frankly saying that he lived in Kansas, and could not consult great libraries. Some of the reviewers mention this fact, and say no more. Of course no man in Kansas can think or write! Kansas has done something, in days gone by, towards setting other men thinking.

Schiller next turned his attention to historical work, dealing with aspects of European history. Delivered first as lectures, five essays were printed in the *Kansas Magazine* during 1872. As were many Fort Scott men, Schiller was interested in promoting the interests of the city and the area it served and tied its future to its mineral resources. From political history he turned to geological history

35. *Daily Monitor*, March 3, April 14, 1871.

36. *Ibid.*, April 26, 1871.

37. *Ibid.*, April 16, May 4, 1871.

and made a geological survey of the country to the south of Fort Scott. Communications, that is railroads, were essential to the exploitation of this potential wealth, especially a rail connection through the mineral region to Memphis. In 1873 Schiller moved to Memphis where he joined the editorial staff of the *Avalanche*,³⁸ and in 1877 was reported as still with the same newspaper. Schiller died, September 9, 1881, at San Antonio, Tex. Alone in the world, and his background unknown, his fellow printers on the *Daily Express* at that city buried him. From his private belongings the fact of his former residence at Fort Scott was learned—also that he was the author of a book. A letter of inquiry to the *Monitor* sought news of surviving relatives, but an eight-year absence from Fort Scott (1873-1881) and its shifting population had erased virtually all specific memories about its once distinguished citizen. One contribution was alleged, but cannot yet be verified, that, besides the book on philosophy, he had written a book on law. But about all this, the editor of the *Monitor* was quite vague.³⁹

Before leaving the subject of Moody and Schiller a few observations are in order. Both emphasized that they were proceeding scientifically in their philosophies, and that their findings were the product of science. Evidently both relied for the most part upon the same 19th century writers, but they differed somewhat in sources and emphasis. Schiller depended more upon the European continental, and especially the German philosophical tradition, while Moody reflected more of English thought. They were diametrically opposed, however, on the role of monotheism and polytheism in relation to freedom. Not only did the relativism of evolution put them in opposite camps in these matters (pluralism v. monism), but it deprived both of them of philosophical and moral certainty as an immediate goal. Both were compelled to rely upon an existentialist if not a stoical endurance of an imperfect finite world, but both still clung to the concept of absolutes in an infinite universe toward which man might strive through science.

The three men considered in this essay do not exhaust the budget of philosophers for the 1870's in Kansas or even in Fort Scott. Several others will be noticed in due course. These three were iconoclastic in several senses. The more obvious aspect is their challenge of orthodox religion. A notable point implicit in the foregoing review is the minor role of the so-called enlightenment of the 18th century as traditionally focused upon France and Paris.

38. *Ibid.*, May 11, September 1, 1872; October 26, 1873; April 12, 1877.

39. *Ibid.*, September 17, 1881. The editor was in error about dates.

Finally, two related Kansas myths, that Kansas is the child of New England, and that Kansas is Puritan, are challenged indirectly by the evidence that the inspiration for most of the philosophical and theological dissent stemmed from elsewhere—particularly, direct from 19th century Great Britain and Germany.

A final point of emphasis is appropriate as a closing thought. Local history is the foundation of all history. The locality is the special scene where occurs the intermingling with the primary folk heritage of ideas from the outside. This hybridization, or cross-fertilization of different strains of thought, as in the biological organism, produces new virility and originality. This folk process, as seen here at work, is more, much more, than the mere incorporation of the great thought of the 19th century into the local levels of culture. Out of this local space called Kansas and other comparable localities emerge creative minds and original ideas to compete at several larger levels of partitioned space. The great personalities and great ideas of every culture originated in some local space. The history of the United States, or of any other nation, cannot be written adequately or be understood in all its uniqueness except it is written from the bottom up, from the foundations of its multiple localities.

Letters of Daniel R. Anthony, 1857-1862— Continued

Edited by EDGAR LANGSDORF and R. W. RICHMOND

PART TWO, 1858-1861

I. THE LETTERS

LEAVENWORTH 20nd Jany 1858

DEAR FATHER

Can you make arrangements to spend the summer in Leavenworth? I will guarantee you \$1,000. per annum. There is a large number of Dwellings say 1,000, in this town uninsured, it needs only solicitation to get them, and then not one fourth the labor required in Rochester—no dwelling insured at less than 1.%

Genl Bennett wants me to pay some attention to Kansas City & other Missouri towns, and will probably wish me to be their supervising agent for the Missouri River country this year also—¹ Could you sell any of the property do so at $\frac{3}{4}$ the market value, or price usually valued at by you. All appearances indicate a large business here this spring— Is not your office business too small for two—and cannot you or Aaron make as much alone, as both of you together? I would like to have you try the business here a short time at any rate I think Aaron would like the place and the business— the only question is can you do better here and enjoy yourself better than in Rochester—

I would not exchange my chance here for the best business you have in town (with no capital or same as I have) our telegraph line will be completed to this place by the 15th Jany 1859—²

I have engaged a new office 16 ft front 38 ft deep—on first floor of a two story building, brick, 12 ft between joints—with a front built higher than the adjoining buildings—and am to have the whole front for my advertising with signs &c This office is only a few doors below my present office and is one of the best locations in the city—

Yesterday New Years with four others made calls and I had a good opportunity as we rode about town with a four horse carriage

EDGAR LANGSDORF is assistant secretary and ROBERT W. RICHMOND is the state archivist of the Kansas State Historical Society.

1. J. B. Bennett of Cincinnati, Ohio, general agent for the Aetna Insurance Company.

2. Anthony's prediction about the arrival of the telegraph in Leavenworth was only ten days in error. The poles were up at Leavenworth in December, 1858, and the line was completed to the town on January 25, 1859.

to see the rapid growth of the place. buildings constantly going—two or three hundred dwellings now being finished— And now is the time to make a strike, once get them insured and then the work is done— only continue doing so.— Write me what you think about this matter— I think the prompt manner in which business is done here would please you. What is needed is to talk the thing right up—

I have a good charter for insurance Life Fire & Mar[in]e with banking privileges—am elected President of it—with old Lyman Scott as one of the Directors he takes \$20,000 stock—he is one of our wealthiest men—³ think it a good thing— And if you was here you might do a good business just insuring lives— I suppose Aaron would have no idea of moving west—although I have written him on the subject. Look this matter over thoroughly and see if you dont feel disposed to try this place a month or two—or longer—

Wilder will visit Rochester about the 15 Jany—will return to Leavenworth 15th Feby or 1st March— I shall open an account in New York in the spring— Write soon.

Truly D. R. ANTHONY

LEAVENWORTH KANSAS

April 24th 1858

DEAR FATHER

About one month ago I sent you note for \$1,000 Three months dated April 4th 58. with directions to get it discounted and have notes forwarded to me by Express.

I have not heard one word from it. Whether it has reached you or what has been done or will be done.

New York drafts are selling here at 1% discount for currency (Bank notes) or ½% discount for Gold.

So you will readily see that I can make a good thing if I only had the money to operate with.

Drafts on New York are selling at from 1½ to 3%

I have sold the Land warrants I brought out with me (880 acres) at a profit of \$95.— Business prospects here are fine. Many Emigrants are coming in. Mostly *bona fide* Settlers.

In pleasent weather our Levee, Main Cherokee & Delaware Streets are fairly blocked up with teams—

Leavenworth is the commercial metropolis of Kansas and will be of the whole country west of this point—

3. Lyman Scott emigrated to Kansas from Pennsylvania in 1857 and in 1858 was elected to the territorial legislature.

My Fire insurance premiums for this month amount already to \$1500. It is better than I anticipated, and no credits have been extended to customers.

Have made up my mind not to engage in any Land Speculations.

Our best business Lots sustain good prices, better than last year. Outside suburban property has depreciated slightly.

Lands remain about the same. Any investments made in Lands at or near the Government price will be profitable—and a large tract will come into market next July. Money is coming in more freely.

I have been buying some Exchange on New York this month and have written to New York to open an account with some Bank, and have also ordered a book of Drafts to be got up in good Style—

My insurance business can not continue as large during the summer. Have just engaged a very competent German to canvass for me among our foreign people— We have a large number of Germans here—his name is "Aug Shickedantz. he was educated in an insurance office in Germany— I like him very much, he is a genuine go ahead fellow. He says he is an advertisement himself—he is popular—

Hope you will write by first mail. Have small notes sent— It will have good circulation.

Have heard nothing from Merritt

Your Son
D. R. ANTHONY

Myron Strong has gone East. he has made some good business arrangements there

Doct John Reid has gone into the country with *Wilder*

H D Mann has gone also—he likes the country very much

Mr. Williams son of Major John Williams is here, he goes out to Utah as Train Master—

Rev. Mr. Kalloch of Boston came up on the same boat I did—he is to locate in this city & practice Law—

Mr Green of South Adams Mass is clerking here—

Mr Marsh formerly ticket agent at South Adams is at Wyandott

The above are all the personal matters I can think of at present—

In haste
DRA

LEAVENWORTH June 20th, 1858

DANIEL ANTHONY ESQ.,

Rochester N. Y.

DEAR SIR:

. . . If you cant make a living in Rochester I would hire a small boy about 65 years of age and could afford to give him \$1,000 a year, providing he would pay his attention to business— last month I sent premiums as follows

(\$381. prem is let run into	Aetna	\$670.20	
June account—as my June	Home	533.50	
prems will be smaller)	Charter Oak	222.	
My profits for May about	Ocean	275.	Total 1700.70

\$300.

I did not expect Richardson or Chappell would call— Your fears about troubles affecting business here are groundless— Business can be transacted here as safely as in Rochester— I owe nobody except \$218.25 at Union Bk and \$200. to A. M. McLean for which I have cash on hand ready to pay at any moment—and be square with the world— Now if you can sign the note and Sleep nights without dreaming Alms houses and Poor houses &c . . . I wish you would do so and I can make money out of and pay the notes when due— If you think you cant—why say you dont wish to and direct Aaron to return the note at once— I have two friends in Kansas both rich one said to be worth \$50,000. who went on my Aetna Bail Bond for \$1,500.— . . .

Had a letter from Merritt about June 5th he was working hard— think I shall send Tim to help him the balance of the year— He can then Plow & fence a large quantity of Land— . . .

Write often and dont have the Blues you wont live half as long— nor as well. . . .

Your Son
D. R. ANTHONY

LEAVENWORTH KANSAS

June 29th 1858

DEAR FATHER

Have just recd letter from Aetna Co desiring me (at my “earliest convenience”) to go to “Glenwood Mills Co Iowa” relative to a loss which they have sustained there on a policy issued by an up River agent— I shall go on the 1st July. will be gone ten days. so you see I shall soon be compelled to hire a “boy” to *stay* in the *office* and *run* about the street on *errands*.

I sent Tim down to Osawatomie to work for Merritt. I also sent M some clothing and—(\$20) twenty dollars "Suffolk Bank" Boston—to buy cow &c—

Premiums in June amount to about \$1200.— *and think I shall [have] every dollar due me on insurance paid by tomorrow night—* and all reports and remittance made at same time—

Weather intensely hot no rain for two whole days. River the highest it has been thus far this season. The Missioui is so rapid that it never rises to do much damage— The water whether high or low runs like water at the tail of a mill race—4 to 8 miles an hour, and it is against this that our steamers have to run, Making only 100 to 150 miles per day. up Stream & 200 down stream.

I have some little money loaned at 5% per month— you can Keep your funds where it brings you 5 per cent per annum. Mary D[itt]o and Aaron I have written once or twice and he hasnt pluck enough to say he dont want to send it out here into my unsafe keeping—

If you could sell your property for $\frac{2}{3}$ its value I would advise you to move here forthwith. I think times will be hard & money will command a high price for some time to come— . . .

Most of eastern people seem to prefer travelling on those old fashioned slow coaches which are liable to upset at almost every ditch or swampy place or creek, instead of which they might ride in a new velvet cushioned Rail car at the rate of 30 miles per hour with almost perfect safety—

Another reason why this country is better than the East is the climate is excellent, the air so pure—that you seldom meet with a case of consumption or "*Hipo*" the latter disease is almost unknown.

I have taken but one Life risk since my return this spring premium \$352.00 but I fear it will not be taken I canceled three fire policies last month for non payment of premiums— amounting to (\$126.00)— they were all good—but I did not wish to break a good rule. the same men say they will insure with me next month—

What arrangements are you making for business another year— It seems you might all do better— Insurance business can only be done here by personal solicitation and it is much harder to do it in Rochester than here— Can give you or Aaron agency of Aetna at any point in Kansas.

When obliged to stop in St. Joseph for a few hours I went into the street and took two risks—profits (\$20.75)—

Money can be made here—the only *joke* is the saving of it—

Well I hope you Mother and all are feeling as well as the married & unmarried portion of the family in Kansas—

Truly D. R. ANTHONY

LEAVENWORTH KANSAS

July 4th 1858

DEAR SISTER

Have been awaiting a through Steamer for Council Bluffs, for the last three days. very few steamers go above St. Joseph. Expect the boat along every hour. River continues very high so boating is good as it can be against a current which runs from 4 to 8 miles an hour. shall be back by the 15th Inst.

I continue to board at the same place, price only \$4.00 per week, day board. live better than I have found anywhere heretofore. weather continues hot.

Jack Henderson was advised to leave town yesterday, which he concluded to do forthwith.⁴ Some other climate will be more congenial to his health I presume. others will soon be notified to visit other portions of our *favored country*. which they no doubt will voluntarily or involuntarily. Many of the notorious Border Ruffians are coming back and our citizens think for their own protection they should not be allowed to stay here—

Marcus J. Parrott our member of Congress returned last evening. we procured a Band of Music and serenaded him at the Planters Hotel. Think he is more decided than when he went to Washington.

Have just returned from my soday Dinner. It consisted of Broiled Spring chickens, New Potatoes, Corn Bread, Wheat Bread, good Butter, Lettuce, Tomattoes Stewed, Pickles, & cherry pie. All good. So you see every thing goes on well in boarding line.

Mr. Susk [or Lusk] of Elwood Kansas, has just returned from Paola near to Osawatomie. Said he met Merritt just beyond Kansas City with his oxen returning home with a load of goods for merchants.—I sent him \$20.00 by Tim last sunday—

Will send you deeds for you to sign when I return from the north. Property can be bought very low, some good lands for \$2.00 which will be good investments.

4. John D. "Jack" Henderson was active in Proslavery politics and was for a short time owner of the *Leavenworth Journal*. He served the territory as public printer and was chairman of the Central Democratic Committee in 1857. A committee investigating fraudulent votes cast at the January 4, 1858, election charged Henderson with illegal action in connection with forged ballots at the Delaware Agency and his position in Leavenworth apparently was not secure after that.

They are putting up a good 3 Story Brick Flouring mill here— & 3 or 4 brick Stores this season, and any number of wood buildings. . . . All crops here I think will be good.

Wish I had some one East to Act in conjunction with me in Land Warrants & Exchange. on the lot of Warrants I bought in March I made \$100.— but I have written Father and Aaron time and again, and can get no answers. they dont want to do any thing. are afraid, or something, I don't know. but they might write and *decline* to [do] *any thing*. When I was in Rochester Father & Aaron both talked matter over and I supposed it was understood plainly what they were willing to do. If they had continued buying Land warrants and had bought no more per month than I did say 8 or 10, I could have made \$300. or more, and so with money If I had it. I dont want my matters talked over with every body. I am getting along *well*, and can get along without help and do better than all the family east put together. but if they felt disposed to assist even for no more than is due—I could succeed much better. But I do want to know exactly what I can depend upon.

I think of moving into an office just south of where I am now, and get on the first floor. Have got my new Safe in it. Wish you would write again soon.

Truly

D. R. ANTHONY

LEAVENWORTH KANSAS

July 13th 1858

DEAR SISTER

Your very welcome favor of the 28th Ultimo arrived here yesterday. I left home on the 4th for Glenwood Mills Co Iowa, about 20 miles south of Council Bluffs to investigate a loss for the Aetna Ins Co risk taken by the Nebraska City Agent. policy \$5,000, amount claimed \$2200. after looking in to the case fully I become fully Satisfied the Gentlemen were extravagant in their demands, and had made some errors in their proofs— by hard work for two days and nights taking inventories, of amount of sales on credit, for cash, on orders & for Barter and taking the Gentlemens own statements & Books for a guide they with out any admonition from me concluded they were not entitled to over \$600.— I think it one of the *cutest* things I ever did, and if I mistake not—it will be appreciated at the Cincinnati office— and indirectly will be of some

advantage to me. General Bennett also wrote that all my actions in the Omaha trip last month were perfectly satisfactory, and my appointments confirmed—

You see I am somewhat conceited. But I think I can say that no man with whom I have become acquainted in the west is better posted in insurance than myself— Business for this month very light—last mo \$150. —less this mo.—

Havent heard a word from Merritt or Tim since I sent him down to Oss[awatomie] two weeks ago—

When I left home for Iowa I was unwell—but took Steamer to St. Joseph then took a Stage Hack 130 miles to Glenwood— We have had heavy rains the creeks were high. Many bridges gone—and one small stream was overflowed—10 feet deep on the bottom Lands—and 50 ft deep in the channell We could not take the stage over and had to cross in a skiff—distance from shore to shore *one mile*—ordinarily only 100 feet— rode 2 days & 2 night stopped 2 days in Glenwood & went back over the same route—was pretty well bunged up—but on *investigation* think it has benefited the “Billious” indisposition—Yet I am not fully Satisfied that the incessant jolting thumping was the sole cause of relief. when at the Hotel in Glenwood I was attacked in the night by numberless Bed Bugs as large as Pancakes, and in the morning I had the satisfactions of seeing the Blood thirsty villians weltering in their own blood. Now it may be they only sucked the *bad blood* out of me. at any rate I am not any better satisfied with that kind of treatment, than you are with allopathy. . . .

I have written in much of a hurry. My style of writing Home letters perhaps do not show any great amount of care—but just rattle right along. But in my business letters I sometimes write model Letters—

As to note & money matters at home I would not have Father or Mother do anything that will give them one hours trouble or anxiety.—

D R ANTHONY

LEAVENWORTH KANSAS
July 16, 1858

DEAR AARON

Have just time to say we have had a terrible fire burning 30 Stores & contents and at one time threatening the whole town— Total Loss \$125,000, insurance 37,000 as follows Aetna \$15,000,

Home 10,000 Charter Oak \$7,000. Western Vally (Hurd agt) Chicago 4 to \$6,000.—⁵

The Genl Agent of the Phoenix of Hartford was here during the fire. I heard of him next day and saw him— he asked me what I could do for them. I told him he could see what I had done for the Aetna Home & Charter Oak. and he gave me the agency of the Phoenix Co

The Agency of the Safeguard was sent me a few days ago.—with policies &c— one policy Aetna Co \$6,000 I think is void— Home & C. O. Cos Total— This is hard commencement, but hope to do better. Am writing policies right along.— In all, prems taken about \$8,000.—

If money is [available?] send Draft— Water higher than any time heretofore this season. Rain last night and tonight— It don't [rain] in any part of the world half as hard as here—

I enclose Merritts last letter—

Tru[1]y

D. R. ANTHONY

LEAVENWORTH KAN August 3, 1858

DEAR SISTER

Your letter dated the day after our long to be remembered fire come to hand in due season, but has not been answered because my time has been almost wholly occupied in settling & paying losses to the amount of \$27,000. Well most of them have been paid already and I am *afloat again with the same craft colors flying* and a better reputation than ever, but cant say that I want many such advertisements.

Have move[d] into my new office a one story frame building well finished & furnished—BedRoom carpeted &c—board at the same place— And in the course of two weeks expect to be settled and pursuing the even tenor of our (my) way— Had a letter from Merritt a few days (20) ago—he was well &c glad to have Tim— cant write a long letter to night Have a good many long business letters to day.

Have got the Agency of Phoenix Ins Co. of Hartford. Their Gen agt was here the night of the fire—

5. According to the *Kansas Weekly Herald*, Leavenworth, July 17, 1858, the fire started during the night of July 14 in Market Hall at the corner of Delaware and Third streets and extended east on each side of Delaware, north on Third and east on Shawnee. The newspaper estimated that 35 buildings were destroyed or damaged. Since the town's fire fighting equipment was practically nonexistent it was fortunate that a heavy rain began before the blaze consumed the entire business section.

Lecompton swindle I "guess" is settled— our town was wide awake ⁶

I worked all day in my office F C Bennett Bro[ther] of Genl Bennett was here to settle losses, remained nine days and paid all up— He is a gentlemanly A No 1 man—seemed to be well pleased with my business notwithstanding the heavy losses. Says the companies that grumble when they loose are only showing they do not understand their business— Write soon

DANL R. ANTHONY

LEAVENWORTH KANSAS Sept 10th 1858

DEAR SISTER

Your letter of the 2ond Inst come to hand today. You are my only *regular* correspondent. would like to have been home to visit with Dan & Sarah—but it wouldnd pay just now, as this is my *harvest* time, and Ive made up my mind to gather the crops *before* the *Storms* come.

My business is better than heretofore. My first renewal (annual) premium was paid this month— I shall have 3 \$10,000. risks this mo 1—of \$200. prem 1 of \$250. — 1 of 350. prem— two, 5,000 risks— 1 of \$150. prem & 1 of \$165. — several smaller prems of \$128, 140, —168, \$50, \$60, 36, 20, & down to \$2. — premium in Aug \$2,444.00. prems so far this mo 1,700. will reach 2,500 I think. You can say to all friends I am doing well—very well & Kansas is my home— give them no *figures* (except family)—

If our Land sales go off, I want to get hold of 1280.—(8 quarters) acres providing I can get it for Land Warrants— shall have the funds to do so, and believe Lands are sure. I have arrangements for choice selections. The sales ought to be postponed for benefit of actual settlers but if it comes off Im in.—

Sept 11th

I was interrupted last night and so will finish this morning— We are now having beutiful weather— it has been cold & rainy. the nights are cold now— Have had some symptoms of the Fever—but not enough to cause me to take Quinine, or any other medicine. taking the filthy condition of our city into consideration the people have been very healthy this summer, in grading the streets they have left whole Blocks or Squares without a place for the water to run off—

6. On August 2, 1858, the people of Kansas voted on whether to accept the Proslavery Lecompton constitution under the conditions established by congress. It was rejected decisively, 11,300 to 1,788.

For the past week I have been boarding at a Hotel— Mr Hamlin has been moving—expect to go back again this or next week—

Have written Dan S. twice this past summer & spring and no reply—shall let [him] write next time I reckon— Josh R. C. talked of coming out here and wrote me in regard to it— what is he doing—or intend to do— Have made up my mind to let the *people* have their way, and if they dont want to trust Kansas they neednt thats all—

Have heard nothing from Merritt since I wrote you before.

Our Municipal election has passed off. Elected 3 Douglass Democrats—2 old line whigs & 14 Republicans to the diferent offices, all of them however run on tickets headed Free State—no ticket was headed Republican—American whig or Democrat—all the *Whiskey—Ruffians—Irish Catholic & Douglas Democrats* pulled together— We have a large population of *ignorance here*— they raised the cry of Free *white state* for *white men*— For one I am in favor of putting in the word *White* in our Republican Platform in Kansas to combat the ignorance and *predudice* of the *Irish*— it is throwing cake to our enemy—but it will deprive them of their only rallying cry— and in reality will make no difference in the end—

The great cry now is *nigger nigger nigger*. I tell many who raise the cry that niggers in New York are better educated—more intelligent & industrious than they themselves are— I wish Fred Douglas—C L Remond would come here and Lecture—⁷ I think it would be perfectly safe—and they would *draw immensely*— I have already earned the reputation of being one of the most radical men in Kansas. My name was used by the opp[osition] speakers as the embodiment of all that was horribly in the way of *Niggerdom*. But after all in business I have the *full confidence of the people*—

The Hartford Fire Ins Co have appointed an agent here a Mr C. B. Brace— think I can keep up my row— I wish Father was here to assist me in soliciting Dwelling Fire risks & Life risks. Think I will try and Trotter the *Napoleon* if Solicitors to come out—

I wish Father or Aaron would give me full list of amounts lost by each company in late fires in Rochester— I believe I wrote them that I lost \$1,000, for Charter Oak at St Joseph Mo fire on the 16th August last—

The business I have keeps one man quite business [busy?]-par-

7. Frederick Douglass, 1817[?]-1895, and Charles L. Remond, 1810-1873, were outstanding Negro leaders in the struggle for abolition of slavery. Both were noted lecturers and Douglass was also a journalist. Remond served as a delegate to the World's Anti-Slavery Convention at London in 1840.

ticularly as I make full applications on every risk—and copy and report same to company and do it all myself— I hope mother will conclude to write— My time has been constantly occupied with my business so that I have not visited any one or attended to anything but business since my return west—

I dont think I shall come home this winter— Have written you mostly about myself—as most every thing else you already know— Havent had time to send deeds for you Mary & Father to make yet.

Regards to all good Friends

Your Bro.

D. R. ANTHONY

LEAVENWORTH Sept 15th 1858

DEAR AARON

Yours of the 7th Inst with D & F canceled note come to hand this morning. I think Father has a \$1,000. note of my make wont you send it to me.— My business last month was \$2444.00 in prems. This month they will reach \$3,000.— my first annual renewels come round this mo.

The Piano investment may pay but \$250, would buy 200 acres of good land in some parts of Kansas which some day will be worth \$10. or more per acre

I am negotiating for a first class lot on Main St adjoining my office—24 by 125 ft to alley in rear—price \$2,000— during the excitement 18 months ago they asked \$4,000 for same Lot. I am not going to run in debt— I have a \$1,000 cash on hand over all my liabilities— My opinion is property will advance here next spring. Have not sold a foot of land and dont intend to at present— . . .

I notice Trotter is on a trip west. I would like to have him here for this winter.

And if you and Father can make any arrangement and Father inclines I would like to have him in Leavenworth. My business keeps me right at home— The Western Valley Ins Co of Chicago lost \$6,700 by the fire of July 15th none of which has been paid— they are bogus— The parties here who were insured in that company offered to pay my expenses and \$10. per day if I would go to Chicago and settle for them to my best— My business here would not permit—as I could leave no one to attend to it— I wanted to go & slip down to Rochester— But concluded to work while the sun shone—

The Charter must suffer some—did Sheldon or you take the risks in C. O. Co If you have lost only 3,000 in all fires since the Minerva

Hall—you have escaped well. Have taken one life risk to day—the second since my agency commenced— prem \$14.20 I charge \$5. Survey & Policy on Steam risks—\$2.50 on Mercantile risk—\$2.00 on dwelling risks—& \$1. for Renewel Receipts—

Have just got me a new case for Ins papers Glass front all in good shape. My office is one of the pleasantest in town although only a one story frame—

Have just taken a risk in Aetna \$10,000 on a first class Brick Flouring Mill at $3\frac{1}{2}\%$. . .

Have had only two letters from home lately, Susan & yours—

Have had some symptoms of the Ague. took Quinine and it has *give* in— I hope and believe—

Have heard nothing from Merritt lately—

Truly D. R. ANTHONY

LEAVENWORTH KANSAS

Oct 7th 1858

DEAR BRO

As Sept is undoubtedly my best month for 1858. thought I would give you the Figures on premiums. Aetna Fire \$2253.50— Aetna Inland \$184.95 Home \$425.60 Charter Oak \$718. State \$535.00 Ocean \$385.40 Phoenix \$150. Safeguard \$168.00 Total amount Fire & Inland premiums in Sept \$4,820.45— 1 Life policy prem \$15.00 I wanted to reach even thousands but couldnt.—

Have just recd letters from Genl Bennett saying the Omaha agency wants attending to also that he wants me to go to western Iowa and settle a loss— and last night I heard of the snagging of the Steamer “D. A. January” I had insured on Dry Goods on her about \$5,000. Shall go down by first boat to attend to it may go as far as St Louis & Cincinnati— This is the first heavy loss I have had on the river. The river is now very low—only one boat up this week and now is Thursday. All my business for September with all the different companies was settled and paid on the 20nd Inst— your letter dated 21 Sept come to hand on the 28th— pretty fair traveling— Have had some Fever—but think I [am] over it now— these cold snapps will wind it up— we had frost last night for the first [time]— Have heard from Merritt by way of Tim. Tim & Mary were the sick ones—⁸ Sent Tim \$10. to buy “Quinine”— The starving process is the sure way to cure ague—

As ever

D. R. ANTHONY

8. Mary A. Luther was married to Merritt April 2, 1858. Tim has not been identified.

LEAVENWORTH KAN 22 Nov 1858

DEAR SISTER

Well I am back from Omaha Bluffs Glenwood & other places north, and was *very* fortunate in all my business arrangements. Made money for the company (or rather saved) Have had 3 boats snagged on the Missouri lost on the first \$60, on the 2nd \$7,300 on the 3^d \$2,600,— the goods on the 2nd boat I brought to this city mostly Dry Goods and jobbed them off in 5 days—the company write me in regard to my action and—*“The result shows your course was highly judicious and is most heartily approved”*—

Business this month is better than Oct, not quite as good as Sept—

Spent sunday in a pious way, cost me only 25 cents—church is cheaper than the Theatre, although the acting is not near as good—got out of bed on Sunday at 7 a. m. washed put on a clean shirt, went to breakfast at 8½. our family now consists of Mr & Mrs Hamlin the “proprietors”—Mr & Mrs Drake (he is agt of the Telegraph Co & Associated Press) young married couple, Mr Wilder & myself— we had good Steak 1½ inches thick tender and juicy, Sweet Potatoes nice white also Brown Bread & Hot Rolls, with A no 1 coffee—

at 10¼ a. m I waited on Mrs Hamlin (her husband is absent for a few days) and Mr Palmer waited on her mother Mrs Knight to the Democratic Episcopal church. Mrs. H is one of the finest women in town, dresses as well and in as good taste as any one in Rochester (not excepting yourself) had on a \$25. bonnett (a “love” of a bonnet) a \$50. Silk (not black) and Hoops and white skirts of the finest muslin, which in contrast with the mud in the street looked elegantly. Mrs. Knight her mother aged about 38 is a noble good woman full of life is worth some thousands in her own right, her husband was formerly worth his \$300,000, but lost most of it in N. Y.— he brought \$25,000, hard cash to Kansas and made poor investments here and is down right hard up. Palmer [is] a tip top young man 27 years old been to California. Steady temperate & honest worth \$10,000, & making more— so you see we made a respectable party— particularly so as the Ladies belong to the Democratic party (Douglass of course) come around with the Box paid a quarter—got roasted—heard the old story—went home—the weather had thawed and white skirts were no longer white but all mud—

well Palmer took Dinner with us We had a *roast wild goose*,

with dressing, Baked Potatoes, fried apples, Cranberries, Pickles, white & brown bread—Tea and Mince Pie (Cattle are much cheaper here than cats and Dogs, so our Mince Pies are genuine.) All cooked as fine & nice as Mrs. Wollcotts Dinners— visited awhile after Dinner— went to office, ate apples, called on two school marms with Mr. Palmer, took Tea with them stayed until 7½ oclock—went to office again— We had Mr McLanathan one of our leading merchants—Vaughan Editor of the Times Mr Weld of New York, nephew of Theodore R. Weld come to locate in this city as atty, Wilder & myself— talked until ten oclock, against the Church and the Democratic party then separated & went to bed—to sleep until 7 oclock a. m.—

Now you have how I passed one Sunday, this Sunday however is an exception, as I have been to church but once before since my return to Kansas. Expect to have a call to day to give funds to support the Church—

I notice your long article about murder think sympathy in the special case named by you entirely misplaced. better argue on general principles—think there was much sentimentality mixed up in the case. Although your course was right at the meeting and none but flunkeys would deny it. Have written you so long about Dinners & pretty women & Episcopal Churches that you must be well entertained, the Spiritual and the Physical are so intimately related that that which promotes the comfort of the one must interest the other— . . . Will write again soon

D R ANTHONY

LEAVENWORTH KANSAS

26th Nov 1858

DEAR AARON

Yours of the 17th Inst come to hand to day. Am glad you are getting the \$10,000 and 5,000\$ risks. only yesterday I took a \$60,000, risk on a Pork House in Weston.—You will have to try again— My prems this Month will go over \$3,000.— No more losses. hope to have a few days peace. I note your enquiry about purchasing house. If Rochester is your permanent home, all may be for the best— \$1,500, in this Territory amounts to \$2,000 in one year. I am loaning money for a New York City man at 4 to 5 per cent per month—he gives me 6 per cent per annum for transacting the business and one half of all I can make over 20 per cent per annum and no risk on my [part]—he sent me \$2,500, a few days ago.—

Am loaning what funds I get at that rate—4 to 5—with best of securities— Mr Brace of this town has the Agency of Hartford and Western Mass companies— he cuts under in rates but dont succeed much I reckon.

Had a good Thanksgiving Dinner yesterday— 1st oyster soup—2nd Roast Wild Turkey (ok) Fried oysters, Mashed Potatoes, Tomatoes, Squash, fried apples—cranberries—White & Graham bread—Pickles Coffee (ok)—3rd Apple and Plum Pies—and no champagne—with pleasant company. Our Thanksgiving wasnt legal—but then *Rebels* in Kansas are not *conservative*, they do love good Dinners— particularly when our landlady is the sweetest plumpest prettiest lady in the world—with Black Eyes and hair— Well if she hadnt a husband (he's made of Boots, Tailors, Brushes & Hair oil) Id go in dead in love— We always make a bet when we invite our friends to dine and always win because our lady always takes them prisoners— Well we all love her and she divides her love equally among us— necessarily bestowing some little attention on her husband just enough to pacify him, the *dear boy*.

Well as I [have] written three pages of Houses Insurance, Turkeys Squashes & Women, (I hope Sus wont take offense at my classing Squashes & women together) and will, in the language of one of our Kansas orators who spoke at a Democratic Meeting here last night ("*before I proceed to take my seat*") "*before I proceed to close*," Express the hope that your Thanksgiving Dinner at Cousin Rosa was as generously treated as our own Kansas Dinner.

Well somehow memory does say Rosa's Dinners were equal if not superior to Mrs. Hamlins, but Mrs H gets up Dinners in nearly the same Style—

I believe good Dinners is the only subject over which I get interested—

With regards to all & hoping youl "*just drop a line*"

I am

DANL. R. ANTHONY

LEAVENWORTH KANSAS 15th Dec 1858

DEAR BRO [EUGENE MOSHER]⁹

Yours of 3rd Inst come to hand the 11th. Am pleased to hear you talk of coming west. as to what you can do, must of course, be a subject for you to decide— I have been anxious to get some one to assist me in my business, and for one who could "fill the Bill"

9. Eugene Mosher was Anthony's brother-in-law, the husband of Hannah Anthony Mosher.

could afford (providing my business continues good) to pay \$800. to \$1,000. per annum. Have written Father but he is so well settled at home that there is little or no prospect of his selling out and coming west. And then if he could sell it is a question whether it would be for the best. I think would just "fill the Bill" for this business— It wants a good *solicitor* for out door work. My time is occupied constantly so much so that I cant devote the requisite time to soliciting new business which might be done to great profit—

Now whether this business would suit you or not is more than I can say. What think you? My business thus far has proved successful beyond my most sanguine expectations, and from present appearances will continue good as long as our town continues to grow and all things indicate a splendid future for Leavenworth. an immense emigration will probably flow into this Territory next season, and our town cant help, what seems to be its destiny, becoming the Metropolis of Kansas and the west.

Could you realize from sale of your farm and how much— In the west of all places Money is needed to make money.

You can loan money at from 3 to 5 per cent per month on undoubted security, better than you obtain in New York—

I now have \$1500 loaned at 5 per cent per month A Gentlemen from New York sent me a few days ago \$2,500, to loan on his acct. and I am now loaning it to parties at good rates— He gives me 6 per cent per annum for working his money and one half of all I can make over 26 per cent per annum— I can make \$6,000, pay \$1,500 to \$2000. interest per annum. House rents are high, Small houses 6 or 7 rooms 300 to \$400.— Such a house as yours 400 to \$500 per annum. Provisions are low. all kinds of Merchandise can be bought at fair prices. Day board is from \$4.00 to \$5.00 per week, Board with Lodging from \$5.00 to \$10.00— Of course if you come here you would keep house. I think Rents and Board will both come down—

I have written at length to Aaron about business here. Think that the Grocery trade was a paying business— A first class Dry Goods establishment with a Stock of \$30,000, would pay. A Stock of \$10,000 of carpets, House Furnishing Goods & Queens & Glassware would pay— Almost any kind of business if pushed would prove a good thing. Have written Aaron about his comeing out here and assisting me but dont think there is much prospect of his coming. He is not much of a hand to push out into a new world.

I do not like to advise in such matters but think you would be pleased with life here providing you are willing to put your Pants

inside your Boots and wade through mud to accomplish your business. It is *money and hard work that will pay here*— The fare from Albany to Leavenworth, when the Missouri is open is about \$40.— and \$10. to \$20. more when the River is closed as it is at present. now you *Stage* 215. miles from Jefferson city—

As to MDs there are lots of them say 50 to 25 in town. Yet, an A no 1 man will get a good business at once, and a paying one—have thought of writing Henry K McLean but dislike to advise any one for fear they may not like and their business may not prove remunerative—

Leavenworth has a population of 8,000 people 150 to 200 Stores, 5 or 6 Hotels, 5 or 6 Steam Saw Mills— 1 Pork Packing establishment, 1 Large Brick Steam Flouring Mill 4 . . . Stores—2 Iron Foundries—2 or 3 Waggon shops, an endless number of boarding houses, and our streets present a very lively appearance— looks like Rochester Minus the Brick Buildings. I would advise you to sell your farm and loan the proceeds in Kansas.

As to marrying Matters am inclined to take the subject into serious consideration and if so situated that the case could be fully discussed the question might be adjusted— Dont think there is any prospect [of] my making any such arrangement west— Please write me fully about the marriageable Ladies in Washington County— For reasons most satisfactory to myself, I have remained single thus far—and suppose no one regrets my course or cares particularly—

My best love to Nan, Mother & yourself and regards to Easton Friends Write on recpt of this telling what shape you can get your affairs into for a western life— and when & how you prefer to come & live &cc

Truly

D. R. ANTHONY

LEAVENWORTH KANSAS

15th Dec 1858

DEAR BRO [AARON]

I have written you once or twice lately in reference to Kansas Matters. Today I rec'd a letter from Eugene saying he had thoughts of coming west, and I have answered him at length in regard to Kansas & this town in particular. Told him to sell and invest his money in loans here— Which he can do and realize from 3 to 4 & 5 per cent on good securities.

Whether Eugene would be of any benefit to me in Insurance

business I cant tell, and so wrote him— What is most needed in my office, is some one to solicit Dwlg risks, make reports. I can do best at taking all the large jobs and that occupies my time completely. And then again I confine myself more closely to my office than if I had some [one] to stay in office, when I was out, on whom I could depend. Of one thing I am fully convinced, viz, that it is best for me to keep my business within myself I am now so well advertised that every body knows the agency, and any change would tend to mistify— whether Eugene can do any thing else here Im unable to say. He must make up his mind on that point himself—

My prospects for next year look bright, and unless some unforeseen event happens, I shall have a prosperous year.

What arrangements are you making for another. Are you thinking of remaining in the Rochester Agency business? Or have you an *idea* about coming west? Would [you] have any notion of trying Ins business with me here—

Think an agency at Elwood would pay well. it is a small town only 500. people—but it is directly opposite St. Joseph a town of 7,000 people—and much business could be done there by hard work—

D. W. Wilder a brother of A. C. Wilder is now there and doing a handsome business as Sub agent for me— The laws of Mo do not allow agencies from other states to transact business by agencies without the companies pay a large tax which the Aetna dec[1]ine to do except in St Louis— I take a good many risks in St Joseph & Weston.

I suppose there is little chance for Father to sell any Rochester property If he can, I say sell at $\frac{3}{4}$ of the price which you have been asking and use the money here—

Now if you wish to make money why you must strike at the right time I made a loan of \$1,400. one year for a note of \$2,000. Secured on property worth \$5,000, and property insured to protect me— \$1,200 cash will cancel the note I hold against Father, if he desires, so to do.

From all appearances Leavenworth is going to continue to prosper— All is life with our business men.

Write your views at once, and will do all I can to give information &c

Truly

D. R. ANTHONY

LEAVENWORTH KANSAS

March 14th 1859

[D. A. TO MOTHER]

It is a long while since I have [heard] from my mother and as I happen to get a "Dressing Gown" by my good friend Wilder from you or some one else, I may as well formally return thanks for the same, but then it is of no use to me unless I am sick with the ague, or get married a fellow will get pretty well shook up in either case. However I am truly thankfull for the present— Did Ann Eliza get the spoons or Forks I sent her?¹⁰ (by Wilder) Everything is looking bright— lots of people coming here—some to stop others going to Pikes Peak, by far the largest number going to the Peak. I have no inclination that way. Merritt did think of going but has given up the idea—

Tell Susan I take the Atlantic Monthly & the Standard by the year & N. Y. Daily Tribune— Daily Times & Ledger, Weekly Times, & Herald & Weston Platte Argus— making 8 papers in all— also the Insuran[ce]—Monitor & Bank Note Reporter—10 papers— think she will be satisfied I have reading matter enough for one—

I continue boarding at Mrs Knights—a first rate place— Mr. & Mrs. Knight Mr & Mrs Hamlin—N. S. Knight, Frank Palmer & myself make up the family— Wilder comes up occasionally to dine— We live well— better than most others—

Our town is growing rapidly about 10,000 people— One merchant failed to day the second failure since I come here—

Had a letter from Eugene some two months ago— Have had nothing from Susan in a long time— Have just had twenty shirts made— 6 colored Linen 4 White Linen—10 Cotton with Linen colars & Bosoms, —Some with colars, rolling some without any colars— So you see I will get along for shirts awhile— the lot cost me \$50.00—Also 5 Shaker Flannell Shirts & 3 Do Drawers 1 pr Cass Pants— 1 Blk Do 1 Brown Coat— 1 Blk velvet vest— 1 pr Boots— costing \$75— So you see I am well clothed not likely to freeze— particularly when the weather has been so warm and pleasant that there has been no need for overcoats for 4 weeks— grass is quite green— Season opens at least 4 weeks earlier than in New York—

Write all about home matters &c I expect Father out here this spring My weight this winter has been 165 to 170— Now about 165 on acct of warm weather

Your Son
D R ANTHONY

10. Anna Eliza Osborne, who became Anthony's wife in 1864.

LEAVENWORTH KANSAS

20th March 1859

DEAR SISTER

Your letter from Albany come to hand in about ten days and was a welcome visitor. Business was much better during the past winter with me than I anticipated last fall— The we had a Negroe Kidnapping case here—which made some excitement for awhile.¹¹ It has mostly died away— They were going to “drive out” certain *Radicals*, this was old doctrine, and it awoke a spirit of “wont go”—

The Conservatives had a meeting, denounced the “Times”— & the next night we had a meeting and a clincher it was.—¹² I made the most *calm* speech of the evening and was even complimented by my political opponents— They didnt drive any body out of town— And didnt injure any bodys business. Nobody was killed —although the Slave Catcher drew his Revolver on me, but concluded to put it up hastily and walk away. We made about twenty men swallow lies in pretty short order—& were quiet again.

This morning as my Negroe was bringing a pail of water to my office he was attacked by an Irishman, (all Irishmen seem to hate niggers) his bucket of water spilled, and the negroe struck by the dru[n]cken Irishman a brother negroe ran across the street to his assistance, and at once throtteled the Irishman throwing him in the mud. Other Irishmen in turn attacked Negroe No 2— And No 2 come into the office took my Revolver went into the street again. When the said Irishman wizzed [?]- So ended the fracas—

A white man has no rights which a nigger is bound to respect.

The people of Kansas are not anti-Slavery— Many of them come from such Slave States as Missouri Illinois Arkansas Pensylvania South Carolina & Indiana and cant be relied on—

I think Indianna & Missouri are two of the hardest Border Ruffian Pro Slavery states in the Union—

The Democracy are making great efforts to carry Kansas—

I am very certain I shall carry Kansas on the Insurance question

I continue boarding at Mr. Knights Shall move into my new offi— about 15th April or before— The best in town. Our winter

11. On January 13, 1859, Charley Fisher, a Negro barber of Leavenworth and an alleged fugitive slave, was kidnapped by Deputy U. S. Marshal Frank Campbell and Frank Harrison. On January 24 Anthony was one of a group of nine Free-State men who rescued him in Leavenworth from R. C. Hutchison, who claimed to be Fisher's owner.

12. The two meetings referred to by Anthony were held on January 26 and January 27, 1859. Proslavery partisans—the Conservatives—condemned the rescuers of Charley Fisher and endorsed the claim that he was a fugitive slave. A Free-State group next evening denounced the “slave catchers” and upheld Fisher's claim that he was a free man.

has been very pleasant— grass begins to grow. Trees to leave out. Boats running and the town full of Strangers— Every thing looks brisk.

As to Father coming here dont think there is any trouble on acct of sickness, I weigh from 165 to 170 this past winter— 5 to 15 pounds more than usual.

Think the visit would open his eyes about Kansas business— He dont have any faith. And all my plans for business last year were defeated. Money can be made here, and that Safely & surely,—if they in Rochester Father & Aaron would only cooperate with me—

Write all the news—

Your Brother

D R ANTHONY . . .

W. W. Bloss is home by this time. I think H. C. Bloss will think I wrote him a singular letter— But then no body can appreciate the meanness of these would be defenders of Slavery—

LEAVENWORTH KANSAS

March 25th 1859.

DEAR FATHER

I wrote you some time or days ago. about route to Leavenworth. Your best route is via Chicago Hanibal and St. Joseph. Fare from Chicago to Leavenworth \$16.50—via Rail to St Jo & Steamer to Leavenworth. Now you can learn whether tickets from Rochester direct to Leavenworth are to high priced in Rochester—

Of course you can come either way but I think this your best route— In returning you can go by St Louis & Cincinnati boats run down the Missouri faster than up it—

I[n] making up your mind to visit you must determine whether you can leave your business without damageing it materially. I think you will never have a better time—

Susan thinks mother may be to unwell, or the climate here may affect your health. of the latter I have no fears, and think you will enjoy as good health here as in Rochester— as to mothers remaining at home alone with Susan you at home are the best judges—

Our town is flooded with emigrants to Pikes Peak.¹³ The New York Life have sent me an agency with instructions to insure Pikes Peak men. My business continues good took 20,000, on 23rd

13. Large numbers of emigrants to the Pike's Peak region were coming through Kansas in the spring of 1859, lured by news of the gold discoveries in what was then western Kansas territory.

prem six months \$525, &- \$10. policy fees— Have only four life policies in force.

Write me or telegraph what you conclude to do about coming out & when you start. . . .

I want a new safe—about No 6 to No 8— & want the new style of Lock with combination numbers no key used I want one Fire & Burglar proof— write me cost of one got up in good style with description by the maker—

See whom you prefer in regard to making. I want a good one. Write soon about it— If you cant attend to same, will Aaron do so.

I would like the arrangement made with some of the New York Bankes to loan and circulate their notes here— I know I can do a business that will please them I have better facilities than many others here. I hope you or Aaron will make an effort in reference to this Bnk arrangement I know it will pay both parties.

Am well except a slight head ache—which I hope to get rid of it soon I weigh 167 pounds

Your son

D R ANTHONY

LEAVENWORTH KAN May 14, 1859

DEAR FATHER

Your letter of the 6th Inst come to hand this day. You have undoubtedly recd my letter countermanding order for Safe ere this. I have bought a very good one. Stearns & Marvins make Wilder Patent. Cost \$350, in N. Y. I bought it low *for cash*— can sell it almost any day and make \$50. or a \$100. on it.

I have made arrangements to do quite an extensive business in the money department, and may want the safe at some future time. Think however they ought to take \$400 at 6 mos— If I should want one—

I am in hopes you can find time to come to Leavenworth soon.

Think you did well in selling Hank, & if you sell the others as well, you do better. I am anxious to have you see this country, quite a Life Ins business can be done here. I have taken 5 applications this month— 2 of \$2,500— 2 of \$2,000 & 1 \$1,500. I think you could take 20 a month all summer long—

My business continues good. Have heard nothing new about the St Jo agency of Aetna Co

I have thought some of going to the Osawatomie convention, but it rains so hard now I think it almost impracticable and then I cant hardly leave— . . . ¹⁴

Money is now quite easy here at 2 per cent per month— One loan was made this week of 10,000, 4 years at 24 per cent per annum payable semiannually—

I have been calling in a portion of my funds and now loan on shorter time— Have as yet not made a dollar loss—and trust not to— . . .

I now own 1211. acres good (A No 1) Lands within 20 to 35 miles of town. And some of it is now getting quite valuable— A large number of settlers are moving in this year.

I have written a little of every thing and will wind up for this time

As Ever

D R ANTHONY

June 3, 1859

DEAR SISTER [SUSAN]

Your letter is recd will accept orders drawn by the party you name to the amount of \$200— and draw on Wendell for the amount. Cant say how much I can help the cause— we have enough to attend to besides *Womans Rights* just now— ¹⁵ Would like to cultivate our people so that they will allow white men to live and breathe—first—as the Women already possess that right—they must help us first and then we will help them—

Write again soon. In haste—

Yours truly

D R ANTHONY

14. On May 18, 1859, the Republican party of Kansas was organized at a convention in Osawatomie.

15. Wendell Phillips, 1811-1884, a lawyer, orator and reformer, was allied with William Lloyd Garrison in the abolition movement. He served as president of the American Anti-slavery Society and was also a leader in other reform movements—prohibition, woman suffrage and penal reform.

By 1859 Susan B. Anthony was actively engaged in reform movements including woman's rights and suffrage. In 1852 she had joined forces with Amelia Bloomer and from that time forward was lecturing and writing, demanding for women the rights and privileges allowed to men.

LEAVENWORTH KANSAS

10th Oct 1859

DEAR BRO

Yours of the 3rd Inst come to hand—was glad to hear from home.

I sent you paper containing acct of an attack upon me by "Bob Miller" Foard & Gladding & others—which is in the main correct—¹⁶

The people of all parties sustain me in my action, and I am satisfied I did right— only I ought to have better prepared with weapons to defend myself with. Gladding is considered out of danger I have doubted all the time whether he was seriously hurt, the wound was just above the Naple and below the Stomach— Think they will not attack me again. If they do—I hope to be prepared for them with the "*Armor of truth*"—with no slips—

Have sent my app to New York Life Ins. Co for Two Thousand Insurance—I have lost by fire as follows Waggon Shop at Sumner— of Brick

City	3,000 Stock
------	-------------

Charter Oak	2,000 Bldg
-------------	------------

By fire at Leavenworth of Wood Planing Mill—

Aetna	3,700 Machinery
-------	-----------------

The above D R Anthony agt

C. B. Brace Agent lost

North Western Oswego	2,500
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Western Mass — Petty	600
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total

Hope to Keep clear awhile now—

Have this bought some 10,000 acres Land Warrants at 85 cts and hope to make something on them— . . . Insurance business is dull— . . .

Land Warrants are doing quite well—have made some money on them since my return— I Keep close to the Wind with them, think to make 200 or \$300 on this last lot—

Have just located 4—160 acre warrants on Section 9—Town 3, Range 11 Nemeha County Kansas— running water on 3 quarters of it & some 30 acres of wood—all A no 1 Land— think I have

16. On October 3, 1859, Anthony was involved in an argument and scuffle which followed an exchange of remarks at a political meeting in Leavenworth. According to the *Leavenworth Weekly Times*, October 8, Anthony was accosted by Bob Miller, W. F. Foard and Gladden (or Gladding). Gladden struck him with a sheathed Bowie knife and Miller also hit him. Anthony drew his pistol but it failed to fire. Gladden suffered a knife wound, inflicted by someone other than Anthony, and Miller was knocked down. Gladden's wound was the only one suffered during the difficulty. According to the *Times* neither Gladden nor Foard were the type to resort to violence but were urged on by Miller.

made a good Selection— when you want to farm it come out—
I now own some 2,000 acres Land of first quality— . . .

Hope to hear from you often—

As Ever yours

D R ANTHONY

LEAVENWORTH KAN 9th Dec 1859

DEAR SISTER

Got home on Friday night—all O.K. found matters here pursuing the even tenor of their way. Business not over brisk but doing enough to pay expenses, and a little to pay expenses east—

Had time to vote—got whipped in this county but the country comes up all right— Our whole ticket is elected in the state, and old Buck [President Buchanan] can do as he pleases— we will come in as a state some time—¹⁷

Hope your meeting went off well— The evening here was pleasant & cold— old Brown died like a hero as he was, and nearly all have to own that he is superior to the common herd— I suppose Wendell Phillip was to preach to funeral sermon at North Elba. I hope he did— & Chas Sumner will soon be heard in the Senate again— The Hounds will have to stop yelping in 60— If Seward is not hung as a Traitor before he gets to the White House— . . .¹⁸

Hope mother and all are well—Write soon

As Ever

D R. ANTHONY

11½ P. M. just had an oyster supper and shall dream well—

I go to the Border Ruffian town of Weston tomorrow on Insurance business—otherwise I shall remain closely at home so far as I know this long while—Have had no chance to send the things to Merritt — had a letter from him dated Dec 2 he was well then & in good spirits— D R A

17. On December 6, 1859, an election of state officers and a congressional representative was held under the provisions of the proposed Wyandotte constitution. The Republican ticket was defeated in Leavenworth county but carried the territory.

18. John Brown was executed by the federal government on December 2, 1859, because of his attack and attempted seizure of the U. S. arsenal at Harpers Ferry. Brown was buried at North Elba, N. Y., December 8, and although the Rev. Joshua Young read the service at the burial Wendell Phillips did make a speech to the funeral assemblage.

Charles Sumner and William H. Seward, members of the U. S. Senate from Massachusetts and New York respectively, were powerful supporters of Kansas' admission into the Union as a Free state. Anthony was an admirer of Seward and favored the New Yorker as a presidential candidate over Lincoln in 1860.

April 6th 1860

DEAR FATHER

Your letter of the 30th Inst from Lyons come duly to hand—

I went down to Osawatomie. Saw Merritt. Stopped with him two nights found him Mary & baby all well—

Merritt & all intend going to the Peak about May 1. he will take out farming utensils with the intention of farming on a "Ranch" near Denver city—

He will not sell his place— 80 acres of it is deeded to you I paid his law suit which closes all his indebtedness— he will have enough to get a good outfit—

Generally speaking things sent on from friends East cost more than they are worth for freight

I looked the matter of Merritts going west all over with him and decided to give him no opinion as to whether he had best go or not— I gave him all the information I had of the country and the people—

Merritt knows some there—and many of our own citys best boys are in Denver—

Some of our boys who are there are amoung the most plucky & alliable and will aid advise & plan for him (Merritt)—

Merritt has rented his farm on shares—

I think some of going East in May and can then tell you all about [it] but cant begin to write.

I dont think you can give him any advice except of a general nature My idea was in favor of his going west, but I did not so tell him—

I let him have the use of the property I bought last May— Cattle Cows & Waggon— he thinks of taking two teams— if he does he will make \$200, for carrying over load—

Our trial come off on Monday next— Dont Know how the matter will end— it may end in trouble.¹⁹

Deputy U. S. Marshall—Mr Armes attempted to arrest Capt Montgomery a few days ago—but the Capt took him— got the papers from him and sent him home again.

If they press these arrests—a war will ensue— if the amnesty

19. Anthony was one of the men indicted and tried for the rescue of the Negro, Charley Fisher, in January, 1859. On April 18, 1860, a motion to quash the indictments was argued and John Pettit, judge of the First district court of the territory, sustained the motion on April 23.

act of 1859 is not lived up to— there will be such a war in Kansas as never before witnessed on our soil—²⁰

Capt Montgomery will not be taken in any event— 200 troops he can whip & 1000 are too clumsy to catch him

Some of the *Southern Kansas Boys* will attend our trial to see we have justice done us—

Can write no more at present— . . .

D R. ANTHONY

LEAVENWORTH KAN 5th Feby 1861

DEAR AARON

Yours of late date at hand. . . .

If matters do not change from present appearances I shall be in Rochester this mo. But business and U. S Senatorial matters may change my programme—

Parrott is expected home this week and I can then know— Our State Legislature will be convened by Gov Robinson—we think in March—and we wish to elect Parrott U. S. Senator—²¹

I think perhaps if Father would come out here, he would enjoy himself— do a good business for me.— And in the end would not regret— And if his Stay was only temporary—it would benefit all round— This spring will be a good time to open up Life Ins here— he could start that branch If you should come— It would be diferent—as you would take the place of my present Bookkeeper—who is so young & inexperienced I dont like to trust him to much—

But yet I hardly think my business would justify me in paying what would be a fair price to you—

My present Booker is 21 years old—he is straight & honest and all OK to appearances—as well as capable— he costs me only \$300 per year— he will want more soon, but I dont trust him to draw checks on St Louis or New York or pay checks at the counter unless in special cases— this of course confines me closely in the office— Had I \$10,000 more cash in my business I would say come out and

20. Deputy U. S. Marshal Leonard Arms tried unsuccessfully to arrest James Montgomery and other Free-State sympathizers for alleged criminal offenses committed during the political difficulties of the late 1850's. Another attempted arrest proved fatal to Arms on April 20, 1860, when he was shot by John Ritchie of Topeka, who refused to submit to seizure for a supposed violation of law in 1856. The Amnesty act, passed by the legislature of 1859, was intended to make participants in the earlier struggles exempt from charges and arrest.

21. The first state legislature convened on March 26, 1861. On April 4 it elected two U. S. senators, James H. Lane and Samuel C. Pomeroy. Anthony's candidate, Marcus J. Parrott, finished third in the balloting.

I would give you \$1,200 per annum—but dont now see where I can get it—

If Father comes out—of course I would pay all his expenses and something say \$25, per month besides—for 4 or 6 months—

Will write you again soon—and hope to see you this month—

How do you like our paper—

Yours truly

D R ANTHONY

(Part Three, the D. R. Anthony Letters of October 1, 1861-June 7, 1862, Will Appear in the Autumn, 1958, Issue)

Recent Additions to the Library

Compiled by ALBERTA PANTLE, Librarian

IN ORDER that members of the Kansas State Historical Society and others interested in historical study may know the class of books the Society's library is receiving, a list is printed annually of the books accessioned in its specialized fields.

These books come from three sources, purchase, gift, and exchange, and fall into the following classes: Books by Kansans and about Kansas; books on American Indians and the West, including explorations, overland journeys and personal narratives; genealogy and local history; and books on United States history, biography and allied subjects which are classified as general. The out-of-state city directories received by the Historical Society are not included in this compilation.

The library also receives regularly the publications of many historical societies by exchange, and subscribes to other historical and genealogical publications which are needed in reference work.

The following is a partial list of books which were received from October 1, 1956, through September 30, 1957. Federal and state official publications and some books of a general nature are not included. The total number of books accessioned appears in the report of the Society's secretary printed in the Spring, 1958, issue of *The Kansas Historical Quarterly*.

KANSAS

- Americus Centennial, 1857-1957* . . . June 1, 1957, *Souvenir Program*. N. p. [1957?]. Unpaged.
- AMES, WILLIAM P., *The Song of a Century, and Other Poems*. Dexter, Mo., Candor Press, 1955. 74p.
- BACH, MARGARET F., *Journey to Freedom*. Grand Rapids, Mich., Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1953. 117p.
- BAILEY, BERNADINE, *Picture Book of Kansas, Pictures by Kurt Wiese*. Chicago, Albert Whitman and Company, c1954. Unpaged.
- BEATTY, MARION, *Labor-Management Arbitration Manual*. New York, E. E. Eppler and Son [c1956]. 167p.
- BECKHARD, ARTHUR J., *The Story of Dwight D. Eisenhower*. New York, Grosset & Dunlap [c1956]. 180p.
- BECKMAN, PETER, *Kansas Monks, a History of St. Benedict's Abbey*. Atchison, Abbey Student Press [c1957]. 362p.
- BELPRE, METHODIST CHURCH, *Fortieth Anniversary of the Methodist Church, Belpre, Kansas* . . . 1910-1950. No impr. [12]p.

- BETHEL, FIRST BAPTIST CHURCH, *History of the First Baptist Church, Bethel, Kansas*. No impr. 34p.
- BOLDS, GEORGE, *Across the Cimarron [as Told to James D. Horan]*. New York, Crown Publishers [c1956]. 301p.
- BROWN, LENNA WILLIAMSON, *From Zero to Infinity, a Philosophy of Matter*. Lawrence, Allen Press [c1956]. 176p.
- CANFIELD, DOROTHY, *A Harvest of Stories From a Half Century of Writing*. New York, Harcourt, Brace and Company [c1956]. 352p.
- Capper's Weekly, My Folks Came in a Covered Wagon*. N. p. [Capper Publications], 1956. [104]p.
- CARSON, L. B., *Introduction to Our Bird Friends, Vol. 2*. [Topeka] Capper Publications, c1957. 25p.
- Centennial History of the Topeka Schools, Compiled by the Retired Teachers of the School System*. N. p., 1954. Typed. Unpaged.
- CONNELL, EVAN S., *Anatomy Lesson and Other Stories*. New York, Viking Press, 1957. 214p.
- CONNELLY, W. L., *The Oil Business as I Saw It, Half a Century With Sinclair*. Norman, University of Oklahoma Press [c1954]. 177p.
- CORNISH, DUDLEY TAYLOR, *The Sable Arm: Negro Troops in the Union Army, 1861-1865*. New York, Longmans, Green and Company, 1956. 337p.
- CROY, HOMER, *The Last of the Great Outlaws, the Story of Cole Younger*. New York, Duell, Sloan and Pearce [c1956]. 242p.
- DAUGHTERS OF THE AMERICAN COLONISTS, KANSAS SOCIETY, *Directory, 1957-1958*. No impr. 52p.
- DAUGHTERS OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION, FORT LARNED CHAPTER, LARNED, *Marriage Records, Pawnee County, Kansas, September 15, 1873, to January 1, 1889, Copied by Jessie Bright Grove*. Larned, n. p., 1957. Typed. 59p.
- , KANSAS SOCIETY, *Directory of the Kansas Society, Daughters of the American Revolution, 1955*. No impr. 297p.
- , KANSAS SOCIETY, *Proceedings of the Fifty-Eighth Annual State Conference, March 14 to 17, 1956, Wichita, Kansas*. No impr. 195p.
- , KANSAS SOCIETY, *Proceedings of the Fifty-Ninth Annual State Conference, March 14, 15, and 16, 1957, Beloit, Kansas*. No impr. 178p.
- , SHAWNEE CHAPTER, MISSION, *Genealogical Records, 1956-1957, Prepared by Hazel Crane Amos*. Shawnee, n. p., n. d. Typed. 26p.
- , TOPEKA CHAPTER, TOPEKA, [McFarland, Hampton and Steele Family Records], *Copied by Helen McFarland*. Topeka, n. p., 1956. Typed. [16]p.
- DAVIS, KENNETH S., *A Prophet in His Own Country, the Triumphs and Defeats of Adlai E. Stevenson*. Garden City, N. Y., Doubleday & Company, 1957. 510p.
- Ellsworth, Kansas*. Clay Center, Clay Center Engraving Company [1914]. Unpaged.
- ENGLISH, E. LOIS, *Leave Me My Dreams*. New York, Exposition Press [c1955]. 119p.
- , *Most Precious Word, Verse Variations on Several Themes*. New York, Exposition Press [c1957]. 160p.
- FAETH, MARY LILLIAN, *Kansas in the 80's, Being Some Recollections of Life on Its Western Frontier*. New York, Procyon Press [c1947]. [36]p.

- First One Hundred Years, a History of the City of Hartford, Kansas, 1857-1957.* N. p. [1957?]. 26p.
- FLEMING, ROSCOE, *Kansas, 'Ad Astra Per Aspera.'* N. p., Author [c1956]. 23p.
- FLORA, SNOWDEN D., *Hailstorms of the United States.* Norman, University of Oklahoma Press [c1956]. 201p.
- FLOYD, LOUISE McKNIGHT, *The Commencement Day Murders.* New York, Vantage Press [c1954]. 202p.
- FORSTER, MINNIE JANE, *On Wings of Truth.* New York, Exposition Press [c1954]. 56p.
- FUGATE, FLORENCE A., *Afterglow.* No impr. 125p.
- GRUBER, FRANK, *Buffalo Grass, a Novel of Kansas.* New York, Rinehart & Company [c1956]. 249p.
- HALE, J. E., *A Diagnosis of Our Spendthrift Trend.* Kansas City, Mo., Burton Publishing Company [c1953]. 178p.
- HALL, ALICE LEE, *Dog Tales.* New York, Pageant Press [c1956]. 185p.
- HAWORTH, B. SMITH, *Ottawa University, Its History and Its Spirit.* [Ottawa, Ottawa University] 1957. 174p.
- [HEMINGER, DON C.], *History of Great Bend Lodge No. 15, A. F. & A. M., 1873-1956.* Great Bend, n. p., n. d. Unpaged.
- HIGGINS, J. WALLACE, III, *The Orient Road, a History of the Kansas City, Mexico and Orient Railroad.* (Reprinted from *Bulletin 95, Railway & Locomotive Historical Society*, October, 1956.) 43p.
- HILLSBORO, MENNONITE BRETHERN CHURCH, *In Grateful Memory of 75 Years of God's Grace, 1881-1956.* Hillsboro, Mennonite Brethren Church, 1956. [35]p.
- HINDS, VIRGIL VESTER, *History of Provisions for Religious Instruction in Selected Public Elementary Schools of Kansas.* A Thesis Submitted to the Department of History, Government, and Philosophy of Kansas State College of Agriculture and Applied Science in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree Master of Science. N. p., 1957. Typed. [62]p.
- Historical Booklet . . . Emporia, Kansas, Centennial Celebration, June 30—July 6, 1957.* No impr. 76p.
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Bypaths of Kansas History

A GLIMPSE OF EARLY-DAY JUNCTION CITY

From the Junction City *Statesman*, October 13, 1860.

LIVELY.—Our city, for the past few weeks, has presented a very lively appearance. Not a day passes but what our streets are filled with conveyances from the country surrounding, bringing to our market the products of the soil and dairy, and bearing away the indispensables of life from the stores of our merchants. Little and big dirty boys take great delight in peering into the wagons which throng our thoroughfares, and woe be to the unlucky wight who leaves an eatable within their reach. Many of these urchins might give authentic testimony as to the expertness of our farmers with the ox-gad. The ladies from out of town are beginning to visit our thriving city in goodly numbers. Their presence will have a tendency to wipe the dust from our merchants counters, and compel the clerks to brush their hair at least twice a week. We are glad to see it, as it gives undeniable proof of the growing popularity of our town, and places the question of Junction's success beyond the shadow of a doubt.

FRONTIER HUMOR

From the Marysville *Locomotive*, July 2, 1870.

A lady on the road between this place and Seneca, at whose house a gentleman stopped to refresh himself with a draught of water, tasted a peculiar flavor in the aqua, and said to her: "Madam, there seems to be something the matter with this water?" "I don't know, sir, about that; there *was* a rabbit fell in there 'tother day, but we strain all the water and get all the hairs out, sir!"

DID YOU EVER THINK YOU'D LIVE TO SEE THE DAY—?

From the Washington *Weekly Republican*, April 4, 1873.

The chief debts of the five great divisions of the earth are thus stated: Europe, \$17,000,000,000; America, \$2,865,000,000; Asia, \$675,000,000; Africa, \$195,000,000; Australia, \$190,000,000; total \$20,925,000,000.

CALL OUT THE WELCOME WAGON

From the *Ford County Republican*, Dodge City, February 16, 1887.

Owing to the more strict morality and purer society of Dodge City, Madam Handie has removed to Garden City, where for a long time her branch house has been more profitable than headquarters here. Garden City *Sentinel* please copy.

Kansas History as Published in the Press

A history of the Globe School, District 64, Cherokee county, by Marjorie V. Forbes, began appearing serially in *The Modern Light*, Columbus, September 26, 1957. The district was organized in 1872.

Articles of historical interest appearing in the Hays *Daily News* in recent months included: "The Rev. A. L. King Founded Hays Baptist Church in 1875 When Settlers Were Few, Harvests Meager," October 13, 1957; "Government of Hays Once Operated by Widely Acclaimed 'Boys Council,'" December 1; "St. Boniface Church at Vincent Celebrates Golden Anniversary," by Wm. Baier, December 10; "Writers in 1870s Often Made Light of Indian Activities on High Plains," December 29; "It Can't Happen Again," the story of the early life of Mrs. Ellen Campbell Fairchild, now 91, at Hays, January 5, 1958; "'Most Conspicuous Character of Hays,' Tom Drum, Leaves for Good With the Arrival of Prohibition," January 12; "On Its Birthday or at any Other Time, Kansas Is 'High, Wide and Handsome,'" January 29; "Early History of Ellis County and Hays City Notes Failures in Attempts to Cultivate Land," February 16; "Ellis County Lost Many Residents in 1874 When Grasshoppers Ruined Promising Crops," February 23; "Jim Curry Is Rated One of Most Depraved Characters in Early History of Hays City," March 2; and "A Pioneer [Laura Rawson] of Western Kansas Draws Comparison Between the '80s and Now," April 6.

The *Ellis County Farmer*, Hays, began a series of articles on the history of Ellis county, January 9, 1958. On January 16 the *Farmer* published an article, not a part of the series, entitled "Gold-Seekers of 1850's Used Smoky Hill Trail Through Ellis County."

C. H. Tade's stories in the *Protection Post* about the early days in the Comanche county area of Collier Flats have continued with a series entitled "Back in 1884—Early Settlers of Collier Flats," beginning January 17, 1958.

Early in 1958 the First Methodist church of Elk City observed the 75th anniversary of the dedication of its first building. A history of the church was published in the *Elk City Sun*, January 17, 1958.

Charles M. Penwell is the author of a two-installment history of the Trinity Episcopal church of El Dorado which appeared in *The Butler County News*, El Dorado, January 23 and 30, 1958. The church was started in 1884.

Gordon S. Hahn is the author of two historical articles in the *Marysville Advocate*: "Marysville Civil War Veteran [Henry Landes] Saw Assassin of Lincoln Decapitated," January 23, 1958; and "February Blizzard Played Havoc With Railroad Traffic Here in 1915," February 6. Also on February 6 the *Advocate* printed a history of the first bridge across the Big Blue river at Marysville.

G. R. Tinius has recently compiled "An Early History of the Church of Christ in Paradise Valley." A summary of this work was published in the *Belle Plaine News*, January 30, 1958.

A history of the community of Amy, Lane county, was printed in the *News Chronicle*, Scott City, January 30, 1958. The town was founded in 1905 by Nolen Yates.

"Gems of the '80's" a series of historical articles on Baxter Springs, by Claude H. Nichols, began appearing in the *Baxter Springs Citizen*, January 30, 1958. Baxter Springs history also was featured in a story by Harold O. Taylor, printed in the *Pittsburg Headlight*, March 17.

The Junction City *Union* included an Irwin Army Hospital section in its edition of February 5, 1958, in observance of the dedication of the new hospital at Fort Riley. Featured in the section was Maj. George E. Omer's history of Fort Riley hospitals.

A history of the Hesston Evangelical United Brethren church was published in the *Hesston Record*, February 6, 1958. The church had its beginning in 1888 with services in a schoolhouse conducted by a circuit rider.

Ruby Basye is the author of the following articles in the *Hutchinson News*: "Mennonites Found a Pretty Prairie," February 9, 1958; "A Quaker Colony Founded Haviland," February 23; "Wind Gave Holyrood Name," March 2; "Pierceville Grew From Prairie Only to be Sacked by Indians," March 9; "Achenbach Founder Constructs Own Railroad," March 16; "Gray County Watched Intertown Rivalry," March 23; and "Friends Founded Haviland," April 6.

Historical material published recently by the Delphos *Republican* included: a letter by Manford Eaton of Mission, a former Delphos resident, who recalled life in Delphos in 1909 and following years, February 20, 1958; some of the history of Delphos, as presented at the February 15th meeting of the Ottawa County Historical Society, also appeared February 20; and "Memoirs of the Old Delphos Opera House," by Ray Halberstadt, March 13.

Kansas Historical Notes

The 83d annual meeting of the Kansas State Historical Society will be held at Topeka on Tuesday, October 21, 1958.

Highland College, oldest institution of higher learning in Kansas, observed its centennial anniversary February 9, 1958. Chartered in 1858 as a Presbyterian college, the school is now a junior college receiving support from the Highland rural high school district. Principal founder of the school was the Rev. Samuel Irvin, missionary to the Sac and Fox Indians, 1837-1857, in the area of present Highland.

Eleven new directors were elected to the board of the Finney County Historical Society at its tenth annual meeting, February 11, 1958, at Garden City. Chosen for two-year terms were Edward E. Bill, John R. Burnside, H. C. Cleaver, A. M. Fleming, Abe Hubert, Clifford R. Hope, Jr., Mary Hope, Lester McCoy, Della Gobleman, Will Renick, and Cecil Wristen. Amy Gillespie was elected to fill a vacancy on the 22-member board.

County commissioners presided February 17, 1958, when the new Dickinson county historical room, in the basement of the courthouse, was opened officially. The room is open to the public daily from 8 A. M. to 5 P. M., and until noon on Saturdays.

Thomas E. Davis was named president of the Crawford County Historical Society at a dinner meeting and election attended by 61 persons in Pittsburg, February 19, 1958. Belle Provorse was elected vice-president; Vivian Walker, secretary; and Oscar Anderson, treasurer. Hugh A. Friel, L. H. Eyestone, and Al Ligon were named to the board of directors. The program was conducted by Mrs. Edward V. Malle. At a spring meeting of the society, held in Pittsburg, April 23, Alan W. Farley, president of the Kansas State Historical Society, was the principal speaker. His subject was "Pioneers of Kansas." Mrs. Calvin Cooper spoke briefly about Samuel J. Crawford, third governor of the state of Kansas, for whom the county was named.

Dr. O. W. Mosher was re-elected president of the Lyon County Historical Society at the annual meeting of the society in Emporia, February 22, 1958. Other officers chosen included: Dr. Thomas P. Butcher, first vice-president; John G. Atherton, second vice-

president; Myrtle Buck, secretary; Warren Morris, treasurer; and Mrs. F. L. Gilson, Mabel Edwards, and Lucina Jones, historians. The following directors were named for the coming year: Wilford Riegle, John R. Williams, Ray McInnes, W. L. White, Conrad Vandervelde, Roger Triplett, T. H. McCole, James W. Putnam, Mrs. James McKinney, Mrs. Ora Rindom, Mrs. Arthur Childears, Ethel Mahaffey, Mary Williams, Catherine H. Jones, and Ida Franz.

Monthly meetings of the Ottawa County Historical Society in February, March, and April, 1958, in Minneapolis, were devoted to aspects of local history in the Delphos, Grover, and Bennington areas.

Charles A. Loucks was elected president of the recently organized Kearny County Historical Society at the first annual meeting March 1, 1958, in Lakin. Other officers chosen were: Foster Eskelund, Lenora B. Tate, and Mary G. Smith, vice-presidents; Edith T. Clements, secretary; Robert O. Coder, treasurer; Margaret O. Hurst, historian; and Vivian P. Thomas, curator. City and township representatives were also elected to the executive board. At a monthly meeting held March 31, Mrs. Clements resigned as secretary and Mrs. Virginia Hicks was elected to fill the position.

The Kansas Association of Teachers of History and Related Fields met for its 32d annual meeting at Kansas State College, Manhattan, March 7 and 8, 1958. Speakers and their subjects included: W. Stitt Robinson, University of Kansas, "Tributory Indians in Colonial Virginia"; Homer V. Rutherford, Washburn University, Topeka, "British Exploration in Africa, 1788-1820"; Carl Harris, McPherson College, "Harold Ickes and the Tideland Oil Controversy"; James C. Malin, University of Kansas, "Kansas Philosophers, 1871"; Joseph Hajda, Kansas State College, "Communist Seizure of Czechoslovakia"; Columban Clinch, St. Benedict's College, Atchison, "The Committee of Public Safety and Unemployment, a Glimpse at a Social Problem of the French Revolution"; Thomas M. Gale, University of Kansas, "The Founding of Lima, Peru, 1535"; and William E. Koch, Kansas State College, "'Beulah Land' on the Frontier." Other features of the meeting were a panel discussion on "College Teaching Over Television," and a report by Homer E. Socolofsky, Kansas State College, retiring president of the association, on the project of the year—compilation of a Kansas bibliography.

At a meeting in Scott City on March 21, 1958, the Scott County Historical Society was reorganized. Inactive since 1952, the group elected Dr. H. Preston Palmer as temporary president. Other officers are: S. W. Filson, vice-president; Mrs. C. W. Dickhut, secretary; and Matilda Freed, treasurer. The society's plans include establishment of a public park at Squaw's Den, rebuilding of the El Quartejejo pueblo, and erection of several historical markers.

"Kansas" was the program theme of the annual spring meeting of the Kansas Council for the Social Studies in Topeka, March 22, 1958. Speakers included Nyle Miller, secretary of the Kansas State Historical Society, and Dr. James C. Malin, professor of history at the University of Kansas.

George J. Benson, El Dorado, and Ralph Grier, Andover, were elected new members of the board of trustees of the Butler County Historical Society at a meeting March 30, 1958, in El Dorado. Old members re-elected for one-year terms were: Mrs. R. C. Loomis, Mrs. Corah M. Bullock, Mrs. Ralph Wiley, Clifford W. Stone, Clarence King, and Charles E. Heilmann. On April 12 Benson was elected president, succeeding F. H. Cron. Heilmann was chosen vice-president; Mrs. Loomis, secretary; and Stone, treasurer.

At an organizational meeting of the Decatur County Historical Society in Oberlin, April 11, 1958, the following officers were elected: Ward Claar, president; Milton Nitsch, first vice-president; E. W. Coldren, second vice-president; Chris G. Jorn, secretary; Wallace T. Wolfe, treasurer; and Ben Miller, Ira Laidig, Dr. A. J. Thomsen, Don Zimmerman, John Ward, Jay Paddock, and Fay Brock, directors. The society's first project is the establishment of a museum, for which a building has already been purchased.

The regular semiannual meeting of the Lane County Historical Society was held April 14, 1958, at Dighton. Edward M. Beougher, widely-known Gove county historian, was the chief speaker.

J. V. Kelly was the principal speaker at the quarterly meeting of the Leavenworth County Historical Society at Leavenworth on April 17, 1958. Mr. Kelly recalled early events in the city from his own experiences and quizzed his audience on happenings of more than half a century ago.

The Lawrence Historical Society, reorganized last year, held a unique annual meeting April 23, 1958. Instead of a speaker, the

meeting was devoted to a showing of pictures and drawings relating to early-day Lawrence which were thrown on a screen by an opaque projector.

On May 18 and 19, 1958, the centennial anniversary of the Marais des Cygnes massacre was observed at ceremonies centering at Trading Post, Linn county. Events of the program included: religious services, a parade, music, an address by Fred W. Brinkerhoff, Pittsburg, and a centennial ball. The massacre occurred May 19, 1858, at the eastern edge of the county. About 30 Missourians captured 11 Free-State men, subsequently killing five and wounding five before a firing squad.

Price Raid Through Linn County, Kansas, October 24, 25, 1864 is the title and subject of a 17-page pamphlet by Samuel Tucker published in 1958.

Pilgrim Heritage, a 16-page pamphlet by Don D. Ballou, outlining the history of the First Pilgrim Congregational church of Kansas City, Kan., was issued in April, 1958, as part of the church's centennial observance.

The story of Steel Dust, famous Texas sprinter and sire, is told by Wayne Gard in *Fabulous Quarter Horse: Steel Dust*, a 64-page volume published in 1958 by Duell, Sloan and Pearce of New York.

Maj. George E. Omer's story "An Army Hospital: From Horses to Helicopters," published in the Winter, 1957, and Spring, 1958, issues of *The Kansas Historical Quarterly*, has been published in booklet form by the military forces under the same title.

Alba Ashby Hewitt is the author of a 231-page work entitled *Riding the Rockies*, published recently by Vantage Press, New York. Mrs. Hewitt, a Kansan, relates experiences in horseback riding in the mountains.



THE KANSAS HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

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THE COVER

The Dorrance telephone office on November 6, 1909,
from a glass negative by L. W. Halbe. *Courtesy J. C.
Ruppenthal, Russell, and Elmo Mahoney, Dorrance.*

THE KANSAS HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

Volume XXIV

Autumn, 1958

Number 3

With the First U. S. Cavalry in Indian Country,
1859-1861

LETTERS TO *The Daily Times*, LEAVENWORTH

Edited by LOUISE BARRY

I. INTRODUCTION

IN 1858 the Wichita Indians were living in south-central Indian territory not far from present Rush Springs, Okla. Early in the autumn some marauding bands of Comanches stole horses from the Wichitas. The latter, seeking friendly relations and a peaceful settlement, invited the raiders back for a council. The Comanches came, brought their families, and set up a 120-lodge camp not far from the Wichita village. This was done with the consent and approval of Capt. William E. Prince, commanding officer at Fort Arbuckle, some 50 miles to the southeast. But Bvt. Maj. Earl Van Dorn and a force of Second cavalry, Fifth infantry, and Indian scouts, sent up into the territory from Fort Belknap, Tex., to find and punish Comanche raiders, had not been informed. Soon after setting up a camp (Camp Radziminski) on Otter creek, Van Dorn was told by his scouts of the large Comanche village 90 miles to the east. He marched his troops the same day (September 29), and attacked at dawn on October 1.

The Comanches, aware of the soldiers' approach, but not expecting hostility, fought back fiercely. They lost about 70 killed, all their lodges and over 300 animals. (Van Dorn's command suffered casualties too, as will be noted later.) Believing they had been betrayed, the Comanches promised revenge on all concerned. The Wichitas hastily abandoned their village and moved to the vicinity of Fort Arbuckle. Anticipating serious trouble with the Indians, the army took steps to strengthen Fort Arbuckle and to regarrison Fort Washita, 60 miles to the southeast. Ordered down from Fort Leavenworth to occupy Fort Washita were companies C and I (the

LOUISE BARRY is a member of the staff of the Kansas State Historical Society.

Second squadron) of the First U. S. cavalry, commanded by Capt. Thomas J. Wood.

The letters published here begin with an account of the Second squadron's five-weeks' march, in late 1858, from northeast Kansas to near the southern border of Oklahoma. They continue with almost monthly regularity through 1859, 1860, and up to May, 1861, reporting events at Fort Washita and vicinity, describing a summer scout to the Antelope Hills in 1859, and giving an account of a six-months', 2,400-mile march with the Kiowa-Comanche expedition of 1860 which first took the Second squadron into Texas, then back across Indian territory into Kansas, up to the Santa Fe trail, and a few weeks later north to the Republican river (and a fight with the Kiowas on August 6), then to Fort Kearny, N. T., south once again by way of Fort Riley and El Dorado, K. T., to Fort Smith, Ark., and finally back to Fort Washita for the winter of 1860-1861. The last letter, in late April, 1861, tells of the preparations to evacuate Fort Washita, following the order to abandon all army posts in the Indian territory to the Confederates.¹

As a sustained and uninterrupted account of two and a half years of frontier army life in the mid-nineteenth century, this is a notable and unique newspaper series. The letters were written for the *Times* by prearrangement, though only a few were labeled "From our special correspondent." They appeared on the page devoted to national and regional news under a variety of headings: "From the Cherokee [*i. e.*, Chickasaw!] Nation"; "Letter from Fort Washita"; "Important from the Indian Region"; etc.

The question, unanswered to date, is: Who wrote 29 of the 30 letters in the series? Letter number one, published under the sub-head, "Notes from a Soldier's Diary," was signed "Know Nothing." Letter number two (not written by the author of the first letter) was signed "J. W. Reeder, Company 'C' 1st Cavalry." Of the next 12 letters, nine were signed "Cato," and three had no name. The remaining 16 were signed "Rover." Presumably either "Know Nothing," or J. W. Reeder settled on the pen name "Cato." But which one? And who, then, was "Rover"? ("Rover's" letters began, incidentally, not while he was on the march, but at a time

1. On August 3, 1861, the First U. S. cavalry was redesignated the Fourth cavalry and the Second cavalry subsequently became the Fifth cavalry. (The old First and Second dragoons then became the First and Second cavalry.) Therefore these letters chronicle events in the history of the Fourth, and to a lesser extent, the Fifth U. S. cavalry regiments.

The series appears to be complete as republished here (with typographical errors corrected), from *The Daily Times*, Leavenworth, issues of February 8, 22, April 23, May 18, July 1, 16, August 8, September 9, 24, October 6, November 3, 18, December 28, 1859; January 28, March 19, April 18, May 22, June 28, August 2, 23, November 3, December 6, 25, 1860; January 14, February 6, March 3, April 24, May 28, 1861; and the *Weekly*, issues of February 5 and March 26, 1859.

when his company was spending a quiet winter at Fort Washita.) Several of the letters were composed from diary entries, which points to "Know Nothing" as the writer. But J. W. Reeder may have kept a journal also. Unless the original diaries turn up, the mystery surrounding the authorship of these letters may never be solved.

II. THE LETTERS, JANUARY 7, 1859-APRIL 5, 1860

FORT WASHITA, C[HICKASAW] N[ATION], January 7, 1859.

MESSRS. EDITORS: On the 25th of November last, the 2d squadron of 1st Cavalry left Fort Leavenworth, K. T., for Fort Washita, C. N. On the 29th we crossed the boundary line between Kansas Territory and the State of Missouri,² and camped on Blue river. At this point there was an abundance of wild game, (chiefly rabbits,) which were so thick that at every step one would see no less than two or three. We killed no less than 200 in about two hours. Everything went on smoothly until we reached the Marais des Cygnes river, where we were compelled to lay over one day to mend the crossing.

On the 4th of December we crossed the river, passing through Louisville, Mo.,³ containing the immense number of "one house," but still called a city. While we were marching onward it commenced to snow; after snowing a short time, it turned into hail, and afterwards into rain. As the hail fell, it froze on the horses and clothes of the men, making them look like an iceberg. We marched on until we came to wood and water, when, pitching our tents on top of the ice, and making ourselves as comfortable as possible, we retired for the night.

The snow remained upon the ground until we reached the South branch of Spring river. Here we pitched our tents on a most beautiful spot, envired by majestic hills and mountains on the south and east, and the most luxuriant prairie extending for several miles to the hills of the north. From this place to Turkey Creek, 26 miles distant, we passed through a portion of country known as the Turkey Creek Lead Mines.⁴ From what I could learn, there

2. The direct route to Fort Washita would have been the old Fort Leavenworth-Fort Scott-Fort Gibson military road (a territorial road by 1858). The roundabout journey through Missouri is unexplained.

3. No information on a "Louisville" in western Missouri has been found.

4. Some lead was being mined around Turkey creek, near present Joplin, in the late 1850's, but the area was sparsely populated as late as 1861. In any case, the writer says the mining region he passed through was south of the south branch of Spring river, and in this area (Cedar creek, Granby, and Center creek) lead mining was booming. The town of Granby (some 25 miles southeast of present Joplin) was the smelting center, with four furnaces operating at full blast in the latter 1850's. In 1861 Granby claimed to have a population of five or six thousand persons.—*Encyclopedia of the History of Missouri* (New York, 1901), v. 3, p. 474, v. 6, p. 557; *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. 6, p. 307; *History of Newton, Lawrence, Barry and McDonald Counties, Missouri* (Chicago, 1888), pp. 361, 362.

are no less than two thousand persons employed in these mines. On the 12th of December we crossed the Missouri State Line, and camped on Buffalo Creek, Cherokee Nation.

The Cherokee Indians are very industrious, raising corn, oats, &c., for which they demand an enormous price. There are but very few white people living amongst them. Dec. 16th, we passed through Talhaquah [Tahlequah],⁵ the capital of the Cherokee Nation, a village containing about 500 inhabitants. About a mile south of this place we noticed a commodious brick edifice. This building is situated on a most beautiful place, and is used for a Seminary.⁶ After 18 miles we came in sight of Fort Gibson,⁷ which has been abandoned since the Spring of 1857. There is no care taken of it. The buildings are tumbling down, and every thing else is going to destruction.

On the 18th we crossed the Arkansas river, at the head [*i. e.*, mouth] of Grand [or Neosho] river. After crossing the river we had fine weather, making from 15 to 20 miles per day. On our course we passed through a fine country, settled by Indians. Of the land given to the Indians, the Cherokees and Creeks possess the most fertile. The Creek Indians are considered the most intelligent, as also the most industrious tribe in the Western country. Our route lay thro' the timbered portion of the country. On the 25th (Christmas) a slight accident occurred by the upsetting of a wagon near camp, in which a woman was riding. The wagon lodged against a tree, breaking everything to pieces, except the woman, who escaped with a slight bruise upon her left hand.

We arrived at Fort Washita,⁸ Chickasaw Nation, on the morning

5. Tahlequah, chosen by the Cherokees as their capital in 1839 soon after their arrival in the territory, was platted as a town in 1843. A principal building was a brick structure erected in 1845 for the Cherokee Supreme Court. Here the *Cherokee Advocate*, the nation's official newspaper, was printed for many years.—*Oklahoma, a Guide to the Sooner State* (Norman, 1945), pp. 74, 75, 258.

6. In 1850-1851 two seminaries had been established in the Cherokee Nation, both near Tahlequah. The one mentioned here was for males; the other, for females, was at Park Hill, four miles to the south. Probably neither school was in operation in December, 1858, for Cherokee agent George Butler in September had reported that the seminaries were "still closed, and are likely to remain so for want of necessary means to keep them in operation."—*Report of Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1858*, pp. 140, 142; *Oklahoma, a Guide* . . ., *op. cit.*, pp. 259, 260.

7. Fort Gibson, founded in 1824, and for many years an important link in the chain of frontier posts, was abandoned on June 23, 1857. In September of that year it was turned over to the Cherokee Indians.—W. B. Morrison, *Military Posts and Camps in Oklahoma* (Oklahoma City, 1936), pp. 30, 42.

8. Fort Washita was 15 years old when these First cavalymen arrived in December, 1858. (Gen. Zachary Taylor chose the site in 1842, and the post was established in 1843.) It was some 16 miles north of the Texas border, on a hill, on the east side of the Washita, a mile or more from the river. (The ruins of the fort are in the extreme northwest corner of present Bryan county, Okla.) Over a period of several years a number of substantial buildings were constructed on the post, around the perimeter of a large rectangle. Established to protect the Choctaw and Chickasaw Indians and maintain order along the Texas border, by 1858 this post was not as important strategically as Fort Arbuckle (established in 1851), some 60 miles up the Washita to the northwest. According to Morrison (*op. cit.*, p. 86), Fort Washita had been abandoned temporarily in 1858 (from February 17 until the arrival of the First cavalymen on December 29). But Grant Foreman (*Chronicles of Oklahoma*, v. 5, p. 382) stated that after Company K, Seventh U. S. infantry left the post

of the 27th [29th?] of December, and it is quite a neat looking place, on the overland mail route⁹ to California, and about two miles from Washita river. There are quarters for two companies of mounted men. The buildings are mostly of wood, one or two of stone, while the hospital is entirely of brick. Corn is cheap, bringing from 25 to 30 cts. per bushel.

KNOW NOTHING.

FORT WASHITA, C. N., January 17, 1859.

EDITORS OF DAILY TIMES:—The bustle and confusion, which the arrival of a body of troops at a post necessarily creates, being over, I hasten to acquaint you according to promise, with a description of our march, the Indian tribes through which our road led us, and with the news in general, in this part of the western world:

Our march was, in comparison to the season, an uncommonly mild and lenient one—snow or ice¹⁰ we never saw after we had left Fort Leavenworth. The road being very good, we traveled at an average of about nineteen miles a day, and arrived here on the 29th of December, 1858.

We passed through the Cherokee, the Creek, the Chickasaw and Choctaw Nations, and have found but very little difference in the manner in which farming is conducted by the whites and these Indian tribes. They are all mixed with whites, and seem to be very wealthy.—They own slaves, cattle, large tracts of fertile land, etc.,—they have their villages, their manufactures, their colleges and even their newspapers, and seem to covet the idea of living with white men—to which conclusion I came from an offer which has been made by old Indians to several of us, that if we choose to settle in their country, they would willingly give us a tract of land, help us clear it, set up a house, give the necessary implements for farming and a stock of cattle for a start, *if*—now comes the condition: we would consent to marry a squaw!

This post has a very fine situation—elevated on a hill, it commands a superb view for many miles around the country. It is situated about a mile from the Washita river near the Texas frontier.

for Utah in the early part of 1858 a "small force of three companies of the Second Dragoons under Captain Enoch Steen had been ordered to Fort Washita; but as this force was much reduced by sickness it was unable to give adequate protection to the Chickasaw country. . . . No mention is made in these letters of the Second dragoon troops.—Morrison, *op. cit.*, p. 81; W. B. Morrison, "A Visit to Old Fort Washita," in *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Oklahoma City, v. 7, pp. 175-179.

9. A post office had been established at Fort Washita in November, 1844, but the fort received its mail through the Bogy Depot distributing office and was not on the direct line of the Butterfield Overland Mail.—R. P. and M. B. Conkling, *The Butterfield Overland Mail 1857-1869* (Glendale, Calif., 1947), v. 1, pp. 275, 276.

10. Apparently this cavalryman did not experience the snow-sleet-and-rain storm described by the writer of the first letter! Possibly the command was divided and the troops in the advance party were ahead of the storm.

Of hostile Indians, not much is to fear in the immediate vicinity of the Fort, but we have heard of them, (the Apache and Camanche Indians,) from the Washita [Wichita] Mountains, where they are combined, waiting an opportunity for the ransacking of the country, thereabouts.

They have not quite recovered from the shock given them by Major Van Dorn's command of the Second Cavalry, who killed fifty-four of their number, but barely escaping with his own life—he is severely wounded.¹¹ Van Dorn's command are encamped around the Washita [Wichita] mountains, observing and watching the redskins, and intending to wipe them out if ever they come forth.

From Fort Arbuckle,¹² a company of the 1st Infantry has been sent to his re-enforcement, and the Second Company "D" and "E" of the 1st Cavalry under command of Major Emory,¹³ are continually out scouting after parties of these robbing Indian rascals. I am in hopes that in the spring, we all will be able to give them a sound thrashing and bring them to terms.

Yours truly,

J. W. REEDER, Company "C" 1st Cavalry.

FORT WASHITA, C. N., Feb. 2, 1859

EDITOR OF THE TIMES:—DEAR SIR:—Yesterday the remains of Lieut. Van Camp, who was killed in the recent engagement with the Indians near Fort Arbuckle, were brought to this place with an escort en route to Fort Smith, from which place they are to be shipped to Philadelphia, where they will be committed to their final resting place.¹⁴

11. This refers to the surprise attack on the Comanches October 1, 1858, mentioned in the introduction. First reports gave the Indians' losses as 54 killed, but this figure later was revised upward to 70. Lt. Cornelius Van Camp, three privates of H company and Sergeant Garrison of F company were killed in this battle. Maj. Earl Van Dorn received a nearly-fatal arrow wound. (But after several weeks of leave at his home in Mississippi, he rejoined his command—wintering at Camp Radzinski in southwestern Indian territory—and set out on another campaign against the Comanches in the spring of 1859.—See p. 268.) Four other cavalymen were severely wounded, and there were a good many with lesser injuries among the troops and Indian scouts of Van Dorn's command.—*Secretary of War's Report*, 1858, pp. 269-278; *Report of Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 1858, p. 132, 1859, pp. 585, 586; W. S. Nye, *Carbine and Lance* . . . (Norman, 1937), pp. 27-30. The site of the battle is about five miles southeast of present Rush Springs, Okla.—*Ibid.*, p. 27, footnote.

12. Fort Arbuckle, only 60 miles west and a little north of Fort Washita, is mentioned often in these letters. It was established in 1851 to keep order among the wild Indian tribes living on the Choctaw-Chickasaw lands lying between the 98-degree and 100-degree meridians. It also served as some protection to western-bound emigrants. The site is on the right bank of Wild Horse creek, five miles from the Washita, on the slopes of the Arbuckle mountains, near present Davis, Okla.—Morrison, *op. cit.*, pp. 96, 97; Nye, *op. cit.*, p. 21; *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, v. 17, p. 318.

13. Maj. William H. Emory, the commanding officer at Fort Arbuckle (succeeding Capt. W. E. Prince—see introduction), is frequently mentioned in these letters. His First cavalry troops, Companies D and E, were the Third squadron (not the "Second Company . . ."). The First infantry company was Company E.

14. Lt. Cornelius Van Camp, killed on October 1, 1858, was buried at Lancaster, Pa.—Nye, *op. cit.*, p. 30.

Lieut. Van Camp was a native of Pennsylvania. He received his education at West Point. He received the commission of Brevet 2d Lieutenant on the 1st of July, 1855, in the 1st Regiment of Cavalry, and afterwards as 2d Lieutenant in the 2d Regiment of Cavalry. He served his country faithfully up to the period of his untimely death.

The troops since their arrival at this place, have constantly been engaged in taking away old buildings formerly used as quarters for soldiers, and adding to the appearance of the Fort, making it one of the handsomest posts in the West.

The penalty for selling liquor in this nation is quite severe. Not long since a negro was caught in the act of selling liquor and was taken into custody. The morning following the capture of said negro he received fifty lashes on his bare back, and [was] released with the assurance that if he was ever caught in a like scrape he would receive double the amount of lashes above stated.

Horse racing is all the excitement at our camp for the present; giving pleasant faces to the winners, and sour ones to the losers. The weather is quite mild.

CATO.

[Inserted at this point in the chronology of letters is a communication from the commanding officer at Fort Arbuckle to the commanding officer at Fort Washita, regarding the Indian situation.]

HEADQUARTERS, FORT ARBUCKLE, C. N., February 27, 1859

CAPTAIN: The Comanches are down here in small and scattered parties, and your command, or part of it, say one company, could be of essential aid in chasing and killing these villains. My own command is so small, and the horses so reduced by constant scouting during the winter, I cannot cover as much ground as I desire to do. We have been very fortunate so far, and if I can follow up our success, we will soon put an end to the business. Lieutenant [James E.] Powell, with a cavalry command, met a party thirty miles west of here, killed five certain, and wounded others, with a loss of one cavalry man killed, and two men and two horses wounded. Last night the Indians attacked Mr. Moncrief's ranche, five miles east of here. Not being able to catch his horses, or do other damage, they shot three of his horses with arrows. Early this morning [Lt. David S.] Stanley, with D company, first cavalry, was sent in hot pursuit. I also sent an infantry command to the Wachita [Wichita] village.

I have, therefore, respectfully to suggest, that you order one

company at least to come immediately and occupy the east bank of the Wachita river, at the upper crossing, and scout the valley to the north of this post, with orders either to report to me, or communicate and cooperate with me, as you may see fit. Wagons to accompany the command will be a positive nuisance. I have plenty of corn and pack-saddles, which will be placed at your service.

The reduced condition of the animals of this command make it necessary I should make this *request* of you. By complying with it, you will secure my rear, and leave me free to operate to the west.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

W. H. EMORY, Major, commanding.

[To] CAPTAIN T. J. WOOD, commanding officer, Fort Wachita.¹⁵

FORT WASHITA, CHEROKEE NATION, March 4, 1859.

An express arrived here lately with dispatches relating to a fight that had taken place between the United States troops and Witchitas, and the Camanches. The despatches contained the following information.

Lieut. Powell, of Fort Arbuckle, in command of fifty United States soldiers and fifty Witchitas, as guides, started on a scouting expedition. When within twenty miles from Fort Arbuckle, they came up to a large party of Camanche Indians, and a severe fight took place, in which 2 Camanches were killed and two soldiers wounded. The Camanches then withdrew, probably to await till night to renew the attack. The Camanches had previously sent in word that they were coming to take the Fort.

On the 1st inst., Capt. [Eugene A.] Carr left his place in command of fifty soldiers¹⁶ for the seat of the war. The troops under his command are eager for a brush with the foe; they will do some execution.

On the 4th inst., another Express arrived here, with the intelligence that another fight had taken place between the United States troops, (fifty in number,) under command of Lieut. Stanley of the 1st Cavalry, and the Camanches, in which eight Camanches were killed and several wounded. Uncle Sam lost one man, and two slightly wounded.¹⁷ Capt. Carr arrived at Fort Arbuckle on the

15. Published in *Secretary of War's Report*, 1859, p. 384.

16. Probably these troops were from Captain Carr's own company—Company I, First U. S. cavalry.

17. Major Emory reported of Lieutenant Stanley's fight that he had "succeeded in overhauling and beating the enemy. He left seven Comanches dead on the field. . . ." Emory did not mention losing a soldier in the engagement.—*Secretary of War's Report*, 1859, pp. 384, 385.

2d inst., and was marching towards the Wichita Mountains, where another battle is anticipated. It is also stated that the Indians number upwards of 3000. There is no knowing where the contest will end.

KATO.

FORT WASHITA, C. N., April 8, 1859.

EDITOR TIMES:—Since my last, peace and quiet has again been restored in the vicinity of Fort Arbuckle. The Indians, upon learning that the troops now stationed at Fort Arbuckle were to be reinforced by others from this place, took to their heels and fled. Capt. Carr, after a scout of several days among the Washita [Wichita] mountains, returned to this place, without having seen a single "red-skin." It is supposed that these Indians took their flight towards the [Butterfield] Overland Mail Route, where they are constantly committing the most atrocious depredations.

Subsequent to the flight of the Indians, a detachment of U. S. troops was returning to the Fort, and while crossing a creek, beheld, to their astonishment, that a dog was holding on to an Indian; upon a closer examination it was found that the dog had him secure, but not without a hard struggle. The dog received in the conflict, a severe cut, from the tomahawk of the Indian, across the neck, nearly ending his patriotic career. The dog is now on an equal footing with the soldiers; rations are issued to him regularly every morning. Should any one hurt the dog, the person so doing is subject to a court-martial.

A melancholy accident happened at this place about a week ago, of which the following are the particulars: A child, during the absence of its parents, fell into a kettle of boiling water, which its mother had taken off the fire previous to her departure, and scalded itself so badly that it died in a few hours after. . . .

The officers who have been absent on leave of furlough, have reported for duty.

The train that accompanied us from Fort Leavenworth has been busily engaged in supplying this post with provisions, from Fort Arkansas [*i. e.*, Fort Smith].

The weather is beautiful. The woods make quite a magnificent appearance, with their summer clothing. The grass is sufficiently large to afford good grazing for cattle.

CATO.

FORT WASHITA, CHICKASAW NATION, May 2d, 1859.

We left this place on the 28th ult., to escort Capt. Cabel¹⁸ and lady to Fort Arbuckle. The day was a very disagreeable one; the rain was pouring down in perfect torrents; the roads were very muddy, making it hard traveling for our horses. We passed Tishomingo City,¹⁹ the capital of the Chickasaw Nation, consisting of about a dozen log huts, and these put up in a slovenly style. Two groceries, a blacksmith's shop, one printing office, (office of the Chickasaw and Choctaw Herald,) ²⁰ a calaboose, with a gallows in front, to remind the offender of his doom, and a capitol edifice, where the National Assembly meets annually to enact laws and concoct schemes to bring the nation into debt beyond redemption.

With an annual appropriation from the U. S. Government of several thousand dollars, they generally manage to keep up the session until that is spent, and \$25,000 besides.

Four miles beyond this place we halted at "Dofa Rock," where we partook of a hearty meal. This rock possesses a natural reservoir, where the wearied traveler can quench his thirst as he passes by. The country abounds in rocks and hills, and presents a romantic appearance. Now and then we passed villages where the inhabitants had undoubtedly been driven out by the Indians.

The Camanches, Apaches and other tribes, generally make this part of the country scenes of bloodshed and robbery. We arrived at Fort Arbuckle on the following day, where we found one of the most miserable looking places that Uncle Sam has ever erected for the purpose of quartering troops. The houses are constructed of logs, which are put together in such a manner as to give the most slovenly appearance. The next day, it being the thirtieth, and last of the month, the troops were paraded, and after passing a review, were mustered.

On our return we passed by the Chickasaw Nation Seminary,²¹

18. Capt. William L. Cabell was an assistant quartermaster.

19. Tishomingo was so named (for a Chickasaw leader) in 1856 when the Chickasaws organized their own government and selected a place formerly known as Good Springs for their capital. A house and a couple of stores were then on the site. Tishomingo today is the seat of Johnston county, Okla., and the home of the Murray State School of Agriculture.—*Oklahoma, a Guide* . . . , *op. cit.*, p. 396.

20. The *Chickasaw and Choctaw Herald* was published in 1858 and 1859. The first issue was in January, 1858.—*Ibid.*, p. 77; Grant Foreman, *The Five Civilized Tribes* (Norman, Okla., 1934), p. 144.

21. Wapanucka Female Institute (or, Chickasaw Manual Labor Academy as it was later known) opened in October, 1852, in a fine new stone building, large enough for 100 students. The school was run by the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions. In July, 1859, the Rev. Charles H. Wilson, superintendent, reported that more than 100 Chickasaw girls between the ages of six and 18 had been in attendance during the year. The school was discontinued in July, 1860. The site is on a high ridge about five miles from Wapanucka in present Johnston county, Okla.—*Report of Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 1858, p. 163, 1859, pp. 575, 577; M. H. Wright, "Wapanucka Academy, Chickasaw Nation," in *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, v. 12, pp. 402-431.

a beautiful structure, situate on the road leading from Fort Washita to Tishomingo City, 14 miles from the former, and three miles from the latter place. It is surrounded by an elegant grove of majestic oaks, and is an exceedingly romantic country.

Lieut. [Lunsford L.] Lomax, of Fort Arbuckle, with a detachment of 20 infantry soldiers, has been out scouting for several days. Nothing, as yet, has been heard from him. Major Emory, in command of the 3d squadron, is about to set out on a scout, with all the convalescent troops. It is said he intends to remain out 25 days. He will march towards the Wichita mountains, where the Indians are said to be very troublesome, of late. Should he fall in with them, he will give them *jessie*.

Emigrants are daily passing Fort Arbuckle *en route* for Pike's Peak. Some are regularly organized into companies, while others pass by with nothing but a bundle, which contains a few days' provisions and their clothes. The other day an Irishman passed by the Fort with nothing but a bridle and blanket. Upon being asked which way he was bound, he replied, "to Pike's Peak;" and as to what he meant to do with bridle and blanket, he said he was going to trade them off with the Indians for a pony. It is our opinion that two-thirds of these reckless creatures will perish before they get sight of the much-coveted Peak. It seems to us that the Pike's Peak fever is the most common of all diseases of the day.

We had a general stampede among our horses, a few days ago. Two ran themselves to death, and three have not been heard of since the occurrence.

Corn is three inches high, and progressing finely. Potatoes are sprouting up rapidly, and promise an abundant crop. Oats are progressing finely, and cannot be beaten by anybody. Wheat is doing well. We saw a field of wheat which had already put forth its heads. All other vegetation is doing remarkably well.

CATO.

FORT WASHITA, C. N., June 19th, 1859.

[EDITOR TIMES]—An amusing scene occurred not long since, between one of Afric's sons and a daughter of the Forest. As they were passing the Fort on horseback, they proposed a race—no sooner said than done—the woman was in advance for a distance of about one hundred yards, when she gradually began to lose time; as the man was passing, he caught in her dress, which of course brought them on *terra firma*. After they had gathered themselves up, the woman commenced pitching into the man, with all

the activity and science of a prize-fighter, beating him almost to death. Such scenes are not uncommon in this out of the way part of the world.

Lieut. [Walter H.] Jenifer, 2nd Cavalry, passed through here a short time since *en route* to Fort Arbuckle, in command of a detachment of recruits. He left nine of the uninitiated at this place. They were all assigned to Company "I," 1st Cavalry.

Gen. D. H. Cooper,²² Chickasaw Indian Agent, returned from the survey of the boundary between the Chickasaw Nation and the Territory of New Mexico, for which purpose he left here the latter part of last March. He reports that the Indians are in a rebellious state.

On the 15th of May last, Major Van Dorn, 2d Cavalry, had an engagement with the Comanche Indians, near the Arkansas river, Indian Territory, in which fifty Comanches were killed, and sixty either wounded or taken prisoners. Capt. [E. Kirby] Smith, 2nd Cavalry, was slightly and Lieutenant [Fitzhugh] Lee, 2nd Cavalry, was mortally wounded. Two privates, who were separated from the main body, were killed by the Indians.²³

To-morrow we set out for the Indian region, and from all accounts we have some hot work before us. It is reported that the Indians are awaiting our arrival at Antelope Hills, where they propose to receive us, and feed us on balls and arrows. It is our opinion that upon our arrival there, the tables will be turned. More anon.

CATO.

CAMP SCARCEWATER, INDIAN TER., June 29th, 1859

At 12 o'clock, M., on the 20th of June, 1859, a hot, sultry and sweat-driving day, we (the 2nd Squadron of 1st Cavalry; Companies C and I, under command of Capt. Thos. J. Wood,) left Fort

22. Douglas H. Cooper, government agent for the Choctaws and Chickasaws, was a Mississippian who had served in the Mexican War. He was an ardent secessionist and a man of much influence among the Indians. In 1861 he became colonel of the First Choctaw and Chickasaw regiment, and at the close of the Civil War he was a major general and commander of the Confederate forces in the Indian territory. He returned to Fort Washita to live after the war, died there in 1879 and was buried in the old post cemetery.—M. H. Wright, "General Douglas H. Cooper, C. S. A.," in *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, v. 32, pp. 142-184.

23. This battle occurred on May 13, 1859, not in Indian territory, but in the southwestern part of present Ford county, Kansas, about 15 miles south of old Fort Atkinson. Major Van Dorn, having recovered from his Comanche-inflicted arrow wound of the previous autumn and rejoined his troops at Camp Radzimirski, set out from that place on April 30, 1859, on a campaign against the Comanches. His command included six companies of the Second cavalry and 58 friendly Indians as guides and scouts. Two weeks later, having marched nearly 200 miles northward, Van Dorn's force surprised Buffalo Hump's band of some 100 Comanches, stampeded the horses and forced the Indians to make a stand in a ravine where they fought "without giving or asking quarter until there was not one left to bend a bow." Fifty died in battle, 36 were taken prisoner and nearly all the others were wounded. Of Van Dorn's force, Pvt. Willis Burroughs was killed, Sgt. W. P. Leverett died later of wounds, Capt. Edmund Kirby Smith, Lt. Fitzhugh Lee, and several others were severely wounded but recovered.—*Secretary of War's Report*, 1859, pp. 365-371; J. B. Thoburn's "Indian Fight in Ford County in 1859," in *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. 12, pp. 312-329.

Washita to proceed to Antelope Hills,²⁴ Indian Territory. Marched three miles, and camped on McLaughlin's Creek. Here wood and grass are plenty, but water is scarce. We are accompanied by a train of forty wagons, containing our provision and baggage.

JUNE 21—Had a glorious rain last night, in consequence of which the weather is much cooler to-day. Left camp very early; traveled over a rich, fertile and picturesque country, a distance of 19 miles and camped on Gravel Creek; the route is lined with a goodly number of deserted houses; crops look well; corn, sugar-cane, sweet potatoes, oats and wheat seem to be the chief products, of which the two latter have already been harvested; we passed the Chickasaw Seminary,²⁵ where we were greeted by the applause of over a hundred pupils; there is a saw and sugar mill on the premises of the Seminary which gives employment to the idle vagabonds who are roving over the country in search of work, but their stay is generally of short duration; we also passed through Tishomingo City; it seemed to have a more business-like air than when we last saw it; groups of Caddo Indians greeted us at intervals of two or three miles all along the route; they were perfectly naked with the exception of a breech cloth.

JUNE 22—Leave camp at 6 o'clock; the road lays in the centre of a narrow prairie, environed by beautiful woods on either side; cattle and ponies may be seen scattered all along the route in herds containing upwards of several hundred; march 15 miles and camp on Harris Creek; here the land is of a more rich and fertile nature. The weather to-day is very pleasant. After the tents were pitched, a party went fishing; they caught a goodly number of fish; amongst them was a turtle weighing upwards of 60 pounds; at supper time we enjoyed ourselves with a delicious dish of turtle soup.

JUNE 23—Leave camp at 7 o'clock; travel over a picturesque country a distance of 12 miles; camp on Rock Creek; our camp is situated on an exceedingly romantic spot; deer, rabbits and partridges are in abundance all along the route. While picketing our horses out on grass, some of the men discovered a bee tree; after the tents were pitched they went to take possession of their supposed treasure, and found that it contained upwards of seventy-four pounds of honey. Searching after food is the chief occupa-

24. The Antelope Hills near the 100-degree meridian and south of the Canadian river, are described as "six conspicuous, irregular peaks that rise out of the level plain."—*Oklahoma, a Guide*, . . . , *op. cit.*, p. 384. The War Department's General Orders No. 2 for 1859 included this paragraph: "The four companies of the first cavalry, at Fort Smith and Fort Washita, leaving only small guards at those posts, will occupy a camp during the summer at the Antelope hills, for the protection of travel on the route from Fort Smith to New Mexico."—*Secretary of War's Report*, 1859, p. 582.

25. See Footnote 21.

tion of the soldier after arriving in camp, not from choice, but from necessity. Government provides but poorly for her soldiers; when on a march their chief diet consists of bacon and flour, of which they become so utterly disgusted that they will not even look at it until hunger compels them to do so.

JUNE 24—Leave camp at the usual hour; the country we marched over to-day is exceedingly rich and fertile, especially the Washita river bottom, where we would advise such as are disposed to unite themselves for life with the fair sex of the Choctaw Indian tribe, to emigrate, marry and cultivate the rich lands now lying idle from want of agricultural industry. March 10 miles, and camp on the Washita river. No person can take up a claim of this land unless he first marries an Indian squaw. This law holds good in all Indian Territory, no matter what tribe or nation.

JUNE 25—Remain in camp, our camp being located convenient to Fort Arbuckle. We took a stroll to the last mentioned place. The country here is exceedingly rich and fertile. Horse races were the topic of the day at the Fort. Yesterday the officer of that place came to our camp and challenged the 2d squadron for running stock; the challenge was accepted. Accordingly our officers selected some of our fast nags, and proceeded with them to the Fort. At half past 4 p. m., the horses were taken to the track. "Zipp," of the 2d, and "Nero," of the 3d squadron, were put on the course for trial, which resulted in favor of Zipp by 25 feet—distance 500 yards; time, 20 seconds. The next race was run between the horses of Capt. Wood and the Lieutenant of the 3d squadron, for a basket of champagne, which resulted in favor of the 2d squadron. The third race was run between "Jaco" of the 2d, and "Eagle" of the 3d squadron, and resulted in the defeat of the 3d squadron horse by 20 feet: time 19½ seconds—distance 500 yards. The sport was finally closed by trying the speed of several mules, who threw their riders, which occasioned a great deal of mirth.

JUNE 26—Take up the Washita bottom. A more rich and fertile section of country than this can nowhere be found; march 15 miles, and camp at Delaware Springs. The only objection we have to this country is, that water is too scarce; there are creeks enough, but they are dry at this season of the year. Delaware Indians²⁶ inhabit this part of country; they are the most industrious tribe now on the face of the earth. They devote their time to agricultural pur-

26. Black Beaver's band of some 500 Delawares lived along the Canadian river north-east of present Paul's Valley, Okla., in the 1850's. Black Beaver was a noted guide and scout. For a time these Indians occupied the abandoned log buildings at old Fort Arbuckle.—*Chronicles of Oklahoma*, v. 12, p. 76, footnote; Morrison, *op. cit.*, p. 95.

suits instead of roving over the country, bidding defiance to all of the white race who chance to come within their range.

JUNE 27—Travel over a somewhat barren, hilly country, studded with hundreds of acres of wild flax, with here and there spots of good grass. Wild game, such as elk, antelope, turkies and prairie chickens are in abundance. The 1st squadron of 1st cavalry, under command of Capt. [Delos B.] Sacket, caught up with us to-day. March 15 miles; camp near old Fort Arbuckle.²⁷ There are a few old buildings left to mark this place. Here a Pay-master was attacked some years since by the Indians, who took possession of all the specie, of which nothing has since been heard. The Fort is situated in an exceedingly romantic spot, and about five miles from the Canadian river, Indian Territory.

JUNE 28—Remain in camp. From what we could learn the 1st squadron has had a hard time of it since their departure from Fort Smith. They set out from that place on the 10th inst., unaccompanied by a guide, and in consequence of which were lost amongst the mountains of the southern portion of Indian Territory, traveling over rough roads, upsetting and breaking up their wagons. About a week ago, while traveling over an uncommonly rough road, a teamster by the name of Robert Smith was accidentally killed by the upsetting of a wagon.

JUNE 29—This morning Capt. Sacket assumed command of the 1st and 2d squadrons, composed of companies B, A, I and C, of 1st cavalry. Left camp at half past six. It commenced to rain early this morning. The country we passed over to-day is the most richly fertile and picturesque we ever saw. Wild turkies may be seen in flocks counting upwards of a thousand. March 18 miles, and camp on Scarcewater Creek.

CATO.

CAMP ON MOUND CREEK, 200 MILES NORTH OF FORT WASHITA,
July 10, 1859

JUNE 30. Mustering day. This morning the bugle notes roused us from sleep very early. We were mustered before the sun had shown its bright face above the horizon,—Mustering over, we saddled our horses and marched 12 miles, over a rolling prairie; the soil assumes a reddish color, and is living in richness. Wild game, such as deer, elk, turkies, rabbits &c., are very numerous in this part of the country. The weather is exceeding hot to-day.

27. Old Fort Arbuckle (Camp Arbuckle) was near present Purcell, Okla., in Sec. 14, T. 5 N., R. 2 E.—*Chronicles of Oklahoma*, v. 27, p. 315. In 1851 the new site for Fort Arbuckle, on the Washita river, was selected.

Evacuated Indian wigwams may be seen scattered over the prairie all along the route. So far we have seen no unfriendly Indians.

JULY 1. Leave camp at 6 o'clock. Travel over a hilly country a distance of 11 miles; camp on Lylton creek. The country assumes a mountainous aspect. The wagons were very late getting into camp; bridges had to be constructed over rivers and creeks before they were able to proceed; our road, to-day, lay through a heavy timbered section of country. The trees here are not as large as those in Kansas.

JULY 2. Remain in camp. Weather very beautiful. Capt. Sacket, last night, received leave of absence from the War Department, which, however, he does not accept. He intends to remain in this camp until the arrival of Maj. Emory, who has been ordered to take command of the four companies of 1st Cavalry, now under command of Capt. Sacket.

JULY 4. Remain in camp. This anniversary is always given to the soldiers as a holiday. Maj. Emory,²⁸ escorted by 20 men, arrived in camp at 1 o'clock. Not having any cannon with us we were unable to do justice to this never-to-be-forgotten day.

JULY 5. Leave camp this morning under command of Maj. Emory; the escort, that accompanied him returned to Fort Arbuckle. —A very hot day. Travel over a hilly and heavily timbered country. Trees are very small not exceeding 30 feet in height nor 6 inches in diameter. March 11 miles and camp on Clear creek. Flag creek runs into Clear creek not far from our camp.

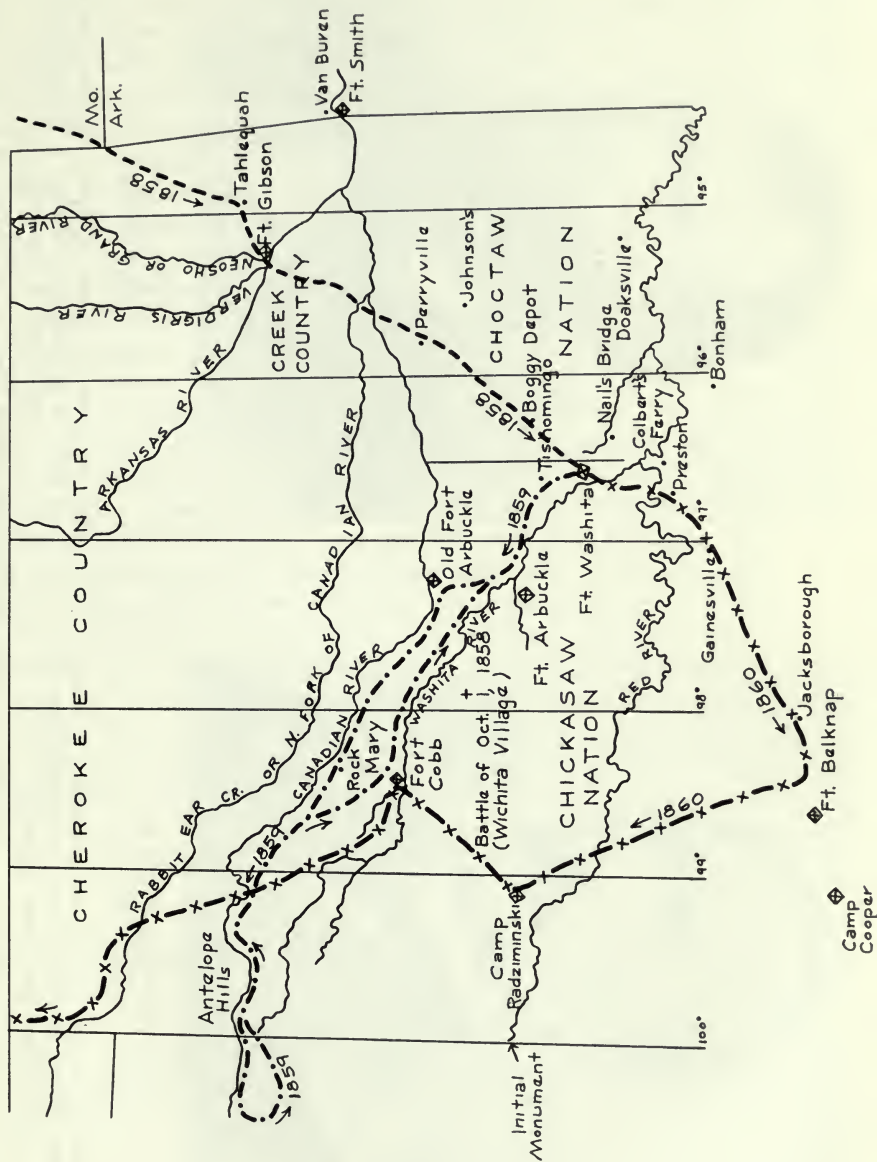
JULY 6. Leave camp at the usual hour; march over prairie, under a hot-boiling sun, a distance of 25 miles. Not a tree was to be seen all day long. Grass and vegetation have changed considerable to-day. We were late getting into camp. The Major stopped every 15 minutes; dispatching men in search of water, but was not successful until we reached the Canadian. We struck Lieut. White's [Whipple's?] ²⁹ overland route to New Mexico; it runs along the Canadian at distance of four miles.

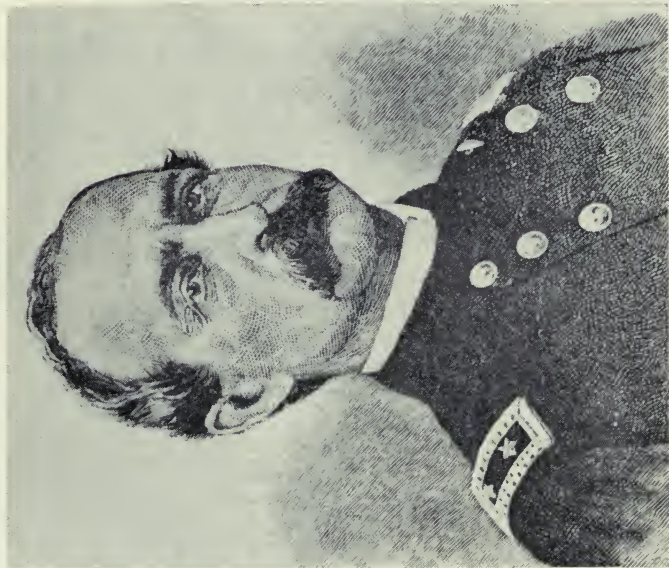
JULY 7. Leave camp at 6 o'clock. Travel over a rolling prairie, under a hot, scorching sun, a distance of 18 miles and camp a second

28. Maj. William H. Emory, as previously noted, was the commanding officer at Fort Arbuckle. His own troops, Companies D and E of the First cavalry, were not on this scout.

29. Apparently a reference to Lt. Amiel W. Whipple who, in 1853-1854, had surveyed routes in the Southwest for a railroad. However, in 1858 Lt. Edward F. Beale followed the same route from Fort Smith, Ark., along the Canadian river in surveying a route for a proposed wagon road from Fort Smith to the Colorado river, so "Cato" may have referred to Beale.—Grant Foreman, ed., *A Pathfinder in the Southwest* (Norman, Okla., 1941), p. 73, footnote.

TRAVELS OF THE FIRST U. S. CAVALRY IN THE INDIAN TERRITORY, 1859-1861

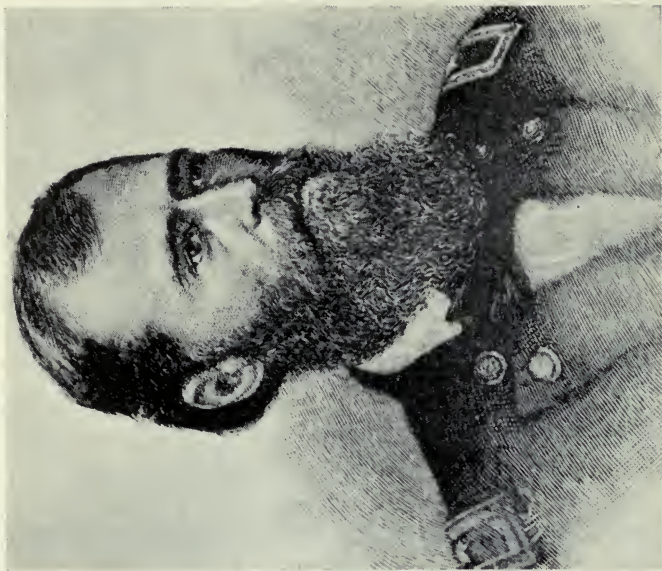




Thomas J. Wood
(1823-1906)

Captain, Company C, First U. S. cavalry 1855-1859. Commanding officer at Fort Washita December 29, 1859-November 30, 1859. Highest rank: Major general, U. S. V.

Sketches from Battles and Leaders of the Civil War.



Eugene A. Carr
(1830-1910)

Captain, Company I, First U. S. cavalry 1858-1861. Commanding officer at Fort Washita December 1, 1859-April 9, 1860. Highest rank: Bvt. major general, U. S. A.

Sketches from Battles and Leaders of the Civil War.

time on Canadian river. We are now getting into buffalo country, the carcasses of which animals are very odorous. Grass and vegetation are of a decidedly different nature than any we have heretofore come across; now buffalo, then blue, then salt grass.

Passed eight Indians, of what tribe we could not learn. They were well armed, also well supplied with provisions, which they carried on ponies, fastened with pack saddles.

JULY 8. Travel over a rolling prairie, well wooded but badly watered, a distance of 10 miles; camp on Weepannaugh creek. This day was the hottest day on record for the year 1859. Water is very scarce in this part of the country. A detachment of 18 men was sent in advance to hunt up camping places convenient to water.

JULY 9. Leave camp at 6 o'clock. Travel over a hilly and heavily timbered section of country—the timber chiefly consists of cedar and oak. Met a Mr. Brown returning from a surveying expedition of the one hundredth parallel, accompanied by a dozen or more of Shawnee Indians (from Kansas).³⁰ This party seemed to be in a destitute condition; we supplied them with twenty days rations. March twelve miles and camp on Red Rock creek.—St. Mary's rock [Rock Mary]³¹ is in sight of our camp; it is 50 feet in height, and 400 feet in circumference, and of a red sand color. Some one carelessly set the prairie on fire, the grass, although green, burned with the fury of a wild raving maniac. Water is almost inaccessible; it generally is from 100 to 150 feet below the surface of the prairie.

JULY 10. Leave camp at 8 o'clock. March over a level prairie, studded with pyramid like mounds of countless numbers; some in the shape of castles, others like houses, hay stacks, &c. March twelve miles and camp on Mound creek. The weather is exceedingly hot; water very scarce. The country we passed over to-day is the most picturous that we ever saw.

CATO.

30. In the spring of 1859 Daniel G. Major, a government astronomer, established the initial point of the western line between present Oklahoma and Texas on the 100-degree meridian of west longitude (the southwestern corner of present Oklahoma, in other words). The line was then run north from Red river to the Canadian (a distance of 90 miles) by Surveyor H. M. C. Brown of the firm of Messrs. A. H. Jones and H. M. C. Brown, St. Louis, Mo.—*Report of Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 1859, p. 557.

31. Rock Mary, described by one writer as "a singular sandstone butte with forked summit," was named for 17-year-old Mary Conway, of Arkansas, a popular member of the emigrant party Capt. R. B. Marcy's company escorted as far as Santa Fé in 1849.—*Chronicles of Oklahoma*, v. 12, p. 89; Grant Foreman, *A Pathfinder in the Southwest*, op. cit., p. 70, footnote. It is a few miles southeast of present Hydro, Okla.—*Chronicles of Oklahoma*, v. 28, p. 276, footnote.

August 11, 1859

Our camp at present is on the Washita river, in North-Eastern Texas. To-day the thermometer was 106 in the shade. The country is very barren, and we are forced to move our camp frequently to secure grass and water.

On the 25th of July a "general call" was sounded at half-past six. In an hour we were mounted, and on the march. Some horses had been stolen during the night and the trail of the robbers discovered. A detachment was sent in pursuit, and the chase kept up for sixty miles. The Camanches, however, (such were the thieves) eluded all pursuit.

Our present camp is situated in an exceedingly romantic spot, environed on the North and West by a narrow strip of timber, running along the banks of the Washita river, which is in the shape of a half moon; on the South and East by a vast and luxuriant prairie. About twenty-five yards from the river, in a straight line, are the officers' tents, which are decorated with arbors constructed out of willow bushes, with which the river is perfectly lined. Fifty yards in front of the officers tents are the tents of the companies, occupying in length about a quarter of a mile; four hundred yards from these are the guard tents, two in number, one for the accommodation of the guard, the other for the prisoners. About five hundred yards to the left of the camp the commissary train has formed its V-like encampment.

[UNSIGNED]

CAMP VAN CAMP,³² (ON OAK CREEK)
35 MILES SOUTH OF ANTELOPE HILLS,
August 25th, 1859.

On the 13th inst. we left our camp on the Washita, (from which I wrote last) only to change it for a former one on the Canadian, one mile north of Antelope Hills. Here everything has the appearance of death—the grass, which, only a few weeks since, was bright and green, has now the appearance of a grainfield in harvest time. Since our reappearance on the eastern side of the Hills, we have been unable to find a camp that would justify a stay of more than two days at a time. Consequently we were compelled to push toward home, much against the desire and wish of the commanding officer, who otherwise would have remained in the vicinity of the Hills up to the latest possible moment, hoping to fall in with

32. Evidently named to honor Lt. Cornelius Van Camp, of Van Dorn's command, killed by the Comanches the previous autumn. (See letter of February 2, 1859.)

the Camanche Indians, who were all the time roving in our rear, running off our cattle, and when finding themselves pursued, abandoning them and seeking refuge among the ravines and caves of this desolate country.

The best way to corner this tribe of Indians is to take it *a la Van Dorn*—(abandon the wagons and resort to pack mules.) Thus rigged out, you are prepared to follow them wherever they go—camp where you like, prepare your meals at any time, and be ready for the march at a moment's warning.

The present Administration must be "hard up" for money. Not long since an order was received to discharge mechanics, wagon-masters and teamsters. Mechanics, at sixty dollars per month, were all discharged, and soldiers, at twenty-five cents per day, were put in their places. Out of ten wagon masters eight were discharged; also eight teamsters—these being extra hands. Their wages saved from thirty to fifty dollars per month. No doubt that before long soldiers wages will be reduced, so as to give office holders more pocket money.

CATO.

FORT WASHITA, C. N., Sept. 25, 1859

MR. EDITOR: We arrived here on the 22d inst. Having put everything to order that had been misplaced during our absence, we have now a few leisure moments which we will occupy in writing a few "hurry-graphs" to *The Times*.

On the 27th ult., we moved camp from Oak Creek to the Washita river. Here we camped on a plateau nearly destitute of grass, intending to remain only till morning; but during the night it commenced to rain, and continued incessantly for five days. Our tents were completely inundated, not even leaving us a dry suit of clothing. At the end of the fifth day it ceased to rain for some hours, which time we occupied in moving camp a few miles down the river. As the grass became trodden down, we moved camp from place to place, until the time came for us to resume our homeward journey. The grass being very poor, would not allow us to remain at one place more than twenty-four hours.

On the 5th inst., Camp Van Camp was broken up, and our homeward journey commenced. The recent heavy rains had swelled the creeks to overflowing. Bridges which we erected on our outward journey had all been washed away, causing a great deal of delay to re-construct them.

SEPT. 6. This morning the sky was clear for the first time for nearly two weeks. As the day wore on, it became so intensely hot that it almost burned the clothes off our backs. An "I" Company horse was found standing riderless on a sand-bar in the middle of the Washita river, opposite the mouth of Bonet [Comet?] creek. It was supposed he had run away from his rider, who belonged to a party that were in search of game. The horse upon noticing the approach of a rider who belonged to a hunting party of company C, swam on shore, and followed him into camp. There was nothing more thought of the matter until the next morning, when the man was still missing. Company I was accordingly sent to search for him. They returned to camp late in the evening, and reported that Martin Garner, (such was his name) had been found at the bottom of a deep hole, close to the sand-bar where the horse was found the day previous; that his face was horribly cut up. It is thought that the horse suddenly plunged into the river, and in so doing threw the rider over his head; and while the man was trying to swim ashore, the horse took after him and pawed him to death. He now lies under the sod on the banks of the Washita river. Peace be to his ashes.

After the above occurrence, everything went on smoothly until we arrived at Red Rock Creek. Here we received orders to proceed to the camp of Indians who have recently removed from Texas. This Indian camp is situated on the Washita river, ninety miles North of Fort Arbuckle. It contains fragments of the Southern Camanches, Tonkaways, Wacoes, Caddos, and Wichita tribes, numbering over two thousand.³³ The Southern Camanches and Tonkaways cannot get along with each other. The other day a fuss was kicked up between them, which caused the latter tribe to move camp. They cannot go far away at present, as they are confined to a tract of land only ten miles square. These Indians are great traders. Hundreds of them may be seen in camp, offering lariats, moccasins, buffalo robes, &c., in exchange for tobacco, sugar, coffee, bread, &c. Should the article you offer them in exchange for some of their goods be insufficient, they would sing out, "*too poketa no bueno*." After repeating this three or four times, they would

33. As Indian raids in Texas increased in the latter 1850's it became expedient to move these remnants of wild tribes from reservations in the northern part of Texas. By treaty, in 1855, the federal government had secured a lease to the Chickasaws' and Choctaws' lands lying west of the 98-degree meridian. To this area the Texas Indians were removed in August, 1859—to a location in the Washita valley. The agency for these tribes was established on the north side of the Washita about four miles northeast of the present town of Fort Cobb, Okla., on August 16. The site (chosen in June by Elias Rector, head of the southern superintendency) was near a stream later called Leeper creek.—Nye, *op. cit.*, pp. 33-35; M. H. Wright, "A History of Fort Cobb," in *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, v. 34, pp. 53-71.

walk away, apparently in disgust at the soldiers for not trading with them.

We lay two days at the camp, at the expiration of which time we took up the line of march. We passed a part of the Wichita tribe, on their way to join the others, at the large or main encampment, a distance of forty miles from the latter place. The country selected by the Indians for their summer camp is exceedingly rich, fertile and picturesque, also well timbered and watered. In fact the Washita valley is undoubtedly the finest section of country west of the Mississippi river.

On the 16th inst. John Nicholson, of Co. I, First cav., died of scurvy. His body was consigned to the grave at sunset the same day.—Had it not been for the salute fired, no one except those concerned would have known that there was a funeral going on in camp.—These are the principal incidents worthy of notice.

On the 25th of July last an order was issued from the War Department for the erection of a new military post in the Washita country, near the reserve selected for the Texas Indians, to be called Fort Cobb.³⁴ Four companies of first infantry, from Texas, and companies E and D of first cavalry from Fort Arbuckle, are ordered to assist in its erection. Major Emory, first cavalry, is assigned the command. He will at once select the site, and make preparations for constructing the fort as soon as the necessary appropriation is made by Congress. A saw mill and other necessary preparations will be furnished without delay. The fort will be supplied from Fort Smith, Arkansas. Capt. W. L. Cabell, Assistant Quartermaster, is assigned to duty at the new post.

The garrison at Fort Smith, (companies B and A of first cavalry) which will be abandoned as a station for troops, will take post at Fort Arbuckle.

The limits of the department of Texas are extended northward between New Mexico and the State of Arkansas, to the Arkansas river, (including Forts Smith, Washita, Arbuckle and Cobb,) and the southern boundary of Arkansas, without crossing either.

The Chickasaw Indians are about being paid their annuity. They are camped by hundreds in the woods around the residence of their Agent Gen. D. H. Cooper.

The Fort has assumed its usual cheerfulness since our arrival.

34. Maj. William H. Emory selected the Fort Cobb site on October 1, 1859, and reported on October 3 that it was at the junction of Pond (now Cobb) creek and the Washita river, distant 101 miles from Fort Arbuckle.—*Secretary of War's Report*, 1859, p. 386. The site is on high ground about a mile east of the present town of Fort Cobb in Caddo county, Okla.—M. H. Wright, "A History of Fort Cobb," *loc. cit.*, p. 56. The agency was about three miles east of the post.—*Ibid.*

According to accounts from those that remained behind, it is an awful dull place when no troops here.

The weather is very pleasant. The corn crop is very nearly all gathered into cribs.

CATO.

FORT WASHITA, C. N., October 18, '59

The following marriage notice, may perhaps be of some interest to at least a few of your readers:

Married at this place, on Tuesday, October 11th, 1859, by the Rev. Mr. Burke, Army Chaplain of Fort Washita, Andrew J. Gunnels, of Company "C" 1st Cavalry to Mrs. Augustine Brush, of Fort Washita.

In the evening, the happy couple received a *grand* serenade from the celebrated Fort Washita Band, organized for the purpose.

Since our return from Antelope Hills, we have been kept busily engaged. "Leave of absence" is rarely granted.

Crime prevails to a great extent in this part of the country. Not a day passes but what we hear of somebody being killed. There must be a band of lawless desperadoes hereabouts. Justice is slack and but rarely administered even if the rogues are caught.

Corn has yielded an abundant crop this season. Farmers are now supplying this post with corn at the rate of one dollar per bushel, delivered. There is but little agricultural industry among the swarthy denizens of this Nation. The corn consumed at this post is chiefly supplied by the farmers of Texas.—Other produce, such as potatoes, turnips, onions, &c., are chiefly grown by the Indians, for which they demand enormous prices. They make such gross charges that the Commanding officer has deemed it necessary to establish a set price for each and every article brought to market:—Potatoes \$1.50 per bushel; Onions \$1.50 per bushel; Sweet Potatoes 75 cts. per bushel; Butter 15 cts. per lb.; Eggs 15 cts. per dozen.

The weather is very beautiful. The trees of the forest are still bedecked with their beautiful Summer foliage, and only a few, here and there, show signs of a fast approaching Fall. We have thus far had no frost.

[UNSIGNED]

FORT WASHITA, C. N., Nov. 2, 1859.

On the evening of the 26th ult., a fight took place between two men, in which one was severely wounded by a pistol ball. The ball entered the fleshy part of the thigh, and passed out near the knee, almost entirely destroying the use of his leg.

On the morning of the 27th ult., an express arrived at this place for a detachment of troops to proceed to Nail's Bridge,³⁵ on the California Overland Route, (10 miles from here,) to settle a difficulty between a number of drovers and the bridge keeper, which arose from the former refusing to pay toll for crossing their stock over the bridge. After the arrival of the troops, and a great deal of unnecessary talk, the drovers determined to undergo the process of law before they would pay the required sum. The troops returned, and the drovers remained.

On the night of the 30th ult., two ponies were stolen from a stable, belonging to Jarrison [Harrison?]. The following morning pursuit was instigated, and, after a diligent search of four hours, the ponies was found, quietly grazing on the banks of the Washita River, about ten miles from the Fort. The thief, evidently finding himself in close quarters, abandoned his ill-gotten stock to make good his escape, which he evidently did, as nothing has been seen or heard of him.

On the morning of the 1st inst., the Sheriff of _____ county, Texas, came to this place to procure assistance to bring to justice three persons (whose names I did not learn) who crossed Red River on the night of the 31st ult., and set fire to a grocery and shot the owner, who is not expected to live, (probably dead before this time). A detachment of twelve men accompanied him to Colbert's Ferry,³⁶ where it was supposed they were concealed in some of the houses, but all search proved in vain.

There is at present a great flow of emigration to the State of Texas. While taking a ride in that direction a few days since, we noticed a train of wagons, nearly two miles in length, loaded with furniture, household goods, provisions, &c. Upon inquiry of the teamsters, "Where are you bound to," we received for answer, "To Texas." We were informed that no less than 3,000 emigrants had passed over the Overland Route since the 1st of September. Missouri, Arkansas and Iowa furnish the greater portion of these emigrants. They seem to be in low spirits, and present a most gloomy appearance.

The troops here are in excellent health.—Since my last the weather has considerably changed—heavy frosts in the morning and

35. Nail's bridge, a heavy wooden structure over the Blue river, was about ten miles east of Fort Washita. The home (and Butterfield Overland Mail station) of Joel H. Nail, a Choctaw citizen, was on the east side of the bridge. The site is some eight miles west of present Caddo, Okla.—Conkling, *op. cit.*, v. 1, pp. 272, 273.

36. Colbert's ferry over Red river on the Texas boundary, had been established about 1853 by Benjamin F. Colbert, a Chickasaw citizen. In 1858 it was selected as the Overland Mail crossing. The first west-bound mail arrived there on September 20, 1858.—*Ibid.*, pp. 279, 280. The ferry was about 15 miles south of Fort Washita.

hot sunshine during the middle of the day.—The forests are completely dismantled.

Gen. D. H. Cooper, Chickasaw Indian Agent, left here a few days since for his home in Mississippi, there to spend the winter with his family.

There is an abundance of wild game here. We have frequently, in addition to our delicious fare, (pork and beans,) deer, turkey, antelope and grouse; procured by a few who delight in hunting.

On Sunday evening last, a negro was caught in the act of selling liquor. He was taken to the guard house, and the following morning was taken out and tied to a post; when, after receiving fifty lashes, he was released.

[UNSigned]

FORT WASHITA, C. N., Dec. 12, '59.

On the 1st inst., Capt. T. J. Wood left here on leave of absence, and will probably be gone eighteen months. During his absence, the 2d Squadron will be under the command of Capt. E. A. Carr.³⁷

Up to the present month, we had very mild and pleasant weather. The first of December brought with it a heavy shower of rain, which lasted for several hours, when it turned into hail and snow, continuing till the evening of the 3d inst. On the morning of the 4th the ground was covered to the depth of five inches with hail and snow, hard and solid as ice.—This conglomerated mass lay, undisturbed, upon the ground until the 9th inst., during which time we suffered greatly, when a thaw occurred which left no trace of the winter "spell."

The storm proved fatal to wild game in this vicinity. Not a day passed, while the snow lay upon the ground, but what the hunter returned with a well filled bag, after a few hours' hunt. Rabbits are as numerous here as flies about a slaughter-house in the summer time. There is also an abundance of deer, turkeys and prairie chickens, which are hunted down by the Indians, and brought to the post for sale. They find but few purchasers amongst the soldiers, who love sport too well to forego the pleasure of a few hours ramble through the woods with rifle or shot gun in hand.

Crime is still prevailing hereabouts, to a great extent. Not long since, while a party of half-breeds were proceeding towards Tishomingo City, they were fired upon by some evil disposed persons

37. Thomas J. Wood, Company C's captain, and head of the First cavalry's Second squadron (Companies C and I), had been commandant at Fort Washita since December 29, 1858. Eugene A. Carr, Company I's captain, thus succeeded Wood both as commander of the squadron and of the army post.

who lay concealed along the road behind some fallen trees. One of the party was mortally wounded, and the remainder saved themselves by flight. Upon arriving at Tishomingo, they immediately gave the alarm, and pursuit was instantly instigated by a party of the Light Horse Troop,³⁸ who scoured the woods for miles around the city, but could find no traces of the rogues.

We hear constantly of Indian depredations committed on the frontiers of New Mexico, but for which the perpetrators are severely chastised by the troops stationed there, often losing their best and ablest warriors.

There is at present a rumor afloat that a portion of the 1st Regiment of Cavalry are to be stationed on the frontiers of New Mexico, to relieve the Mounted Rifles, who have constantly lived in the saddle since they were stationed there. But I think this rumor will turn out to be like many others—without foundation. No such good luck for the 1st Cavalry.

ROVER.

FORT WASHITA, CHOCTAW NATION, Jan. 18, 1860.

A few days since, Gov. La Flore, of the Choctaw Nation,³⁹ requested of the Commanding Officer of this post, a detachment of troops to assist him in removing three white persons of a renegade character, from Boggy Depot, the capitol of the Choctaw Nation,⁴⁰ who had located themselves at that place without the permission of the Governor. White persons have no right to locate themselves among the Indians without the permission of the Governor of the Nation where they intend to settle. The trio were placed in charge of the troops and brought to this place for examination by the Agent, who, after examining them, ordered them to leave the Nation.

Lieut. [George A.] Cunningham, Second Cavalry, passed through here a short time since in search of deserters, who, upon leaving, took with them one of the Lieutenant's horses. Lieut. C. returned to this place yesterday, without being able to obtain tidings of the deserters or of his horse.

38. The "Light Horse" were Indian law enforcement officers—a mounted police maintained by the Five Civilized Tribes.

39. Basil Le Flore, was principal chief and governor of the Choctaw Nation for one year only. He took office in October, 1859.—P. J. Hudson, "A Story of Choctaw Chiefs," in *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, v. 17, p. 193.

40. Boggy Depot, some 15 miles northeast of Fort Washita, was in 1860 the largest and most important settlement on the Butterfield Overland Mail route between Fort Smith, Ark., and Sherman, Tex.—Conkling, *op. cit.*, v. 1, p. 269. Since 1855 (when the Chickasaw and Choctaw lands were divided by treaty), Boggy Depot had been a Choctaw town. The Choctaw capital was Doaksville, but for a time, during a factional dispute, Boggy Depot served as a temporary capital.—*Ibid.*; *Oklahoma, a Guide* . . . , *op. cit.*, pp. 341, 342.

A detachment of troops, consisting of infantry and rifles, passed through here a few days since *en route* to New Mexico.

Since my last the weather king has visited us in various shapes; at the present time we have very fine weather, with a prospect of having no more of the cold and dreary winter season.

ROVER.

FORT WASHITA, C. N., March 6, 1860

Since my last, we have experienced a change in the weather; winter may be classed among the things that have been, while spring, with its radiant smiles, is daily working itself more and more into our affections. Grass, and vegetation of all kinds, are already sprouting up all around us, and in a few days, the grass will be sufficiently large to afford good grazing for the horses and mules of this post, which are at present nearly starved for want of hay and grass.

Major Gaines,⁴¹ of the Pay Department, and Paymaster for Forts Smith, Arkansas; Washita, C. N.; Arbuckle, C. N., and Cobb, C. N., died recently of wounds received by the upsetting of his ambulance, while returning from Fort Cobb, C. N., in January last, near Fort Smith, Arkansas.

John Phelan, not of billiard notoriety, but a simple, halfbreed Indian, was recently killed at Tishomingo City, C. N., by a notorious gambler, whose name I was unable to learn. Immediately after committing the deed, he left for parts unknown, and nothing has since been heard of him.

A detachment of sixty United States recruits, recently passed through here under the command of Lieut. [George D.] Bayard, 1st cavalry, *en route* for Forts Arbuckle and Cobb. There were twenty-two of the uninitiated left at this post, of which company "I" received fourteen, and the remainder were assigned to company "C." Five years ago the 1st and 2d regiments of cavalry were organized, since which time the 1st regiment has been roaming over the country and accomplished nothing but the survey of the Southern boundary of Kansas,⁴² while the 2d regiment has constantly lived in the saddle—dealing death and destruction amongst its savage foes.—The terms of service for old hands, expires this year, and, conse-

41. Maj. Augustus W. Gaines, a Kentuckian, died February 19, 1860.

42. Rover appears to have been an "old-timer" in the First cavalry—perhaps serving since the regiment's organization in 1855. Companies C, I, F, and K, First cavalry, plus two companies of Sixth infantry, all commanded by Col. Joseph E. Johnston, had escorted the surveyors of the southern Kansas boundary. Colonel Johnston's journal of the expedition (May 16-Oct. 29, 1857) was published in *The Kansas Historical Quarterly*, v. 1, pp. 104-139.

quently Uncle Sam will need a large number of recruits to keep these two regiments in proper trim.

While sitting in the Sutler's store the other day, reading the latest number of the *Times*, a certain Texas editor came in, took a seat with his back towards me, (evidently not noticing me,) drew forth a written circular of eight pages from one of his pockets, and commenced to read its contents to the proprietor of the store. From it I learned there is a secret movement on foot amongst Southern politicians, to secure all Territory favorable to slave labor before the 4th of March, 1861. They propose to send agents to New Mexico, Arizona and the Indian Territory, to make arrangements with the inhabitants to secure all these Territories to the South. The circular is signed by the most prominent politicians of the South. One paragraph reads, as near as I can recollect, about as follows: "In order to secure this Territory to the South, and forestall the North for once, before the 4th of March, 1861, this movement should be kept secret. Copies of this pamphlet are sent only to 'editors' who are considered in favor of the movement, or 'sound on the goose.'" Some one coming in, prevented me from learning more about this document. More when time permits.

ROVER.

FORT WASHITA, C. N., April 5, 1860

EDITOR TIMES: As we are about to proceed on the march for the frontier of Texas, I embrace this opportunity of informing you of the doings in this locality.

On the 26th ult., we received orders to hold ourselves in readiness for the march at a moment's warning. The scene of the enterprise is located at Camp Cooper, Texas.⁴³ The troops will be under command of Maj. G. H. Thomas, 2nd cavalry, and will consist of detachments from Forts Arbuckle, C. N.; Cobb, C. N.; Mason, Texas; and Washita, C. N., and those stationed at Camp Cooper. The object for the concentration of such a large force is to bring those devils, Comanches, to terms. In this scout the 1st cavalry will (to all appearances) have a fine chance to either ex or distinguish itself.

Eleven condemned horses were recently sold at public auction, at an average price of \$77 per head—the highest price obtained being \$112 and the lowest \$43.

43. Camp Cooper had been established in January, 1856, by Col. Albert Sidney Johnston, on the north side of the Clear fork of the Brazos river, five miles east of the mouth of Otey's creek, in present Throckmorton county, Texas. After the reservation Indians were removed from northern Texas in August, 1859, Camp Cooper was no longer an important post.—W. P. Webb, ed., *The Handbook of Texas* (Austin, Tex., 1952), v. 1, p. 279.

Gen. Douglas H. Cooper, Chickasaw Indian Agent, has returned and resumed his duties. During his absence, Capt. E. A. Carr performed the duties of Indian agent.

First Lieut. [Alfred] Iverson left here on the 16th of last month, on two months furlough. During his absence, Company C, 1st Cavalry, will be under the command of 2d Lieut. John R. Church.

There is a constant flow of emigrants from Missouri, Arkansas and Iowa, to Texas; in fact, the roads are literally lined with emigrant trains. In the course of five years, Texas will be one of the most densely populated States in the Union, if the Southern fire-eaters don't manage to dissolve it before that time.

Fishing is the chief topic of amusement here at present for the soldier. Cat fish weighing upwards of thirty pounds are considered small fry, when fifty pounders are daily caught and brought home. The fish are of such an enormous size, that they frequently pull the fisherman into the water.

An affray took place, the other day, at Nail's Bridge,⁴⁴ between two half-breed Indians, in which one was mortally wounded with a pistol ball, the ball entering the right breast and breaking the bone. The offender in chief has left for parts unknown. He also carries with him a severe wound inflicted with a bowie knife.

A general court martial, of which Capt. E. A. Carr is President, is at present (March 28th) in session, at this post. Eleven prisoners are to be disposed of by this tribunal.

Last evening we received orders to proceed to Camp Cooper as soon as practicable. The commanding officer has appointed Monday next for us to leave this post. The requisition calls for one hundred and twenty men, from this place, to serve three months from date of order, then to return to winter quarters at this place. There will be some thirty or forty left to garrison the fort, under the command of Second Lieut. E. Ingraham.

We have fine weather, abundance of grass, wood and water, with an occasional hurricane.

Yours truly,

ROVER.

44. Nail's bridge. See Footnote 35.

[To Be Concluded in the Winter, 1958, Issue.]

The Mudge Ranch

MARGARET EVANS CALDWELL

EDITOR'S INTRODUCTORY NOTE

This account of the famous Mudge ranch in Hodgeman county was prepared for publication by Mrs. Raymond H. Millbrook, formerly of Ness county, Kansas, and now of Detroit, Mich. The story of its high-living, free-spending owner is a fantastic part of the early history of western Kansas, when the rancher thought himself destined to be king in that country. If fact herein has sometimes been slightly embroidered by rumor and hearsay, that is but a part of the process by which such history is transformed into legend. To strip this story of every detail that cannot be backed by a supporting reference would be to tamper with a folk tale which deserves preservation. Mrs. Caldwell collected the story mainly from the neighbors and employees of the Mudge ranch, and in 1931 wrote it up for the Hodgeman County Historical Society.

THE coming of Henry S. Mudge and his brief stay in Kansas was like the flash of a meteor against the poverty-ridden background of early Hodgeman county history. Unlike most of the pioneers who arrived here in covered wagons and who remained because they were too poor to leave, Mudge came with money to burn, spent it more lavishly than wisely and then stepped on gracefully to other fields.

Harry Mudge, as his name has come down to us, was the son of a millionaire woolen manufacturer of Boston.¹ His ancestral mansion stood on historic Beacon Hill² near the Statehouse and was separated from the Boston Common by Beacon street, the aristocratic residential avenue of Boston. Around the corner of the Common stands Park Street church of which Mudge's father was a staunch member and in which he served many years as an elder. Two of Mudge's sisters,³ hearing of their brother's excesses, once came out here and tried to persuade him to sell out and return to

MRS. MARGARET EVANS CALDWELL, native of Hodgeman county, is a teacher of English in the Hanston High School.

1. Alfred Mudge, *Memorials* . . . (Boston, 1868), pp. 257-259. In this family genealogy considerable space is devoted to the career of Enoch R. Mudge, father of Henry S. He was in 1868 a manufacturer's agent selling the entire product of a number of woolen mills. These sales amounted to eight or nine million dollars annually.

2. *Ibid.* The Mudge home was at 118 Beacon street. Lew Horn, employed by Harry Mudge on his Kansas ranch, was taken to Boston to help reroof and paint this mansion. He described the house as one of a long row, all with rounded windows in front.

3. Henry S. Mudge was the youngest of a family of seven children. His only brother, a young man of great promise, was killed in 1863 in the Civil War.—*Ibid.* By 1880 only three of the children were living, Henry and his two sisters.

Boston. They even offered to buy his whole outfit if he would return with them. They were ladies of refinement and culture—true Bostonians. Needless to say their brother would have none of their advice or persuasion.⁴

It was about 1880⁵ when young Mudge, accompanied by a woman then supposed to be Mrs. Mudge, and a friend, Gus Yessogee, came to the frontier town of Larned looking for adventure.⁶ He established quarters in Larned for about six months while he scouted around to find the ideal place to try out ranching. Larned houses were small so he rented two, one to sleep in and one to eat in. He also hired servants. The houses stood in the same block about two blocks north and one west of the railroad station. One faced Broadway and the other was on the west side of the same block. Larned was unused to so much money and servants so the Bostonians caused quite a stir. The lady was tall and fair and wore clothes that made western Kansas gasp. Mudge was described variously as fine-looking, handsome, and a swell dresser. He was brown-haired, blue-eyed, of medium height, and of rotund build; his age was estimated from 30 to 45 years.⁷

Larned soon knew that the Bostonian had money, wanted a good time and was looking for land to start a big ranch which was to be an experiment rather than a serious investment. An Englishman, Dell Rugg, who ran a feed store and coal yard in Larned, told Mudge of the land in Hodgeman county and brought him out to see it. They came first to a place where a Rev. Switzer lived. Switzer knew of a man named Mellaney, who wanted to sell his relinquishment to the NW $\frac{1}{4}$, Sec. 6, T. 22 S, R. 22 W, a fine place for a ranch. When Mudge saw the springs, then running full strength on this quarter, he was ready to buy immediately. Mellaney wanted \$200 but Rugg and Switzer decided that to cover their services too, the price quoted to Mudge should be \$500.⁸

4. C. E. Roughton, one time county attorney, postmaster and early citizen of Jetmore, visited at the ranch. He is responsible for this story of the two sisters. He also said of Mudge, "When under the influence of rum he was wild as an Arab—he was as bad as he could be some ways and in others too good."

5. There has been some difference of opinion about this date. The first items in the local newspapers concerning Mudge appeared in 1880.

6. *Kansas Cowboy*, Dodge City, October 18, 1884. (This newspaper will henceforth be cited simply as *Cowboy*.) "He [Mudge] came to the plains of Kansas because he had grown weary of city life and longed for the freedom and unrestraint of the wild west." As a matter of fact Mudge was probably undertaking his first independent project, as he had left Harvard in 1878 and then traveled for a year or so in Europe.

7. Henry S. Mudge was born July 1, 1852, and was therefore not more than 28 years old when he came to Kansas. This birth date is given in both the Mudge genealogy and the obituary in the *Kinsley Mercury*, January 24, 1908.

8. At this time a relinquishment was worth very little in western Kansas. Hundreds of settlers of 1878 and 1879 had simply abandoned the land on which they had filed pre-emptions or homestead applications since the drought of 1879 had made it impossible for them to stay. As this place had a house and a well and running springs it was perhaps worth \$200 but even that was a good price in those times. Mudge had yet to pay the U. S. government for the land, \$1.25 an acre or \$200 a quarter.

After all, Mudge had let it be known he just wanted to experiment and didn't care about making money. So he paid the price cheerfully, filed his papers on the place and made it the beginning of the Mudge ranch. When some time later he discovered that he had paid more than double for the land he started a law suit. But other affairs intervened—the woman known as Mrs. Mudge left—and the suit never came to trial.⁹ Mudge proved up on this quarter May 18, 1881.

Roy Lang and his father had worked for Rugg and they were the first men the new ranch owner hired to work on his ranch.¹⁰ They began right away to build corrals and to wall an old well which was already on the place. There was also a small stone house there in which Mudge lived while the big ranch house was being built on the quarter of land just north, which had been bought from a man named Stone. The building spot was located on Dry creek where the corners of the four townships—Valley, Center, Marena and North Marena—meet. Roads have been changed and section lines surveyed since, but originally the ranch buildings stood on at least three different quarters of different sections in different townships.

The chief stone contractor was Mr. Butts, but Mr. Eberly, John and George Bradshaw, and many others helped quarry the stones, haul them, dress them, and put them up into buildings. George Bradshaw said he did his first stone work there.¹¹ Stop and think how much work and time it must have taken to build the walls of the stone corral 200 by 500 feet, the stable 83 by 22 feet, the rambling old ranch house and the miles of wire fence with stone posts. Besides all this stone work there was lumber to haul the long distances from some railroad town, for all the buildings had shingle roofs.¹² There was also a big two-story frame bunk house in which the cowboys slept and ate at times.¹³ In the blacksmith

9. The folk-say was in error here. The case did come into court and was reported in the *Larned Optic*, July 30, 1880: "The manner in which Mr. J. W. Van Winkle conducted the defense in the case of Mudge vs. Rugg last week won him the golden opinion from everybody. . . . The case . . . was decided in favor of [Rugg]. . . . There can be no question that Mr. Rugg violated the obligations of friendship if any existed, but that he committed any criminal offense we do not believe." Mudge immediately entered another complaint and it was this latter suit that never came to trial.

10. *Buckner Independent*, Jetmore, July 29, 1880.—"Mr. Long has moved his family upon the ranch belonging to H. Mudge and becomes a citizen of Hodgeman county."

11. George Bradshaw, one of a group of negroes, who made the exodus from the South after the War and settled in Hodgeman county, learned the masonry trade from the contractors imported to build the Mudge ranch house. Thereafter he and his sons built many of the early stone houses and barns of Hodgeman county.

12. Kinsley on the Santa Fe, 32 miles from the ranch, seems to have been the nearest railroad town. Shingle roofs were almost nonexistent in western Kansas at this time. The people lived in dugouts, soddies, and shanties. Even small houses of native stone were apt to have sod roofs because shingles were too expensive.

13. *Cowboy*, loc. cit.—The editor of this newspaper visited the Mudge ranch in 1884 and wrote a long and laudatory description of it and its owner for his paper. At the time of the visit the bunk house was in the process of building. It was described as being 22 x 55, with a cellar underneath the whole structure. "It will contain sleeping apartments, a sitting-room, dining hall, lavatory, kitchen and everything requisite for the comfort of its occupants."

all the ranch machinery was repaired and all the driving and riding horses were shod. There were various other sheds and buildings, a race track, polo court, tennis court, and dog kennels. Those who remember the old ranch say the place looked like a young town¹⁴ in the early days and was a landmark for miles around. Three fourths of a mile west was an ice house dug out in the creek bank where ice was kept the year around for the needs of the ranch. A plank slide was built down to the edge of the pond so the ice could be slid along up to the ice house. An ice house was so rare a thing in those days that the pond became known as Ice House Pond—a name it still bears.

Mudge hired lots of help. Everyone agreed that he did more for the early settlers of Hodgeman county than any other man who ever came to the county.¹⁵ His vast ranching project gave work to many and he always had plenty of money to pay the highest wages. It is safe to say that hardly a settler living within a 20-mile radius of the ranch but eked out his scanty living by working at the Mudge ranch. Many families who were pioneered out and ready to leave, were able to stay because of this work. Once when the rancher had hired as many men as he could find work for, still another one came with a hard luck story. Loath to turn the man away, he looked around until a pile of rocks on the south side of the road caught his eye. "Do you see that pile of rocks?" he asked. "I want them moved over to this side of the road and stacked up." When the man finished and came asking for another assignment, Mudge decided that he really preferred the stones where they had been originally. "Take them back." And the man received full pay for his time.

No one will ever know how much free medicine was handed out or how many dollars were given to the poor in reckless charity. One story is told of a boy who worked at the ranch. His widowed mother had mortgaged their team and was about to lose it. Mudge heard of this, sent the boy home with a check to cover the mort-

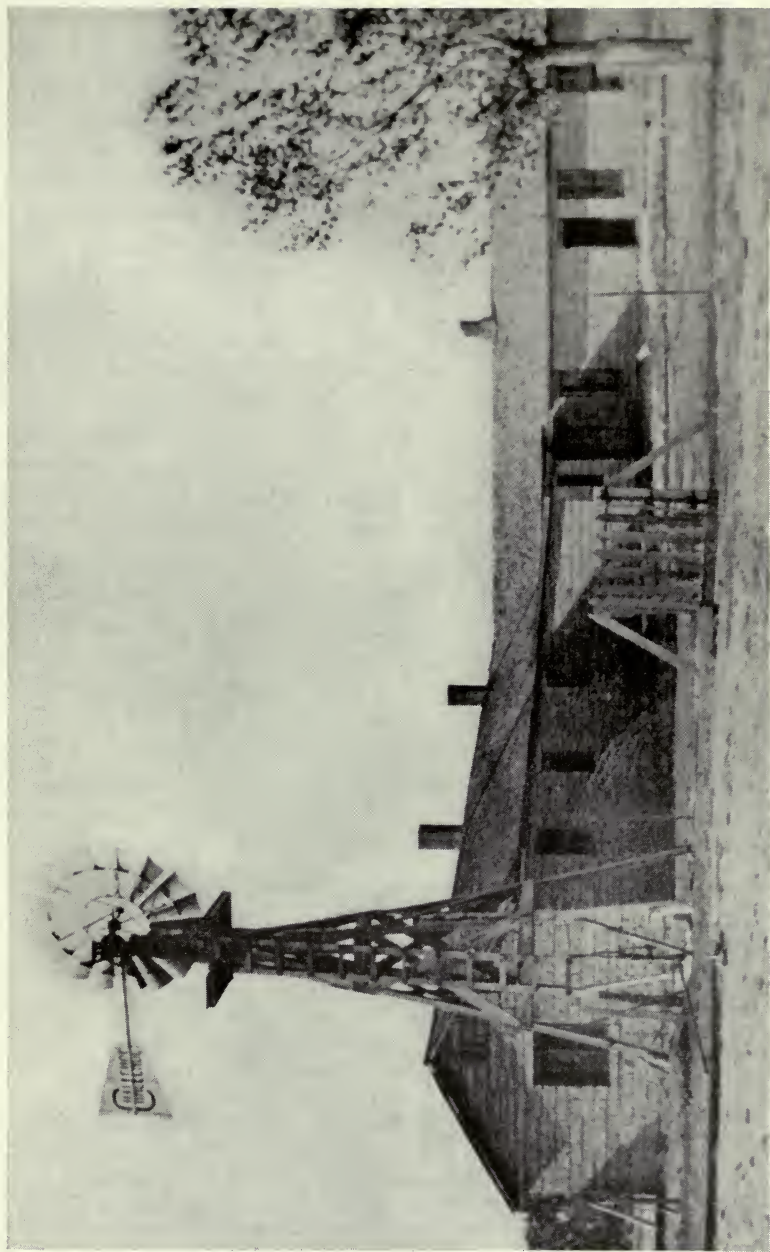
14. *Ibid.* "On approaching this place one thinks he is advancing upon a town on account of the buildings thereon in close proximity."

15. The local newspaper, *The Buckner Independent*, Jetmore, was enthusiastic about the Mudge development throughout the fall of 1880, mentioning it in almost every issue: July 29, 1880.—"Mr. H. Mudge is building one of the finest stone residences in Hodgeman county. It would be a boss thing . . . if there were several such men in the county. It would beat the aid business all out hollow."

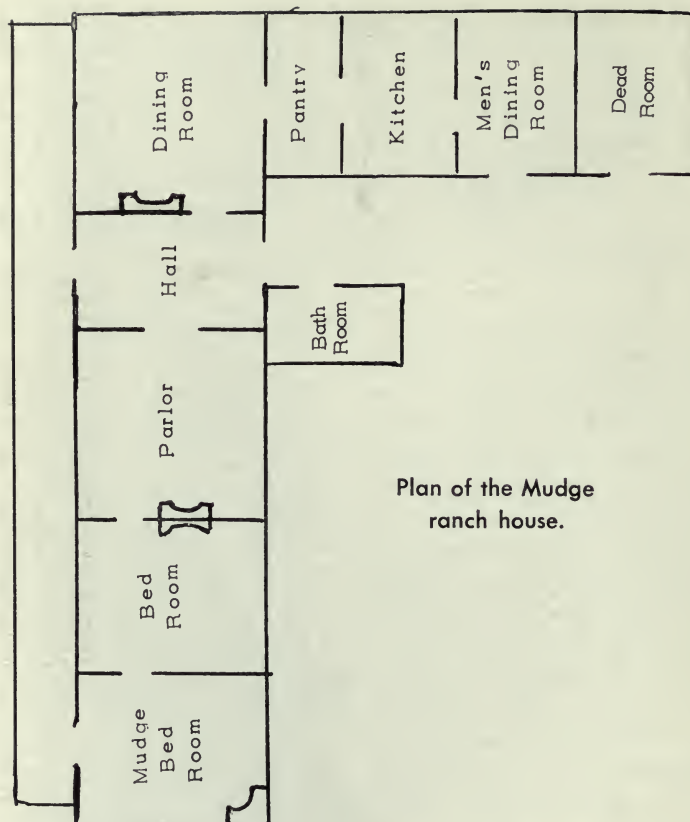
September 16, 1880.—"We started for Mr. Mudge's sheep ranche, and arrived there just in time to partake of a good square dinner with Mr. Lang. . . . Hands were busy putting up millet, etc."

September 30, 1880.—"Mr. Mudge has rented Mr. Blunt's place near Marena, which he intends to stock with . . . sheep. . . . He has also purchased the crops and set a merry lot of hands to work harvesting them."

December 31, 1880.—"Mr. H. S. Mudge gave a splendid dinner to his hands on Christmas day, for all of which they desire to return their kindest regards to that gentleman through these columns."



The Mudge ranch house built in 1880. The well and windmill shown are not the original ones which were closer within the L of the house. This is the back of the house taken about 1917. Courtesy L. W. Hubbell, Jetmore.



Plan of the Mudge ranch house.



ear. Horse brand same on right hip.

Henry S. Mudge.

P. O. address,
Middle Branch,
Hodgeman co.
Ranch on Dry creek,
Buckner and Pawnee
river, Hodgeman co.
Brand on left side of
both sides, with a
diamond cut in right

Cattle brand of the Mudge ranch as published in
the Kansas Cowboy, Dodge City.

gage and brusquely told him to hurry back and get to work.¹⁶ It is said that Bill Ward, who worked with his team at the ranch was often handed a check for \$100 when \$50 was all he expected.

Some of the stories however indicate that the young ranchman's charity was not always selfless. On his way to Kinsley he usually stopped at the Gleason home to water his horses. There was at that place then only a rope and bucket well. Mudge was not always disposed to get out, draw the water and unrein his horses to drink. He thought there should be better accommodations, such as a tank and windmill would afford and asked why they were not provided. The answer was, "I haven't the \$150." Mudge wrote out the check, saying he would be back in ten days and there must be a high tank to drink from as he did not want to unrein his horses. "Bedad," was the answer, "and your wishes will be granted."

Mudge's first venture in experimental ranching was sheep.¹⁷ Soon after locating his ranch and starting men to work on the buildings, he went, accompanied by Rugg, to Texas where he bought between 2,000 and 3,000 sheep and had them brought to his ranch in Hodgeman county. As soon as the sheep came, Roy Lang and Frank Owens went to herding and it is hard to say which the young shepherds had more difficulty in understanding, their woolly charges or their employer. Mudge himself was not any too well acquainted with sheep culture.

The immense corral had been built from stone to shelter the sheep. It was 200 feet wide and 300 feet long with a shed roof of lumber about 18 feet wide, extending around the entire interior of the wall. The sheep thrived fairly well during the summer. But the next fall while Mudge was away, the foreman, either Mr. Mack or Mr. Switzer, discovered that the sheep had a skin disease known as the scab. No one knew what to do as Mudge had left no orders and since he was expected home any time, the hands just waited for him. About midwinter he returned, bringing with him a gay party of friends from Boston. Deciding that the proper thing to do with the sheep was to dip them, he put the hands to work building a vat and dripping floor. The dip was prepared and the sheep

16. It is impossible to name everyone who contributed recollections to this account of the Mudge ranch, or which person remembered which story. Some specific credits are given throughout the manuscript. Others were W. C. Billings, Florence Linely Holtzberg, Peter Hoehn, John A. Hoehn, Margaret Haun Raser, and Mrs. Emma Perry.

17. While there were at this time a number of sheep ranches in Hodgeman county, Mudge possibly went into the sheep business because of some slight acquaintance with it in his own family. His brother-in-law, James Lawrence, a gentleman farmer at Groton, Conn., kept pure bred sheep on his farm. According to the *Buckner Independent*, September 16, 1880, Mudge had 1,600 sheep to which he intended to add about 70 fine rams and ewes from Vermont.

driven into it, but when they reached the dripping floor, instead of dripping off, the dip froze on the fleece. Mudge then decided that the only thing to do was to build a bonfire in the middle of the corral and drive the sheep around and around the fire so they would not freeze to death. Mudge and his New England friends stayed up all night to help in the effort to save the sheep. When an animal was utterly exhausted from the cold and the burden of his icy fleece, warm milk would be brought out and the sheep drenched. When results proved unsatisfactory, rum was substituted for milk and two gallons of this precious liquid used up in trying to revive the cold, dip-soaked sheep. The hands worked all night to keep up the fire and keep the sheep moving around it, but in spite of everything—or perhaps because of it—all the sheep that had been doctored with milk or rum died.

Sometimes when snow thickly blanketed the ground Mudge would insist that the sheep be taken out of the corral and herded. Remonstrance was useless. Since they were well paid, the hands always tried to please him, even though they laughed and joked about his radical notions.¹⁸ His whole ranching project, as one of the former ranch hands said, "was foolishness, all foolishness." Most of the time his herders rode horses and when a lamb played out, would tie it across the saddle and carry it home. Mr. Lang said he used to take as many as three lambs home on his horse at one time. But sometimes Mudge made up his mind that the proper way to herd sheep was on foot and then the shepherds brought the weary ones home in their arms. As the wildest of the sheep stories run, the sheep often got away from the herders and crossed into forbidden fields. Their owner saw no reason for this and he proposed to train them. An arbitrary deadline was set and whenever a sheep crossed the line, it was shot. Rumor says 500 sheep were educated in this manner.

When the sheep failed to bring in the expected returns from the market, Mudge got rid of the whole lot and turned his place into a cattle and horse ranch.¹⁹ About 15 or 18 hands were kept at the ranch during the sheep regime. Enough cows to furnish milk and butter for these and for the dashing visitors from the East and surrounding towns, had always been kept. There had always

18. It should be remembered that in these early days no one knew just how to raise crops or stock in western Kansas. Many things were done in all earnestness and sobriety that seem foolish in the light of later knowledge. Mudge's errors were magnified by the size of his operation, his inexperience, and haphazard attention.

19. The sheep experiment seems to have lasted until the spring of 1883, as Mudge was not mentioned in the newspapers as a cattle man until that time. It is possible that the blizzard of February, 1883, brought losses to the Mudge ranch as it did to the other sheep men of that area.

been horses, too—thoroughbred driving horses, saddle horses, well-trained cow ponies, strong work horses, and tough-skinned mules.²⁰ In haying time when there was extra work to be done, 25 or 30 men would be employed. Two or three good teams were kept continually on the road to freight supplies from Kinsley, Larned, or Dodge. Some farming was done on the ranch; hay, rye, oats, millet, and barley were grown.

A horse stable of stone 83 by 22 feet had been built in the south bank of Dry creek. And in the sheds of the big corral there were stalls for horses boxed off, some of which had plank floors—a luxury almost unknown in Hodgeman county houses of that time. The north wall of the stable was stone, while the south side was dug into the bank with a row of windows above, through which feed from the adjoining feed yard could be pushed down into the mangers. In this stable one room was partitioned off and known as the harness room. In it were two bunks on which the two hostlers slept. They not only cared for the horses but kept the harness in good repair, for Mudge delighted in good horses and fine driving equipment. While still living in Larned, his high-headed thoroughbreds in the gold-mounted harness, hitched to an expensive buggy, were counted one of the sights of the countryside. He always made the trip from Larned to the ranch in record-breaking time.²¹

The great sport of the visitors from the East was riding over the limitless prairies and hunting anything to be found from jack rabbits to antelope. Many of the early settlers tell of seeing the gay horse-back parties galloping over the winding trails. Beautiful women in elaborate riding costumes, accompanied by the men in cowboy outfits, more decorative than useful, rode over the muddy Buckner ford. Mrs. Perry said she knew of at least one duke who visited at the ranch in its heyday. He and Mudge stopped at the Andrews home one evening on their way to Burdett. His rig-out was the most costly and handsome she had ever seen. What tales of adventure he must have taken back to tell his friends in sedate old England! ²²

20. *Cowboy*, October 18, 1884.—At that time there were 12 head of milk cows and 20 head of domestic horses on the ranch.

21. At least one newspaper reference was made to Mudge's fast horses. S. S. Prouty, editor of the *Cowboy*, had spent two days at the ranch and was driven by Mudge to Kinsley to take the train. On the way they stopped at another ranch and stayed overlong. With 16 miles yet to go, the distance was accomplished by Mudge's flyers in just one hour and 15 minutes.

22. *Jetmore Reveille*, July 22, 1885.—"A distinguished party consisting of Harry Mudge, Gross Longendyke, Franklin Rubere and Lord Rawlston an Englishman, have gone on a buffalo hunt. They are fully equipped for the expedition, and will go as far as the Colorado line and expect to be gone about two weeks."

Harry Mudge was an excellent horseman, the handsomest rider in the country. He usually wore English hunting clothes, breeches and boots, a big white hat with a silk handkerchief for a hat band. One of the stories about him says that one day at Larned, where he was considered a dude and a tenderfoot, a horse was brought out for him to ride. The horse of course pitched badly but in spite of all its attempts to throw him off, Mudge rode it successfully. He did have the misfortune to lose his watch in the fracas and could not find it. Later some fellows found it and were given a \$25 reward.

Mr. Gleason thought at least four of the most valuable driving horses at the ranch were shipped in from the East, probably from Boston. Among these equine aristocrats was a race horse that came all the way from Boston in a special car by himself. Great speed was expected of this horse, but a wiry little cow pony could out-run him, a fact that caused considerable mirth among the hands at the ranch. A polo field was laid out on the south side of the ranch house and Mudge and his guests played polo on the only polo field that has ever been laid out in Hodgeman county.

When the sheep were sold, besides the 400 head of ordinary Durham cattle that took the place of the sheep, Mudge began buying horses—wild mustangs from Colorado.²³ There were 14 head in the first bunch; Charley Rupp and Roy Lang say some of them died. There were 75 in the next bunch for which the Gleason boys went to Colorado. Then Mudge began buying horses at home—getting a bunch of mangy scrubs from George Ripple, a rancher south of the Buckner.²⁴ Of the next herd he bought, two thirds were locoed. When Mudge decided that something must be done to cure the mangy horses, he mixed up some dope which was to be applied by dipping a rag in the mess and rubbing it on the horse until its hair was thoroughly soaked. The horses were so wild that the hands had to rope and throw them in order to get close enough to doctor them. When one side was doped the horse had to be again thrown to dope the other side. It took several days to finish this job. Lang also told of a wild roan that Mudge undertook to train. He kept it on a picket rope and taught it to eat sugar out of a pan and then continued its education by accustoming

23. According to the *Cowboy*, the Mudge ranch had 400 head of range cattle and 170 head of range horses in October, 1884. There was an eager demand for horses in western Kansas at that time. Although the wild horses were small and difficult to break and work, they were readily sold. Herds of horses were also brought up from Texas and sold in Dodge City.

24. *Cowboy*, September 8, 1883.—“Maj. H. S. Mudge . . . purchased sixty head of horses from Ripple Bros., Tuesday last.”

it to the whip. He never stayed with it long enough to conquer it; the horse was given a lesson and then forgotten for several days or weeks. One day when the trainer cracked the whip the horse became frightened and almost broke its neck. Thereupon the horse was tied to a big log which would move slightly when the horse ran into the rope. During the next training period the horse began running and kicking and dragged the log all the way to the present site of Hanston.

It was Mudge's dream to extend his ranch until it reached the Buckner on the south and the Pawnee on the north.²⁵ In order to carry out this ambition he persuaded young fellows to come here to file on pre-emptions. Some of them were from the East looking for adventure and thrills like Mudge himself and others were Westerners who were broke and only too glad to get enough money to take them out of the country. These pre-emptors were required to live on their places six months, then by "paying out" on the land they could prove up. Mudge would stand the expense of filing, hire the men at good wages to work on his ranch while they were holding down their land and then pay the \$200 for the patent. As soon as the patent came from the government it was turned over to Mudge. Hence it was that Mudge had a decided penchant for pre-emptors but little use for homesteaders. When Peter Hoehn went asking for rock to wall up his well, Mudge asked him, "Have you a homestead or a pre-emption?" When Hoehn said he was a homesteader, the big rancher answered, "No, you can't have any rock. I don't want any homesteaders in here."

The county records show only a little over forty quarters to which Mudge actually gained title. These quarters of land were scattered in checkerboard effect around the homeplace—only three solid sections were included, and several quarters were in mile strips. In some places several sections lay between the holdings of the ranch but this in-between land was vacant in the early days and the ranch cattle ranged over it just the same as if it had been bought and paid for.

25. Throughout 1883 Mudge was very active buying land and stocking it with cattle. He joined the West Central Kansas Stockgrower's Association composed of the ranchers of that area. The local newspaper had an item on his activities nearly every week and in contrast to the earlier whole-hearted approval of his venture, the tone had now become slightly mocking.

Jetmore *Reveille*, March 14, 1883.—"Millionaire Mudge has filed petitions to have four sections of School land brought into the market which he intends to buy. With the exception of a few claims, this will give him the command of a township of land."

May 2, 1883.—"C. E. Wilson has sold out his ranch in Marena township to H. S. Mudge."

June 20, 1883.—"Harry Hudge [*sic*] the land king of Hodgeman, and W. P. Peter, of Larned were in town arranging land business."

August 29, 1883.—"Henry S. Hudge [*sic*], the cattle King of Hodgeman, and his friend Tucker were in town last week."

Mike Gleason proved up on a quarter of what is now known (1931) as the Holt place and sold it to Mudge. The quarter of land just west of Hanston on which the high school stands was filed on by Bill Keys, who agreed to sell to Mudge and made arrangements to leave. Before closing the deal, Mudge took one of his sudden trips east and forgot about buying land until he came back. Then, sorry for keeping Keys waiting so long he gave him a check for \$450, to pay him for waiting. Mudge also bought the place famous in local history as Duncan's Crossing.²⁶ Reports differ as to just what happened to the logs of this old place. But Quincy Mack and Mike and Dan Gleason were among those who helped tear down the old stockade and haul it to the ranch where the logs were sawed into firewood that warmed Mudge's living room.

Not so many spectacular stories come to us about the management of the cattle. They were herded most of the time, but two sections were fenced for reserve grass near the ranch. The posts for this fence were of stone.²⁷ In order to fasten the wire to the posts, holes were bored in them, wooden pegs driven in the holes and the wire stapled to the wood. These two fenced sections lay just west of the ranch buildings and besides being a pasture they served also for a training ground. Sportsman that he was, Mudge sometimes brought a pugilist friend of his out to the strenuous west to train for the ring and the six-mile jaunt around the pasture was part of the training.

Joining the pasture was a drift fence²⁸ extending east from the ranch for a number of miles, following the section line closely except where it wound around the buildings. Most of these posts were also stone. Mudge hired Maxwell, a man from Texas, for his boss herder. He declared feeding cattle was foolish—they never fed them in Texas—so Mudge ordered his hands to stop feeding. The first winter was mild and the cattle got along fairly well on the range; the next winter was bad, but still he would not let his hands feed until the last part of the winter when the cattle began dying for want of something to eat. Then there was so much feed left that he did not know what to do with it except to burn it to get

26. Duncan's Crossing was on the old Fort Hays-Fort Dodge road where it crossed the Pawnee river. John O'Loughlin established a trading post there in 1869 and built a log bridge and stockade. In 1872 when the Santa Fe railroad was built into Dodge, O'Loughlin envisioning a cessation of his trade, sold his place to George Duncan. Through the pioneer settlement period the place was known as Duncan's Crossing or Duncan's ranch. By 1880 the crossing was in bad shape, as reported in the *Buckner Independent* of August 12, 1880.

27. The stone used for these posts as well as for all the ranch buildings was the Greenhorn or Fence post limestone, which was quarried in blocks and used for posts all over that part of Kansas where the formation appears at or near the surface.

28. Drift fences were not to keep the cattle off the neighbor's corn but rather to prevent them from drifting away before the wind in a storm.

it out of the way.²⁹ When it was time to ship, Mudge took his cattle to Kansas City,³⁰ unloaded them at the stockyards but failed to receive any offer for them that he would accept.³¹ Unwilling to take less than the price expected, he reloaded them and went on to Chicago. The long journey had not improved the condition of the cattle nor did it increase the chance of getting a better price. However, he sold them and proceeded to have a good time on the money he did get, and the good time was not limited to the cattle money as excess bills began coming to the ranch long before Mudge returned.

Luckily the ranch was not required to run on its own income. Mudge's father had placed his son's inheritance in investments in large woolen mills in the hands of trustees. Harry Mudge could not touch the principal, but he had a yearly income that seemed like fabulous wealth compared to the meager subsistence his neighboring settlers wrung from their homesteads. Rumors vary as to the amount—the lowest being \$75,000 annually and the highest, \$33,000 quarterly.³² Yet this was not too much.

Although Harry Mudge failed as a business man and rancher, he did much better as a host and playboy. The extravagant tales of this part of his life in Kansas center about the ranch house and its plush appointments. The house was built in the old-fashioned L shape,³³ the main part running north and south facing west, 20 feet wide and 85 feet long; the other wing, 16 by 45 was built east from the north end of the main building. In the corner formed by these two wings was a sort of lean-to addition in which

29. During the early 1880's there was a great deal of controversy over the necessity of feeding cattle in western Kansas during the winter. Most cattlemen insisted that it was not necessary, any loss was too small a percentage to affect the profits. The argument was pursued constantly in the *Cowboy* throughout its two years or more of publication. Up until 1883 the weather was very dry and the cattle wintered quite well with little loss. But then the weather turned into its wetter cycle and in the rainy, icy springs of 1884 and 1885 the cattle, already weakened by a winter of exposure, died by the hundreds. Many of the cattlemen went broke in 1885 still refusing to admit that cattle should be fed through the winter. Harry Mudge was only following the tenets of the stockgrower's association when he tried to carry his cattle through the winter without feeding. Where he differed from the others, perhaps, was that he had feed and could have used it. The others had none.

30. Mudge did not always take his cattle to Kansas City. "John Glaspie has purchased 85 calves of H. S. Mudge [at \$16 a head]."—*Cowboy*, February 9, 1884.

31. As to prices, Mudge began his cattle venture at exactly the wrong time. Commencing in 1884, cattle prices went down steadily and for a decade afterwards there was little money made in the cattle business.

32. Henry Mudge's father, Enoch Redington Mudge, died in Swampscott, Mass., October 1, 1881, and his will was probated October 24, 1881, at Salem, Essex county, Mass., where these facts of inheritance have been verified. Most of the estate was left in a trust fund for the wife and three children. The widow died within a few months, early in 1882. Thereafter the income from the trust fund of \$1,733,017 was divided between the three children equally. It would seem that Harry Mudge's income from this trust was somewhat exaggerated by his Kansas neighbors, although it was substantial.

33. Though this ranch-house style may have been old-fashioned when this story was written (1931), it is very much in the fashion today (1958) and its arrangement therefore of some contemporary interest.

was the bath room. A big veranda ran almost the full length of the front of the house, and there were other porches in the back. A windmill and a large supply tank furnished the house with running water.

The main door led into a spacious entrance hall from which the parlor opened on the right and the dining room on the left. While an attempt was made to carry out a rustic lodge-like effect in these rooms, the furnishings were probably the most elegant and costly ones ever brought to this county. In the parlor deep piled rugs imported from foreign lands covered the floor; paintings worth a small fortune hung on the wall; a Chickering grand piano, guitar and other musical instruments stood in one corner.³⁴ Add to this a marble center table, a full size triple mirror, lounges, easy chairs, soft rich velvet hangings and huge brass fire dogs before the fireplace.

The dining room was in the corner of the L of the house. There the many guests, who came by couples and half dozens from Boston, New York, and closer Kansas towns, ate from the daintiest china³⁵ with heavy monogrammed silver forks. Sparkling cut glass was reflected in the mirror and in the polished surface of the wide sideboard. Two book cases in this room were filled with valuable books, for their owner was a student of many subjects.³⁶ Against the mantle in this room leaned many a noted guest, even the English duke himself, as he sipped the famous Mudge cocktails and watched

34. Along with his other accomplishments, Harry Mudge was an excellent musician and pianist. Mrs. Caldwell collected a number of tales of his destructive way with inferior pianos when in his cups. One of these incidents took place in the Long Branch saloon in Dodge City where the manager kept asking Mudge to play for the crowd. Angered, he finally got up and stomped on the piano and then wrote a check to the proprietor saying, "Get a good piano, if you want me to play." In another case, when urged to play in a hotel, he tried the instrument. When its tone did not suit him, he decided the piano needed greasing and finding a kerosene can he poured its whole content into the instrument. The third piano incident took place in a music store in Kinsley, where a girl was playing the piano while Mudge was making purchases. He asked the musician to forebear until he was out of the shop. When she paid no attention to his protest, he went on a rampage and tore up the piano. Then as always he wrote the compensatory check.

35. Mudge was quite as particular about the dishes set before him as he was about the pianos on which he played. One time at the Galland hotel in Dodge, he was staging a banquet for some friends when he discovered a nicked dish on the table. He kicked the table over and told the management, "I'm a gentleman, don't feed me out of broken dishes."

36. S. S. Prouty also described this dining room and its books in the *Cowboy*, October 18, 1884.—"The dining hall serves the purpose of a convivial and social room as well as for gastronomic exercises. In the centre stands a heavy table, on which the viands are spread for festive occasions. A huge chimney with another old-fashioned fireplace, protrudes into the room at one end leaving an alcove at one side which is occupied by a handsome side-board liberally supplied with an assortment of the choicest fluids the earth produces. In one corner stands a writing desk and in another a large stand supporting literary publications, pipes, tobacco, and cigars. Books and reading matter are seen in every room. Among the publications that visit this ranch regularly are the New York Daily Herald, the Chicago Daily Tribune, Boston Daily Herald, Wilke's Spirit of the Times, London Punch, San Francisco Argonaut, Puck, Harper's Weekly, Harper's Monthly, Atlantic Monthly, The Century, Rue des Monde, of Paris, and many local newspapers. The books consist of . . . classical and modern literature; scientific, medical and legal works and poems by the most famous authors of the world. A literary man can here revel to his heart's content in the gratification of his intellectual taste."

the crackling fire eat into a log that had once been part of an Indian stockade.³⁷

East of the dining room was the pantry, the kitchen and the dining room for the help. In 1883 Granville Bradshaw cooked for the hands and at the same time Harry Shackley from the East was the cook for the master and the guests. Since they both cooked in the same kitchen, Granville often complained that it was easier for Shackley to dip what he wanted out of Granville's kettles than to cook his own dishes. Shackley also had a tendency to skip out at dish washing time to take the laundry to Marena.³⁸ Louie Bigno, who lost his H's in England and never recovered them in Kansas, waited on the guests.³⁹ A funny story is told of him. One day while he was busy in the pantry during one of the frequent shooting sprees of the host and his guests, a piece of plaster torn loose by a stray bullet, fell on his head. He thought he was shot and ran to inform his employer he was killed. The only sympathy he got was, "Hell, you got to keep out of the way. We got to have some fun."

At the extreme south end of the house was Mudge's sleeping chamber. The bedstead in this, as in the guest rooms, was of heavy iron—probably the first of such style to reach Hodgeman county. In front of the bed lay a beautiful white polar bear rug. Stuck on the dresser and hung on the walls were souvenirs of every description—dance programs, banquet favors, a glove, a fan, et cetera. In this room, too, there was a fireplace.

Among his supplies Mudge kept a miniature drug store of medicine and first-aid materials. For besides having a bachelor of arts degree and a diploma in music, Mudge was also a graduate physician, having studied medicine in this country, at Paris and in Germany.⁴⁰ It was said that he would never go to see a patient, yet

37. It must have been quite a problem to find wood for the many fireplaces of the house. That from Duncan's Crossing could not have gone very far. Roy Lang said that one year he and John Bradshaw, George Scott and Norman Stapleton hauled 150 cords of wood to the ranch from Walnut creek, a distance of at least 25 miles. The Mooney families, who homesteaded on the Walnut and had a considerable grove of trees on their land, supplied some of this wood.

38. Marena was a community near the present Hanston of today. When the railroad came in 1887, it by-passed Marena and Hanston was built on the railroad.

39. *Cowboy, loc cit.*—S. S. Prouty was also impressed by the food served at the ranch: "The cuisine of this house is as elaborate and artistic as that of any of the noted restaurants in the east. The larder is supplied with stores of the choicest kinds, and two cooks, highly accomplished in their profession, prepared the food for the tables. Breakfast and dinner constitute the only regular meals served. The breakfast hour is 11 a. m. and dinner is served at 7 p. m. It is customary, however, for the occupants of the house to partake of light refreshment at 7 or 8 o'clock in the morning, as their taste may elect. A guest can repair to the dining hall at any time he may choose, and by touching a bell a magic effect is producible. In response to the touch a genii appears, in the shape of a well-bred English male servant, with the power to summon at will nearly every article that can be conceived of for the gratification of the palate, and it is his pleasure to promptly execute the order of the guest."

40. Letter from the archives of Harvard College Library: "Henry Mudge entered Harvard College in 1870 and is in our records as a member of the class of 1874, although he did not receive his degree (A.B.) until 1876. He was in the Harvard Medical School for three years (1875-1878) but did not graduate."

he often sent medicine to those who were ill. Quincy Mack tells that when his father was foreman at the ranch and his mother was holding down the claim, she became so ill they sent for his father. When Mack asked for leave of absence to care for his wife, Mudge inquired about her symptoms and sent medicine along which gave her immediate relief. If an ill person were described to Mudge he would send medicine and never charge for it, but unless he came upon the sick by accident, he would not go near. When any of the hands became ill or were injured he doctored them or set broken bones. During a smallpox epidemic he vaccinated all his men.

One more room of the house should be mentioned, the one at the extreme eastern end, which was divided from the rest of the house by a solid stone wall. This room was an afterthought, added after the major part of the house had been built. One story has it that when the house was almost completed Mudge suddenly exclaimed, "What if one of us should die out here. We have to have some place to put us." Hence he gave orders for the building of this room which was thereafter jokingly referred to as the "dead man's room." It was never used as such, for it was occupied by Lawrence Tucker,⁴¹ a wealthy friend of Mudge, who acted as his secretary and, in his absence, as his manager.

Under the east wing of the house was the cellar, the most important part of which was the wine cellar under the corner dining room. Former employees say the stock of the cellar was replenished constantly. Whole barrels of whiskey were stored there. Mr. Gleason, one of the freighters, hauled wine, whiskey, brandy, rum and beer from Kinsley by the wagon load. Mudge never gave his hands anything to drink and he expected them to stay sober while working at the ranch. But as the boss was often gone, the hands sometimes sneaked downstairs and helped themselves. Guests had free access to the cellar as a rule, but when one evening Gus Yesogee was discovered refreshing himself, Mudge facetiously locked the door on him and then pretended the key had been lost. The help thought their employer, quite as drunk as Gus, had lost

41. Robert Means Lawrence, *Descendants of Major Samuel Lawrence* (Cambridge, 1904), pp. 80, 81. Lawrence Tucker, born 1844, whose mother was a Lawrence, enlisted in the U. S. army in 1861, but his father thought he was too young for army service and secured his dismissal. He was graduated from Harvard in 1865 and spent the next seven years in Europe, mostly in Paris. Returning to his native land, he again entered Harvard in 1872 and was graduated from a law course in 1875. He was admitted to the bar but never practiced law. He spent three years on a ranch in Kansas. Returning to Boston he was foremost in organizing the Boston Athletic Association in 1887.

S. S. Prouty wrote: "Mr. Lawrence Tucker, the book-keeper, and manager in the absence of Mr. M[udge], can hardly be considered in the light of an employee, for he is an old friend and confidential adviser of Mr. Mudge, and is there more for the benefit of health than anything else. Mr. Tucker is a grand nephew of the late Amos Lawrence, of Boston, the wealthy philanthropist, in honor of whom the city of Lawrence, Kansas, was named. He is a graduate of the law department of Harvard University, is a gentleman of culture and refinement, has travelled in Europe and is the owner of a fortune."

the key. After Mudge had had his fun, he discovered the key and unlocked the door.

While expecting his own cowboys to do their drinking and carousing elsewhere, Mudge once extended his hospitality to 40 round-up boys from the Smoky, who were camping on the creek watching their herds. They all got gloriously drunk and forgot their cattle.⁴² For some years the creek bed below the ranch was full of pop cases, whiskey bottles, and beer kegs. While Mudge drank heavily, he took excellent care of his health, often living for several days on buttermilk after one of his wild carousals.

Easterners who visited the ranch for the first time were initiated into the brotherhood of the Wild and Wooly West. Drinking and shooting were always a part of this ceremony, and the hands might be awakened at any hour of the night by shots coming from the house where some poor sucker was learning the ways of the West. After the tenderfoot was drunk, the Westerners would shoot at his feet to make him dance or they would shoot over his head and then daub pigeon blood or any red liquid on him to make him think he had been shot. If he were brave enough to take a hand in the shooting too, they would put the "blood" on another drunk and show the novice where he had shot a man. The bullet holes in the walls, ceilings, and heavy oak doors gave testimony for years afterward to these wild parties.⁴³

One cold snowy night, during one of these hilarious spree, the victim escaped through an outside door and his tormentors were unable to find him. The next morning when the firewater had worn off, Mudge and the other guests realized what had happened and a grand search began. Had the fellow perished on the prairie? No—frightened into comparative sobriety he had run into the "dead" room, crawled under the bed and remained there all night.

Henry Mudge was an excellent shot and surprisingly enough with all the shooting that went on, no one was hurt outside of being scared to death. Mudge sometimes demonstrated his marksmanship in odd ways. One day when he was trying to bargain with a colored woman for a piece of land he wanted to buy from her, their conversation was made difficult by the clacking of a flock of

42. There are other stories of this sort. One night Mudge heard the Bazine band, tooting along in their wagon on the way home from a political rally at Jetmore. He sent a messenger to call them in and entertained them royally.—*Ness County News*, Ness City, May 31, 1930.

43. C. W. Macy, of Hanston, who lived as a boy in the old Mudge ranch house, said his mother was much distressed by the bullet holes in all the doors. Many of them were large enough to put a finger through and therefore most undesirable particularly in bedroom doors. Mrs. Macy finally bought an assortment of corks and pushed into these holes.

guinea fowls near by. Taking out his revolver, Mudge shot the guineas, one at a time. The good woman protested, saying she would not have taken a dollar a piece for her fowls. Mudge counted the birds, wrote the check and then proceeded with the land deal. On another occasion his aim was not so good. On warm nights the big rancher was accustomed to sleeping out, roughing it on the grassy prairie. One morning as the air cooled toward dawn, he acquired a companion that wriggled into his blankets and snuggled up to get warm. Leaping wildly from his bed, Mudge completely riddled his expensive Navaho blankets before he finally hit his rattlesnake bedfellow.

There were always a great number of dogs at the ranch. They were used for hunting, and Mudge also apparently fancied himself in the role of country squire when he rode three times a week to Middle Branch post office for the mail.⁴⁴ Mounted on his thoroughbred with a mail sack thrown over his shoulder, he would prance along with a pack of 25 dogs or so following behind. Hunting hounds were imported from the East but dogs were also bought from the settlers. It was easy to persuade Mudge that a dog was worth from \$25 to \$75. Then if the canine failed to do what his late owner had promised, the dog would end his days as a target in the shooting matches.⁴⁵ Only one specific tale of the hunting prowess of the dogs remains. Tucker and Mudge once located a nest of skunks near the house but refrained from molesting them until the day's festivities were in full swing. Then the guests, ladies and all, were invited to take a walk to see the surprise planned for them. The dogs quickly found the skunks and soon cleaned them out, returning to fawn odorously on all the watching party to the delight of the jokers.

Those were the days too when prairie fires scourged the Plains, making waste both the cattleman's grass and the settler's crops. When Mudge would see the telltale smoke billowing up on the horizon, driven by the Kansas gale, no matter how far away the fire or how far out of its path his own ranch might be, he would call his hands from whatever work they might be at and order them to fight the fire. Pandemonium reigned while the men rushed wildly about collecting the fire-fighting equipment—plows, shovels, sacks, and barrels. While the teams were being harnessed and

44. This post office was on the Buckner, SE $\frac{1}{4}$, Sec. 31, T 22 S, R 22 W. The ranch received great quantities of mail. See Footnote 36 for periodicals that came regularly.

45. Another target used in the shooting matches when dogs or sheep were not available, was milk pans from the kitchen. The cook was always complaining he had no pans. Presumably tin cans were not suitable targets for gentlemen.

hitched to the wagons in double quick time, the advance guard, Mudge included, would be on its way on horseback. When the wagons were loaded with old whiskey barrels, hastily filled with water, the driver yelled "Ready," and the rest of the hands scurried to clamber over the sides of the wagon boxes and cling to the lurching, dripping barrels as the outfit lumbered over the prairie regardless of buffalo wallows or washouts. As the wheels hit a concealed rock or coyote hole, the jolt would slop the precious water over the yelling, joking men. But enough was left to wet the sacks to beat out the creeping flames. Many a settler's homestead was saved by Mudge and his rollicking fire fighters.

Playboy Mudge also sought amusement in the near-by towns. Perhaps every hotel, saloon, and gaming alley in Dodge and Kinsley had the marks of the Mudge pistol or boasted damages that had been covered by the Mudge check. If the window in the hotel did not open easily, he kicked it out. He liked to rent a saloon for the night and entertain his friends without the aid of the management, no matter how high the price set to evade such an arrangement. If the stock of liquor was not consumed by the guests, the bottles and their contents were strewn on the floor.⁴⁶ With all these wild carousings there is only one story of Mudge coming through with anything more than a hang-over. While the gay dog often stayed in Dodge for a week at a time, he once stayed so much longer than usual that one of the hands went down to see what was the matter. Mudge was found with a black eye and a banged-up face and quite ready to come home but he never confided what had happened to him. In fact even when drinking, Mudge managed to keep his head pretty well. One day he drove Tom Yesogee, brother of Gus, to Kinsley to take the train to Boston. While waiting, they drank in the saloons until they were both quarrelsome and Mudge knocked his friend down in the street. Yesogee then perversely refused to get up and was in danger of missing his train. Noticing an old wheelbarrow near by, Mudge bundled him in and got him to the train in time.

It is believed that the Mudge adventure lasted almost six years. Although it was in no way evident to observers, who told the tale of the ever-ready check book and the always generous check, the Mudge money began to run short as early at 1883, at the very time when the big rancher was buying land and cattle in quantity. On

46. This story is told specifically about one of the Kinsley saloons. There were two of them at the time, Jake Smith's and Floor's. One night Jake Smith, after the Mudge crowd had visited and departed, decided he wanted no more of them and locked up his place and went home. But the celebrators were not through they came back, broke down the door and helped themselves. Of course, Mudge paid the damages.

May 15 of that year, Mudge gave a mortgage for \$15,000 on the land of the ranch to J. S. Knox of Topeka. The next year on November 1 he gave a chattel mortgage for \$7,700 to the First National Bank of Larned on the stock of the ranch. This mortgage covered 300 head of Durham cows, 110 calves, 60 head of northern Texas mares, 16 grade Morgan colts, four work mules, five work horses, six driving horses, and 12 saddle horses. The final mortgage was given to W. P. Peter of Larned, April 18, 1885, on the following security:

All furniture and household goods now in my possession and in my house situated on the SW $\frac{1}{4}$ of 31-21-22 in Hodgeman County, Kansas, including piano, music and musical instruments; books, sewing machine, glass, china and silverware; sideboard, pictures, mirrors, and other ornaments, clothing, chest, clock, churn and milk pans, together with all fire arms and all other household effects therein, not here enumerated.⁴⁷

In 1885 the entire ranch property passed into the hands of a receiver, A. D. Cronk of Kinsley.⁴⁸ The local gossip was that Mudge had overdrawn his allowance for three or more years ahead and could raise no more money. He remained on the ranch while its appointments were being liquidated.⁴⁹

Harry Mudge took the failure of his ranch as debonairly as he had its more prosperous period and his behavior remained as interesting as ever to the other settlers thereabout. A carriageful of people accompanied by a number of couples on horseback came a long distance to the sale.⁵⁰ They got there about noon and Mudge insisted that they stay to lunch. The extravagant luxuries were

47. This data on the mortgages was searched out from the Hodgeman county records by L. W. Hubbell of Jetmore. It is to wonder what was the true valuation of this ranch. The agricultural census of 1885 listed the improvements as worth \$56,000. The *Cowboy*, October 18, 1884, probably overestimated the investment: "The improvements on the ranch have cost upwards of \$20,000 and the land \$30,000. It would take \$100,000 to purchase the property."

48. The first newspaper notice of the Mudge ranch receivership was in the *Kinsley Mercury*, June 20, 1885:

FOR SALE

I have for sale at the Mudge ranch in Hodgeman county, about thirty-two miles northwest of Kinsley, and seven miles north-east from Jetmore, a large quantity of real estate and personal property, consisting of:

140 head of high grade cows and heifers.

50 head of horses, broke and unbroke.

All the real estate belonging to the Henry S. Mudge ranch.

A very large quantity and variety of household furniture. In fact, all the property belonging to one of the most finely equipped ranches in southwestern Kansas.

A. D. CRONK, receiver.

This notice ran unchanged in every issue of the paper until May, 1886. Mudge not only remained on the ranch throughout the summer of 1885 but also entertained Lord Rawlston on the buffalo hunt. Lawrence Tucker was back, too, having returned in May after astonishing the Bostonians with his cowboy attire.—*Jetmore Reveille*, May 13, 1885.

49. Other large ranches also went into receivership at this time—for one, that of Gross Longendyke, president of the West Central Kansas Stockgrower's Association. As the *Jetmore Reveille*, December 30, 1885, remarked sourly, "The judge of the district court appointed a Kinsley man receiver of the Mudge estate, and a Larned man receiver of the Longendyke ranch. Could he find no one in Hodgeman county competent for these places?"

50. Very few mementoes of the old ranch remain in Hodgeman county. Mrs. Emma Perry had a monogrammed silver fork for some years; L. W. Hubbell has a champagne bottle and Mrs. Frank Salmons a pair of andirons.

over; the servants were gone except perhaps one man in the kitchen, a region to which the host made frequent trips while entertaining his visitors. For lunch they had watermelon, toast, and tea which Mudge served with all the charm and hospitality of a prince. The guests all agreed that in spite of its sparseness, they had never enjoyed a meal more. One of the party said of the host, "He was the most interesting person I ever met."

After lunch was over the younger people in the group wanted to play tennis. They had never seen a game and although the sun was boiling that afternoon Mudge endeavored to instruct them as long as they chose to prance around. When driven indoors by the heat, Mudge supplied them all with fans. One of the girls hit her eye with her fan and it swelled alarmingly. Mudge insisted on putting some medicine into the eye, having first tactfully dropped a little in his own eye to demonstrate its harmlessness.

Late in the afternoon when the party took their departure, Mudge decided he would ride along to get a sack of feed corn from an old house east of the ranch. As they rode down the Buckner valley the sun set and the air became chilly. Having started without a coat Mudge decided he needed a wrap more than he needed corn. Alighting at a big cottonwood tree he had one of the party measure to see if the sack would reach around his portliness. It just reached, so he cut out the corners and a hole for his head. With the help of the others he managed to squeeze into the sack. Then laughing at the wrinkled tightness of this waistcoat, he rode away into the sunset. His ranching experiment might be over but the adventure and reckless gaiety for which he had come West were still his.

When the mortgages on the ranch were foreclosed many of the hands had pay coming to them. They had been hired by Mudge and the succeeding management did not pay them. But none of the old ranch hands felt greatly cheated, for they had received top pay and good treatment while the venture was solvent. Mrs. Hann, who had always laundered the fine linen of the ranch, was also left with an unpaid bill. Mudge paid at the rate of one dollar a dozen for the towels and napkins and there was at the last \$750 owing. When asked what she would take in settlement of this debt, she mentioned a certain quarter of land. Sometime after the crash, Mudge sent her the deed which her descendants still hold. Hanston was partially laid out on this "laundry" quarter early in 1886.

When Harry Mudge finally left Hodgeman county he did not entirely relinquish his interest in the West.⁵¹ One or another of

51. Lawrence Tucker, living at the Somerset club in Boston, continued to take the *Jetmore* paper.—*Jetmore Reveille*, June 9, 1886.

the Hodgeman county folk had the word that Mudge was later in Australia and again in South America. In 1903 L. W. Hubbell received a letter from him at Bristol, Conn., asking about his one-time playhouse, the old ranch.⁵² In 1908 the Kinsley *Mercury* reprinted a clipping from the Boston *Transcript* telling of "the death of a man whose memory is still green in Edwards county." Even in his obituary Mudge's ranch experiment stands out as one of the more important ventures of his life.

. . . he engaged for five years in . . . cattle raising and established a ranch in Hodgeman county, Kansas. For two years he was private secretary to the chief engineer of the construction of the elevated railroad of Brooklyn. Some years later were spent in Australia and in the Far East.⁵³

52. The ranch land was sold to many individuals, and probably quite readily, as 1885 and 1886 were boom years in western Kansas and farmers came by the thousands to replace the ranchers. The Mudge ranch house remained and was used as a dwelling for many years. In 1946 when the place was purchased by Frank Salmans, the present owner, the house was partially demolished and he removed the stones to build a house for his son in a different location. Now (1958) there are not enough stones left to show the foundation lines of the old house. There is however a hand-dug well, covered with a great round stone, six inches thick. This is quite likely the original well that supplied the water for the ranch house.

53. Kinsley *Mercury*, January 24, 1908. The death date was not given in the obituary. The town clerk of Bristol, Conn., wrote Mr. Hubbell that Harry Mudge died January 6, 1908.

Foreigners of 1857-1865 at Schippel's Ferry, Saline County

J. NEALE CARMAN

THE most western foreign settlement in Kansas before 1861¹ was just north of the Saline river near its mouth. It was about three air miles northeast of Salina at Gotthart Schippel's ferry on the south edge of Sec. 29, T. 13, R. 2 W. Gotthart Schippel² held himself to be the oldest permanent resident of Saline county, a claim disputed because in February, 1858, W. A. Phillips and his party on the way to the first settling of Salina found empty the cabin occupied by Gotthart and his brother John the summer before. With spring they came back to reoccupy it.

The Schippels were born in Saxe-Weimar in Central Germany, Gotthart in 1835. John lived from 1827 till 1885. The ties between the brothers were close. Gotthart³ landed at Montreal in 1852 and worked successively at New York, at Blue Island, Ill., and in Iowa county, Iowa, before setting out for Kansas in 1857, always trending west and south. In the new territory he determined to go on beyond the area of conflict over free soil. This motivation affected other foreigners in choosing their points of settlement.⁴

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1. In "Continental Europeans in Rural Kansas, 1854-1861," *Territorial Kansas, University of Kansas Social Science Studies* (Lawrence, 1954), pp. 164-196, I asserted that the German Baptist settlement near present Elmo was the most westerly foreign settlement in territorial days. The statement above is a correction. The material for the present article has as its written sources, besides others specified later: A. T. Andreas and W. G. Cutler, *History of the State of Kansas* (Chicago, 1883); Wm. E. Connelley, *A Standard History of Kansas and Kansans* (Chicago, 1918), 5 vols.; John P. Edwards, *Edwards Atlas of Saline Co., Kans.* (Philadelphia, 1884); *Portrait and Biographical Record of Dickinson, Saline, McPherson and Marion Counties, Kansas* (Chicago, Chapman Bros., 1893), referred to as the Chapman album; census records for 1865, 1870, 1875, 1880, 1885, 1895, and 1905 as preserved by the Kansas State Historical Society at Topeka. The 1860 census neglected the settlement in question; everything west of the sixth principal meridian was Arapahoe county, but the census takers worked only in that part of the county that became Colorado.

Much of the essential information was furnished by the sons and daughters of the first settlers, to whom the author gratefully acknowledges his indebtedness, though taking full responsibility for all statements made; information was notably provided by John Giersch, his wife, Emily Serault Giersch, Sister Ferdinand Giersch, Mrs. John (Rose Wessling) Schippel, Charles F. Tressin and his sisters, Ernestine Tressin and Pauline Tressin.

2. The names appearing in this article are in Saline county currently pronounced as follows: Gotthart as if written Goodheart; Schippel rhymes with *tipple* and alliterates with *ship*; Giersch has the same vowel as in *girl*; Tressin—the last syllable is identical with *seen*; Wary like the synonym of *cautious*; Itzen's first syllable is like the pronoun *it*, and Donmyer, first syllable like *done*.

3. Notices on Gotthart Schippel appear in Andreas-Cutler, *op. cit.*, p. 709; Chapman album pp. 352-355; Connelley, *op. cit.*, v. 5, p. 2718.

4. This motivation is fully implied in the 1918 Connelley, v. 5, p. 2718. A declared case of similar motivation is that of the Lyon creek Germans.—See *Territorial Kansas*, p. 191.

The choice of Schippel's exact point of settlement doubtless resulted not only from finding rich land with wood and water but also from the existence of ready made shelter. The brothers took over the cabin abandoned by "the government engineers who had just completed a rough bridge across the Saline river."⁵ That summer they put up hay and traded with the Indians, but in the fall abandoned their outpost not only because they needed further provisions, but more importantly because the Cheyennes, who were warring upon the Pottawatomies, were a threat to anyone in the area. The next year upon their return there were floods and the bridge across the Saline was washed out. Gotthart Schippel established a ferry and operated it for nine years, until the coming of the railroad. It was a prosperous enterprise. The fee was one dollar, and even that early, because of the gold strike in Colorado in 1859, there were many very busy days, as many as 200 transports a day. Indeed, the possession of riches became a source of fear. A hollow tree served as a bank and the frugal brothers were never robbed.

The two bachelors soon had neighbors, the Giersches. Peter Giersch, senior, Nicholas Giersch, presumably a brother, and Peter's sons, Peter, Jr., called "Big Pete," Stephen, Michael and John Peter called "Little Pete"—the first three were grown—all arrived in 1859 or 1860. There was rich land for all the family to pre-empt, and Peter, senior, a blacksmith, could profit from the traffic across the river. Like the Schippels, the Giersches spoke German. Peter, senior, born 1805, was a Luxemburger;⁶ his wife, Cecelia, born 1814, was French by nationality, born in the city of Metz. That area was bilingual, so she spoke her husband's dialect, and her children learned no French from her. Between 1870 and 1875 she died, and the wife, Mary, whom Peter had in 1875, was Irish. The Giersches immigrated to Washington county, Wisconsin, a few miles northwest of Milwaukee about 1846, where John Peter, "Little Pete," was born in 1848. At least part of the family, including Stephen, made a sojourn of a year in Kansas City where news of the characteristics of the country at the mouth of the Saline could easily reach them.

5. Connelley, *op. cit.*, v. 5, p. 2718; W. Turrentine Jackson, "The Army Engineers as Road Surveyors and Builders in Kansas and Nebraska, 1854-1858," *The Kansas Historical Quarterly*, v. 17 (February, 1949), pp. 42, 43.

6. The Giersches through several censuses gave themselves as Belgian, presumably because Luxemburg was part of the nation of the Low Countries when Peter, Sr., was born. Stephen called himself German in the census of 1905, presumably because of his language and the general acceptance of the lower Meuse as German. The Luxemburg identification is made by John and Emily Giersch.

The farm of Peter Giersch, Sr., was next west from Schippells; Stephen Giersch lived a little farther west still, one mile from the ferry. Stephen remained there the rest of his life, instead of going farther afield like his brothers, and so has something more than passing interest for us. He was born abroad in 1840, and in 1865 was the husband of Amanda, born in 1841 or 1847 in Kentucky. In the next five years she bore him three children, and then died. He shortly took himself another wife, Josephine Poelma, born in 1850 in Holland, and coming to Kansas from Beloit, Wis. Her first born arrived in 1872. This Dutch wife spoke German with her Luxemburger husband while their older children were small, but not habitually after the youngest arrived in the 1880's.

On the other side of the river some two miles down stream from the ferry another German family settled a little before the Giersches; the Lincks.⁷ Catherine Linck was born in Wurtemberg in 1820. She and her husband came to America between 1844 and 1853, and lived in Indiana before coming to Kansas. She appears to have been a widow upon her arrival in Saline county, with a son Jacob born in 1844 and at least five daughters, of whom the youngest, Elizabeth, born in 1855, was only four or five years old.

Her motives for choosing the Saline-Smoky Hill junction as a point of settlement are not easy to guess. She was evidently a woman of physical vigor and forceful will, for after Jacob's departure between 1865 and 1870 she stayed on her farm with her two youngest daughters and is said to have ended her days there. The census of 1880 does not include her in the proper township, but in 1875 she was qualified a "farmer" and her place valued at \$10,000. Only four other estates in the township were worth more. The Edwards *Atlas* of 1884 still showed her name upon the land. She was well known, but seems to have had few intimate friends. The marriages made by her daughters were with men of solid qualities, but none of the families remained in the immediate neighborhood; rather they are connected with the early history of Ottawa county to the north. As an example, her daughter Mary, born in 1841, married in 1860 a young Englishman named Israel Markley, "a man of good business tact and a great deal of energy."⁸ Markley, born 1834 in Cambridgeshire, came to Illinois, north of Chicago in

7. "Mrs. Link" is included by Andreas-Cutler, *op. cit.*, p. 700, in the list of those arriving before 1860.

8. The quotation is from Andreas-Cutler, *op. cit.*, p. 698. It has greater value than such words of praise usually have in Andreas, for it occurs in the write-up of Saline county by a probably disinterested informant, while Markley's purchased biography is to be found under Ottawa county, p. 1428.

1856, to Kansas in 1857, and after residences in Franklin and Jackson counties, appeared in newly founded Salina in 1859. His capital was that gained by peddling, but he built houses in the new town and took Mary for his wife the next year. He was one of the appointed commissioners at the county's organization in 1859; his name does not appear, however, among the county officers elected in 1861, when Gotthart Schippel became a commissioner, and Peter Giersch a justice of the peace.⁹

In 1863 Israel Markley deserted the Smoky Hill and Saline rivers for the Solomon, on which he built a mill at Minneapolis, before the town was really founded; a little later the Markley interests also had another mill at Bennington. Sometimes his former neighbors at the mouth of the Saline hauled their grain over the hilly ridge between the rivers to be ground. Linguistically the Lincks seem to have been Anglicized early. The Markley marriage indicates as much, and while some of the other sisters married men with German names,—Geissen, Fischer—their descendants indicate that German was not the language of the family. Thus, Catherine Linck and her family, though in the background of the settlement around Schippel's ford, was not precisely part of it. This was partly because Mrs. Linck, though not particularly ardent religiously, was sufficiently Protestant to become one of the charter members of the New Cambria English Lutheran Church in 1873.¹⁰

John Itzen, born 1820 in Baden, who, undeterred by the drought of 1860 settled a mile and a half east of Schippel's the next year (according to the 1884 Edwards *Atlas*), was more indifferent to denominations than Mrs. Linck. His wife and her parents were born in Arkansas, and John therefore did not use German at home. His six children attended with the Giersches and the Schippels the district school (No. 3), here as elsewhere a great amalgamating force in the community.

The Giersches were faithful Catholics, and though Gotthart Schippel was a Lutheran, still declaring himself such in 1893,¹¹ he went along with the Giersches. In those days all Kansas west of St. Mary's Mission (upstream from Topeka) was served by Jesuits from the mission, in particular by Father Louis Dumortier. Records quoted by Father Peter Beckman¹² show that the missionary did

9. *Ibid.*, p. 698.

10. H. A. Ott, D. D., *A History of the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Kansas* (Topeka, 1907), p. 128.

11. Chapman album, p. 355.

12. Peter Beckman, O. S. B., *The Catholic Church on the Kansas Frontier, 1850-1877* (Washington, 1943), pp. 68, 84.

not go before 1861 to the Saline mouth settlement, which first appears on the map of Kansas showing Father Dumortier's activities in 1866.¹³ Then he recorded 75 Catholics at this point. Part of these were Irish. Dumortier locates his station definitely north of the Saline, since the few Germans in town were Lutherans. Mass was first said at the home of Peter Giersch senior. With the coming of the Kansas Pacific in 1867 the town became definitely the center of Catholic activities, though there was no church or resident pastor for some time. John, son of Stephen Giersch, was baptized in the courthouse in 1872. Beckman records no resident pastor before 1876.

The Catholic cemetery at Salina contains the grave of Daniel Humbarger, 1840-1899, whose name suggests that he is of Pennsylvania-German origin, and indeed his parents were born in Pennsylvania. Like many other Penn-Germans in Kansas he himself was born in Ohio, in Richland county, halfway between Cleveland and Columbus, where the Pennsylvania stock is numerous. He was in Saline county with his parents in 1857 but the Indian troubles drove them out. Kansas, however, remained the area of his activities and in 1863 he married Anne Giersch, born 1845, the daughter of Peter, senior.¹⁴ In the same year he took land just south of Schip-pel's ferry, but he did not begin to occupy it till 1865. In the meantime he had been a second lieutenant in the Kansas militia. Daniel was evidently quite Anglicized linguistically, although this was by no means true of all Penn-Germans in Kansas at the time, and German played little part in his family life.

The Lutherans were no prompter in reaching the field at Salina than the Catholics. The Swedish Lutherans were organized in 1870 and the Kansas Synod Lutheran Church, St. John's, was organized in 1873. It was an "English Lutheran Church," but the Germans joined it. Of the six families furnishing charter members,¹⁵ two were made up of Germans who arrived before 1865, the families of Robert H. Dihle, born 1838, a harness maker, and Chas. W. Tressin (1833-1879), a hardware dealer. Dihle came to Salina in 1863, Tressin in 1862. The only other Germans—or non-English-speaking foreign-born for that matter—present in Salina in 1865 were Nicholas Giersch, established in town as a blacksmith,

13. Gilbert J. Garraghan, S. J., *The Jesuits of the Middle United States* (New York, 1938), v. 3, p. 42. See, also, Sister M. Evangeline Thomas, "The Rev. Louis Dumortier, S. J., Itinerant Missionary to Central Kansas, 1859-1867," *The Kansas Historical Quarterly*, v. 20 (November, 1952), pp. 253, 254, between 264, 265.

14. A biography of Daniel Humbarger appears in Andreas-Cutler, *op. cit.*, p. 708. The Humbargers also became related to the Bells and Commerfords, Tipperary Irish.

15. Ott, *op. cit.*, p. 146.

like his brother at the ford (Nicholas died that year), Bernhardt Blau, a Saxon born 1830, and Tressin's brother-in-law, Adolphus Huebner who died young at Ogden. Blau was Gotthart Schippel's partner in a saw and grist mill, but it seems to have had a short history, for Blau does not appear in censuses after 1865.

Charles Tressin¹⁶ is of more interest to us than the others; besides his hardware store—which failed in 1873, year of the panic—he had a farm four miles northeast of Salina on the south side of the Saline, near the Schippel ferry. His wife, nee Minnie Huebner, born 1839—in Prussia like her husband—had made the farm her special care, and it remained so when Charles, senior, died in 1879, leaving her with a son and five daughters. The son, Charles F., was ten at the time. He took on responsibilities early and learned German better than his sisters because he associated so much with the hired men, who were usually young Germans preparing to establish themselves. For many years they were a reliable lot and the farm was sufficiently prosperous so that in 1893, when most of Kansas was suffering a very bad year, Mrs. Tressin could afford a biographical notice for her dead husband in the Chapman album for the area. Still, the help problem was sometimes pressing, and the Tressins occasionally called upon their neighbors across the Saline for assistance. At any rate, Mrs. John Giersch one year drove a horse rake across a fordable point in the river so as to aid them in putting up a threatened hay crop.

Gotthart Schippel was probably not attracted into the Lutheran congregation, because in 1871 he, like Dan Humbarger, took a Catholic wife, Clara Wary, born 1853. Clara was French. The records are contradictory as to whether her father Nicholas (1819-1871) was Belgian or French; his wife Catherine (1827-1896), was Belgian, and his oldest son Leon (1852-1913) was born in Belgium, but both Clara Wary and her younger brother Eugene, born 1861, were born in Paris, France. Nicholas and his family do not appear in the Saline county census of 1865—not until that of 1870—and so they could not have arrived earlier than 1865. Peter Giersch, senior, was an uncle, at least by marriage, of Catherine Wary, and Nicholas Giersch and his wife, Mary C., 1837-1860, are buried on the Wary lot, indicating that she, too, was of the family. Nicholas Wary took a claim just above Giersch's, and Clara and Gotthart Schippel, the "rich" bachelor in his 30's were therefore neighbors. The death of Clara's father in the very year of her marriage with

16. A notice on Chas. W. Tressin appears in the Chapman album, pp. 452, 455.

Gotthart tended for economic reasons to bind the new son-in-law firmly to the family. But Clara also contributed to the family finances, for, like her mother,¹⁷ she became a midwife of sufficient skill to be recalled into the same homes time after time.

Gotthart Schippel continued to prosper. After he married, he and his brother John no longer had holdings in common. The 1875 census ascribes 280 acres to John and only 160 acres to Gotthart. Gotthart's lands had increased to 500 acres by the time of the census of 1885. Indeed, the Edwards *Atlas* of 1884 puts his name on 760 acres, and John's on 600 more. The Chapman album of 1893 attributed to him 3,000 acres, and his family recorded in Connelley's 1918 *History of Kansas* (v. 5, p. 2718) that in March, 1906, when he died, he had about 6,000 acres. By then, John's property had become his by inheritance, but he clearly had prospered even during the hard times of the 1890's.

In those days one could walk along the Saline from Salina to New Cambria, a good six miles away, without leaving his property. He also had important real estate holdings in Salina and Topeka. Apparently, because of his property in town, he was regarded as one of the citizens of Salina; the Andreas-Cutler *History* of 1883 (p. 709) recorded that he had been a member of the city council for six years. He remained true to the old ferry location, however. Less than a decade after his arrival, the log cabin of the government engineers was replaced by a sturdy stone house. Any additions made to it until 1893 were temporary structures; in that year the "new part" was added, and Gotthart's "place" assumed manorial proportions. Well it might, for he and Clara were the parents of nine children. The names of the daughters' husbands, White, Nelson, reveal abandonment of German and French connections.

John, the second son, born in 1874, occupied the old place till his death in 1948; his widow, Rose Wessling Schippel still lived there in 1957. Rose, born 1879, is the product of a marriage showing how the interests of the group shifted to include Salina and territory beyond it. Her father, Michael Wessling, settled about 1870 on a farm across the river from Schippel's, toward town. In the same year, Peter Schwarz was taking a soldier's claim southwest of town, and following the first marriage (1876) in the newly established Catholic parish, Peter's daughter Catherine became

17. The mother figures in the 1875 census as a "physician."

Mrs. Wessling, and the mother of Rose. The parish has since been the focus of their interest.

A scion of the Giersch family, Stephen's son John will illustrate how the activities of the people in the Schippel's ferry area extended to the northeast. Two miles north and four miles east of the original Schippel place, two Serault families settled about 1871. An early generation was represented by John, who was born in France about 1810 and who died about 1885, and by his wife Victoria, born in Normandy in 1827. Their son Charles, born in Paris in 1847, was their neighbor. His wife, Emma, was born in Champagne in 1850. They had at least five children who were brought into the world by their fellow Parisians, the Wary midwives, to the accompaniment of chatter in French. Charles' fourth child was Emily, born in 1878, who became John Giersch's wife. The Serault farms were 80-acre affairs "back in the hills," and to eke out a living, Charles hired himself out to the hide works in Salina, walking the ten miles each way every day.

This is a rather isolated example of close connection between the people at Schippel's ferry and those to the east and northeast. Though Gotthart Schippel acquired one farm to the east of John Itzen, Itzen himself might be regarded as rather of the New Cambria community—his land came within one half mile of the town. All others as far east as he was or farther definitely belonged to New Cambria, and the Seraults and the Callabresis (a French-speaking family of Swiss origin) were somewhat stranded in it. It was composed of Penn-Germans (notably the Donmyers) and Germans (Shank, Juengel) and developed somewhat after the Civil War. They were Lutherans and established a church in 1873 at New Cambria.¹⁸ With the town so near, the settlement at the ferry could not remain as self-contained as many foreign settlements.

The group at the ferry tended to spread up the Saline valley to a greater degree than down. The Warys spread modestly on the western edge of the neighborhood. The name Giersch has disappeared from present day landowner maps at the original point of settlement, but it appears repeatedly in the township to the west and even in the township beyond that. The dissemination began early¹⁹ and soon passed beyond Saline county. Stephen

18. Ott, *op. cit.*, p. 128.

19. As might be expected, the early settlers were hunters, often going on expeditions. Stephen Giersch is reputed to have killed the last buffalo in Saline county in 1871.

Giersch's brother "Little Pete" moved up the river near Tescott and Michael went on into Lincoln county.

To the north there were other German families that settled not too long after the Civil War, notably the Hahns, who arrived as the war closed.²⁰

The point at which settlement started remained a sort of center, though practically forgotten, as the neighboring city became more and more thriving.

20. Chas. Christian Hahn (Chapman album, p. 374), born in 1839 in Illinois, homesteaded in 1865 on section 28, one and one half miles northeast of the ferry. He was one of the charter members of the New Cambria Lutheran Church (Ott, *op. cit.*, p. 128) and so may be regarded as of the New Cambria group.

"Creative Evolution": The Philosophy of Elisha Wesley McComas, Fort Scott

JAMES C. MALIN

I. INTRODUCTION

THE thinking of three Kansas philosophers, published in book form in 1871, has been described briefly in another essay.¹ They were T. B. Taylor, Joel Moody, and Edward Schiller. Now a fourth, Elisha Wesley McComas, is added to the list. In 1880 his system of philosophy matured in book form. These four men were subject to similar immediate influences, but each was a unique person, with a different background, and each developed his individual preferences about the answers given to the most insistent private problem of that generation—the impact of science upon philosophy and theology. The challenge was presented in several forms, but particularly by scientifically oriented inquiry into the history of the universe (astronomy), of the earth (historical geology and paleontology), of all life upon the planet (the biological sciences in the developmental sense), of man as a specialized form of life (anthropology, ethnology, and history based upon archaeology, including the development of language), and of philosophy and religion in the perspective of all these.

The extreme materialists insisted that science "proved" that man was merely an animal, that life was no more than a temporary chemical phenomena, that the soul, immortality, and God were myths invented by superstitions associated with the childhood of the race. If this view were true, were the ethical concepts of good and evil no more than social customs? What about the nature of human destiny without God? Four years of American Civil War had become enmeshed in the assumption that human freedom was sacred. Was all that a farce? That was a public question, or at any rate a public aspect of the question—did life have meaning? Each individual must live with himself, and sooner or later, he faces the most private of all questions and insists upon answers; does his own life have meaning? Is there a life hereafter? A God?

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1. James C. Malin, "Three Kansas Philosophers, 1871 . . .," *Kansas Historical Quarterly*, v. 24 (Summer, 1958), pp. 168-197.

E. W. McComas brought to the consideration of this mystery a personal background somewhat different from the other three philosophers reviewed. In the antebellum days of the Old Dominion, the McComas family was prominent. William McComas of Cabell county, Virginia, later West Virginia, raised a large family. Two of his sons, William W. and Benjamin J. McComas, chose the side of the Confederate States in the American Civil War. Two others are of particular concern here: Hamilton Calhoun (1831-1883), and Elisha Wesley McComas (1822-1890).

II. H. C. MCCOMAS

Judge H. C. McComas was born November 9, 1831; served in the 11th Virginia infantry, of which his brother, Elisha Wesley McComas, was captain, in the Mexican War; was admitted to the Virginia bar soon after attaining his majority, and about 1855 moved to Monticello, Piatt county, Ill. There he became county judge, and during the American Civil War was a lieutenant colonel in an Illinois volunteer regiment. In 1868 he arrived in Fort Scott, where he became partner in a law firm with J. E. McKeighan, which moved to St. Louis in 1876 and was dissolved in 1880 when Judge McComas became interested in mines in New Mexico, and, with another brother, Rufus McComas, of Nebraska City, Neb., settled in Silver City, N. M.

In 1869 Judge McComas married Juniatta (Junie) Maria Ware (1846-1883), sister of Eugene Ware. For a time, prior to opening his own law office, Eugene Ware was a clerk with the law firm of McComas and McKeighan. In 1872 Judge McComas was nominated for the office of chief justice of the Kansas supreme court as a Democrat on the fusion Liberal Republican-Democratic ticket. On March 28, 1883, near Lordsburg, N. M., Judge and Mrs. McComas were murdered by Apache Indians, and their son, Charles, was taken captive and presumably killed. Judge McComas left two sons, David and William, by an earlier marriage, and two daughters, Ada (born December 25, 1870) and Mary (born May, 1873), who were first taken into the home of Mr. and Mrs. Eugene Ware, and later were reared by their grandparents, Mr. and Mrs. H. B. Ware.²

2. Obituary and funeral notices, Fort Scott *Daily Monitor*, March 30, April 8, 10, 1883; Fort Scott *Banner*, April 5, 12, 1883. Rumors about the fate of Charles McComas, *Daily Monitor*, April 15, 21, 1883; *Banner*, May 17, September 20, November 8, 1883; Fort Scott *Daily Tribune*, April 18, 22, 1892. Temporary law partnerships are noted with Sen. M. V. Voss, *Weekly Monitor*, March 17, 1869; with A. Danford, *Daily Monitor*, December 28, 1869. U. S. census, 1870 (Ms.), Fort Scott city, Bourbon county, Kansas, p. 15; Kansas State census, 1875 (Ms.), Fort Scott, Bourbon county, Kansas, p. 50. Marriage of Junie

III. E. W. McCOMAS, 1822-1890

When E. W. McComas died, March 11, 1890, at Fort Scott, although he had lived an active life there for 20 years, little appears to have been known about his early life, even by his children. An obituary notice was hastily and imperfectly compiled from scrapbooks, by J. B. Chapman, editor of the Democratic *Daily Tribune*. At first, even his birth date could not be determined. The *Monitor* explained that: "Governor McComas, during his life of nearly 70 years, wrote nothing concerning himself and deplored any effort to obtain a knowledge of his active, useful life." The present writer has not had the benefit of the scrapbooks, and Chapman did not see fit to reconstruct in any detail the aspects of the governor's early life recorded there.

E. W. McComas was born in Cabell county, Virginia (since 1863, West Virginia), presumably on January 21, 1822. Mrs. McComas was born Ariana P. Holderby on January 22, 1823, at Guyandotte, Va., daughter of James Holderby. She was married at Huntington, Va., September 8, 1842, died at Fort Scott, March 11, 1885, and was buried according to the rites of the Episcopal church. For many years an invalid, her husband shaped his later life in part out of consideration for her care. Upon her passing the comment was made: "Her decline had been a protracted one, but her physical sufferings were wonderfully light and her death most painless and peaceful." Beyond that, the nature of her illness was not explained. She left five children, three sons, Henry, Walter, and Gordon, and two daughters, Alice (Mrs. W. R. Reed) and Ella (Mrs. E. Upjohn).

E. W. McComas was educated at Ohio University, Athens, Ohio, admitted to the bar in Cabell county, Virginia, in 1842, served as captain of the 11th Virginia infantry in the Mexican War, was wounded and captured, and was discharged July 20, 1848. Drawn into politics, he was elected to the Virginia senate, and in 1855 was elected lieutenant governor of Virginia as running mate of Gov. Henry A. Wise, the terms running 1856-1860. In 1857 McComas resigned and moved to Chicago and a successful law practice. No explanation of his resignation has been discovered. That document, addressed to the governor, read: "I hereby tender my resignation

Ware, *Weekly Monitor*, March 17, 1869. Candidacy of 1872, D. W. Wilder, *Annals of Kansas* (1886), pp. 580, 587. Letter: Mrs. George W. Johnson, Charles Town, W. Va., to James C. Malin, April 25, 1956. She is Mary M. McKendrie, daughter of Irene McComas, a sister of H. C. and E. W. McComas. For a short time, Irene McComas, aged 27, was a teacher in Fort Scott.—U. S. census (Ms.), 1870, Bourbon county, city of Fort Scott, third ward, p. 12. The Kansas census, 1885 (Ms.), Bourbon county, city of Fort Scott, listed Ada and Mary McComas, aged 13 and 11 respectively, as making their home with Mr. and Mrs. H. B. Ware, aged 68 and 70. Ada McComas was married at the Eugene Ware home, April 4, 1890, to Grant Hazelton.—Fort Scott *Daily Tribune*, April 5, 1890; Fort Scott *Daily News*, April 5, 1890.

of the office of Lt. Governor of Virginia." Endorsed upon the letter, however, Governor Wise recorded its receipt, March 21, and this explanation: "The above is accompanied by a letter of a private character. . . ." The private letter itself, however, is missing from the files. Probably, in the society to which they belonged, the code applicable to what was public and what was private prevailed, and such a confidential note, having served its purpose, was destroyed. Wise acknowledged the resignation and accepted it on the day of its receipt: "I regret that it leaves me no discretion or election about its acceptance. It is positive and immediate and will take effect at once. . . ." The press does not seem to have commented upon the reasons for McComas' departure.

At Chicago, just turned 35, this young Virginian quickly gained a prominent position in the legal profession, and when Cyrus H. McCormick, purchased control, February 17, 1860, of the *Chicago Daily Herald*, McComas was made political editor, a position he continued to hold when McCormick acquired the *Daily Times* and combined the two papers as the *Times and Herald*, July 31, 1860. The *Herald's* political policy, under the purchase agreement of February 17, 1860, was to unify the Democratic party, but, after the conventions at Charleston in April and in Baltimore in June failed to achieve agreement upon one candidate, the *Herald*, and later the *Times and Herald*, supported Douglas.

The focus of the strategy was the defeat of Lincoln in the electoral college by throwing the decision into the Democratic house of representatives, or, if that body could not agree, into the senate. In the first instance, the choice was expected to fall to Breckinridge, but failing that, to Joseph Lane at the hands of the senate. The preference of McCormick and his editor, McComas, was Breckinridge, but the latter's support in Illinois was too slight to make headway against Lincoln—hence the *Times-Herald* support of Douglas in the stop-Lincoln strategy. After the election in November, 1860, the *Times-Herald* co-operated with Douglas in seeking a compromise solution of the secession crisis. By May, 1861, McCormick was ready to sell the paper, and did sell it as of June 1, 1861, to Wilbur F. Storey, the transfer occurring June 8. McComas retired from the editorship.

For present purposes, scarcely anything is known about McComas' activities in Chicago during the war years 1861-1865. Apparently he continued to be adversely critical of Lincoln and the conduct of the war. In 1864 General George B. McClellan was the Democratic nominee for president on a platform which de-

clared the war a failure and called for an immediate peace. McCormick was the Democratic candidate for congress. Organized labor, in which the Germans were conspicuous, launched a General Trades Assembly in Chicago to co-ordinate the activities of the several local labor unions. McComas was influential in the activities of the assembly which encouraged the formation of a labor party, but in this instance he supported McCormick as the prolabor candidate for congress, losing again to Republican John Wentworth.³

McComas returned to his old home area, now West Virginia, but not to Cabell county. He took up residence at Charles Town, Kanawha county, by that time the home of the Holderbys, Mrs. McComas' family, and of Judge David McComas, an uncle, with whom he practiced law. After the death of his father in 1868, he moved to Nebraska where his brother Rufus lived, and then, in 1870 or 1871 to Fort Scott, Kan., where his elder brother, H. C. McComas, was established. In Fort Scott the governor avoided politics and journalism. In fact, he lived a life of relative retirement, devoting himself to his family, farm, and studies. But he found time to promote the interests of the city of Fort Scott.⁴

Very quickly Governor McComas impressed the people of his new home with his intellectual attainments. During the winter of 1874-1875, a home-talent lecture series included him, February 1, 1875, with the subject: "Enfranchisement of Women, Involving the Whole Question of the Proper Social and Political Relations and Equality of the Sexes." As the issue of the *Daily Monitor* for February 2, which should have reported the lecture, is missing from

3. Bessie Pierce, *A History of Chicago*, 3 vols. (New York, 1937, 1940, 1957), v. 2, pp. 168, 169. In addition to the Pierce book which touches only incidentally upon McComas in 1864, the Chicago period of McComas' career has been compiled from a number of sources, primary and secondary, which disagree in some instances even on dates. The Virginia Historical Society (Richmond) and the West Virginia Department of Archives and History (Charleston) do not have pertinent material about E. W. McComas.—Letters to present writer, March 23, 1956, and April 9, 1956, respectively. The Virginia State Library (Richmond) has the McComas letter of resignation bearing the endorsement referred to, and a copy of Wise's acceptance, but no comment upon the resignation was found in the press of the time.—Letter to author, April 3, 1956. Mrs. George W. Johnson (*see* previous note), Charles Town, W. Va., to author, April 26, 1956, provided data from family records. Two biographical circulars were filed with the Kansas State Historical Society by members of the McComas family at Fort Scott, one dated September 13, 1892. The McComas obituary notice, compiled by J. B. Chapman, appeared in the Fort Scott *Daily Tribune*, March 11, 1890, and in the *Daily Monitor*, March 12, 1890. The assumption in this obituary, that McComas was an intimate friend of Stephen A. Douglas, is probably an error. In the shifting political scene, McComas was opponent and advocate of Douglas as strategy required. No direct evidence of private friendship is available. Chapman made a number of errors of fact in his hasty sketch. Not only the activities of E. W. McComas during his sojourn in Chicago, 1857-1865, but a fresh evaluation of the whole Chicago political situation in that period is needed as an intensive local study, oriented to the national perspective. Among other things, as an advocate of the candidacy of Douglas, after the nomination at Baltimore, in June, 1860, McComas, as editor of the *Times-Herald*, was caught in the vicious, nativist, anti-Catholic drive of Lincoln's Chicago mouthpiece, the *Tribune*.

4. The biographical circulars, referred to in an earlier note, gave 1871 as the date of removal to Kansas, but the other sources cited gave the date as 1870.

the files, all that is known about its contents is the "teaser" printed the day before its delivery:

The lecturer holds to what is known as "The development theory of society." According to this theory mankind is constantly not only progressing intellectually and morally, but steadily improving and destined in the course of time to arrive at a state nearly akin to moral, intellectual and social perfection. The enfranchisement of women is a thing not only right in itself, but it is *demande*d now, by this unrepealable law of progress and development, which cannot be resisted, and must therefore, sooner or later, be obeyed. Mr. McComas, as has been heretofore stated, is an old man, a student and a thinker. Many of his audience will doubtless disagree with his views, but they cannot fail to be entertained and instructed by his lecture, as it will be the result of close observation, and much reading and reflection.

This "old man," as the editor deprecatingly referred to the governor, was just 11 days past 53 years of age, but in partial extenuation of the brash young journalist, the point may be made that the average life expectancy in 1875 was much less than in 1958. Men and women past 45 were frequently, if not usually, referred to as "old." McComas had not yet reached his maturity in philosophical thought if this paragraph were even approximately accurate. Later he repudiated expressly the "Idea of Progress." Such belief as he may have held in it was probably only a passing stage in his intellectual development.

The following winter, 1875-1876, McComas again participated in the lecture series, offering, March 2, 1876, "The Origin and Development of Religion." The *Monitor* editor's cautious comment, in announcing the event, read: "He will present in the most forcible, as well as courteous, manner the advanced theories concerning the doctrines of the Christian religion." No direct summary of the lecture was reported, but something of its impact was revealed in contrast with a discourse on "The Evolution Theory as Related to the Origin of the Christian Religion," delivered by the Rev. P. F. Warner, on Sunday, March 26, at the Congregational church. Warner had presided at the Opera House when Governor McComas had delivered his lecture and the public was interested in his views on the same subject.⁵

After the event, the Conservative Republican *Monitor*, March 28, said only that many persons spoke in highly complimentary terms of Warner's effort. It was left to the Democratic *Pioneer*, March 30, an economic Radical paper to report, with obvious unspoken reservations, upon both McComas and Warner:

5. Warner and another of his discourses has been discussed in another context in James C. Malin, *The Contriving Brain and the Skilful Hand* (Lawrence, The Author, 1955), p. 422.

The Governor attempted to explain all religious creeds and doctrines as the natural result of man's development and growth, or rather the outgrowth of man's own nature; and the nature of that religion was a sure indication of the degree of his intellectual advancement.

Evidently Warner's strategy had been first to criticize McComas' lecture, adversely, and then to urge the case for traditional religion:

From Mr. Warner's lecture Sunday morning, we judge he saw fully and forcibly the tendency and necessary result of that doctrine. He saw that it aimed a death blow to what is termed revealed religion. It necessarily took from it everything *supernatural*; accounting for all its phases and even doctrines as the result of natural growth of man's mind, the same as the potato is the growth of the potato vine.

On what seems to have been the positive side of the debate, the summary stated that:

Mr. Warner made a very able defense of *revealed, supernatural* religion. He was at times very eloquent, and interesting throughout. He did not hesitate to attack the philosophy of the scientists, and show up the seeming weak points in the theory of evolution.

Whether or not for editorial strategy's sake, or because he was unsure in his own mind, the *Pioneer* editor concluded:

While it is not for us to determine who is right in this argument we certainly admire the man who has the ability and courage to defend his position, and to do it in a manly way, as did Mr. Warner. We would now like to hear Gov. McComas again.

Within the week the *Pioneer* editor did talk to McComas about the subject and announced in his next weekly issue that the governor had another lecture on evolution and might deliver it soon. The lecture series was being poorly supported, or other reasons may have intervened, but in any case, the proposal for an additional lecture was dropped. The following year the suggestion was made again, the *Monitor* saying that McComas had lectured twice to Fort Scott people, "and instructed them too. We are entirely convinced that the conclusion of his favorite system of philosophy is erroneous, but is always thoughtful and deeply interesting."⁶

In the press notices the McComas philosophy was described as representing the developmental theory of society, but Warner used in his title the term "evolution theory." During the decade of the 1870's, the words "development" and "evolution" were sometimes used interchangeably, but they were not equivalents. "Development" was the more comprehensive term, which had been popularized by Herbert Spencer from the time of the original publica-

6. *Daily Monitor*, February 21, 1877.

tion of his book *Social Statics* in early 1851—the universe and life upon earth were the product of change and development. Charles Darwin's *Origin of Species*, published in 1859, is usually credited with launching the theory of evolution, but he did not use the term evolution. His emphasis was upon modification by "natural selection." The general use of the term evolution spread slowly, and so far as applied to Darwin's ideas emphasized organic evolution, rather than the larger and earlier concept of development of society as used by Spencer. In the Kansas setting, Darwin was seldom mentioned until after the publication of his *Descent of Man*, in 1871, and even then relatively infrequently during the 1870's. When McComas took over the term "evolution" in his book publications, his concept was primarily that of Spencer. These changing usages of language are important to history and should not be confused by the prepossessions of the 20th century reader.

The thinking that Governor McComas was doing was more comprehensive by far than anything indicated by the press reports of his lectures. The Fort Scott *Herald*, September 4, 1879, reported his return from New York where he had arranged for the publication of two books on a system of theology: "He has worked a long time on them, and the theories which he lays down will startle the people everywhere." Their preparation represented a significantly wide range of reading and criticism of the literature of science, philosophy, and theology. The constructive thinking and the organization of abstract ideas required time. This creative operation was in active progress during the decade of the 1870's. Early in 1880 the two books were published in New York City: *A Rational View of Jesus and Religion* (706 pages), and *The Divine Problem* (491 pages).⁷ The first review, written from advance sheets, was printed in the *Daily Monitor*, February 22, 1880, and the *Herald*, March 11, 1880, said the books were currently available at the local bookstores.

IV. A RATIONAL VIEW OF JESUS

The person who reads through the whole of the descriptive title of the first of McComas' books to be reviewed here was left no illusions about its nature and major conclusions: *A Rational View of Jesus and Religion, Embracing an Examination of the Origin and Rationale of Religious Beliefs and of the Claims of Super-naturalism and Revealed Religions; and a Solution of the Mysteries Enshrouding the Christian Faith, and the Birth, Life, Character, and Sup-*

7. The publisher was John Wurtele Lovell.

posed Miracles and Resurrection of Its Founder. McComas was as candid and unassuming as Edward Schiller had been in 1871: "The work has no pretensions to erudition or literary merit," he confessed, the information as such was abundantly available and if it possessed any merit it was in the employment of direct, rational, and candid methods to aid the reader "to an insight into the 'true inwardness' of facts already accessible." He insisted that truth was not palatable, especially "on subjects upon which men's bias, partisanship and prejudice are so extreme as in matters of religion. . . . Men are rarely so interested in right thinking as in agreeable thinking . . . new facts and fine writing." The latter would only divert attention from the requirements of the case, correct thinking, which were "antagonistic to fine writing."

Religious beliefs had their origin and development "in man's *imperishable love of life* and his aspirations for a higher, a harmonious, and an assured individual existence. . . . No amount of education can eradicate it." McComas credited Herbert Spencer with demonstrating this basic fact, but McComas went further. For him the immortal soul and God were fundamental, only human notions about them changed, but not the basic idea as fact. He recognized that skepticism performed a limited function inasmuch as "Reason is first destructive, before it is reconstructive," but: "The human soul cannot live upon negation. Its natural life food is affirmative belief." McComas traced the development of religion from primitive man's blind fear, through Fetishism, Shamanism, anthropomorphism, to the Egyptian idea of oneness—"ultimate Essential Existence" which, in merging with Israelitic polytheism, became the Judaic monotheism. Christianity had nothing new to offer in theology and ethics, but according to McComas, it did afford "a new and higher assurance—a practical proof of a future life, and a sure mode of their escaping the consequences of earthly . . . sins and securing endless beatitude,"—in other words: "The fact is, men's hells, like their heavens, are but reflexes of their own natures." Christianity provided the new assurance of things already believed: "What was needed was a case of unquestioned actual death, and . . . —a *self-resurrection*. . . ."

Was the case of resurrection claimed by Christianity genuine? McComas examined the evidence according to the canons of historical criticism and arrived at a devastating negative verdict, following particularly the path blazed by David Frederick Strauss (1808-1874), and Ernest Renan (1823-1892). He used Henry Ward

Beecher's work, also, so far as it had gone when, according to McComas, Beecher's courage and integrity failed him.

McComas decided that credulity was the primary criterion upon which Jesus selected his disciples, and the evidence of death and resurrection was promulgated by oral tradition for the first century before the conflicting accounts were written. In the fifth century the selection was made from these accounts, which then for the first time came to be accepted as the inspired word—in spite of their contradictions, which incidentally, aided in the reconstruction of historical reality.

According to McComas, it was the resurrection myth that endowed Christianity with peculiar significance, and that he insisted was clearly an afterthought: "We should judge Jesus as a man—as a man of the time, country, religion and social class to which he belonged—as a man subject to the conditions, influences, errors and frailties incident to his humanity." McComas maintained that only the social and political views of Jesus were new or singular, not his religious or moral ideas. This conclusion focused attention on the economic and social status of Jesus, a carpenter, born to poverty: "The socialistic notions of Jesus were very pronounced and fixed. . . . He repeatedly and serially denounced every class of the Jewish people, save the simple and credulous poor who believed in him. . . . he uniformly proposed, not merely to destroy distinctions, but to *reverse conditions*. . . ." He was no equalitarian. At this point, in an aside, McComas exclaimed: "But, How *could* a divine or perfect being proclaim such utterly impracticable doctrines?" And what had Christians done about it?—"They dare not defend the doctrines . . ." he taught and practiced. As a social and political agitator, Jesus was dangerous to the Jewish leaders, but not to Rome. Thus in sequence, following Beecher, Jesus had first been a healer; then an adventist preaching the coming of the "Kingdom of God"; and finally he became convinced that he was himself the Messiah. At that stage in the exposition McComas took over where he insisted Beecher would not follow the evidence, and McComas interpreted the "miracles" as fictitious—a last desperate effort on the part of a deluded Jesus, by fraud, to convince the public of his supernatural nature. McComas admonished his readers: "Judge him leniently thenceforth."

Pontius Pilate was represented by McComas as trying to save Jesus from the vengeance of the Jewish leaders, yielding to the crucifixion only under pressure, and even then secretly and suc-

cessfully plotting to have the centurion and Joseph of Aramathea to so manage the crucifixion as to prevent his death. After recovery from the ordeal—he did not die on the cross, according to McComas—Jesus did actually present himself to his disciples, and then disappeared from history. Myth-making did the rest. It was this fictitious “Resurrection,” as McComas represented it, that became the taproot and foundation of Christianity as a religion—the response to the demands of men for assurance of immortality and of rewards and punishments adequate to compensate for the suffering and apparent meaninglessness of earthly existence. People believed, as he put it, only what they wanted so desperately to believe—resurrection as the proof, absolutely, of immortality.

V. THE DIVINE PROBLEM

In his preface to *The Divine Problem*, McComas took his text from Louis Agassiz: “We have reached a point where the results of Science touch the problem of existence, and all thoughtful men are listening for the verdict which solves the great mystery.” The existential mystery was described by McComas in the starkest terms of realism, opening in these words:

Human life and destiny, as well, indeed, as the course and conditions of all mundane life, are profoundly unsatisfactory to the human mind. The perpetual and self-devouring war which Nature seems to wage within herself, . . . the dreadful struggle for life . . ., and the universal reign of sin, deformity and death, constitute a standing mystery to the human mind, and have never ceased to excite both the wonder and fear of man, and to call forth the profoundest protest of both his moral and intellectual nature. . . .

To all the explanations offered: “Reason has never ceased to enter its final protest, and to flatly reject the very possibility of a perpetual strife and misery . . . in the creations of an infinite and absolute God. . . .” Man insisted upon asking: Why are things as they are? To the question: “Was it blind Chance?” McComas answered, no. If it was the work of an uncreated malignant Spirit, then the unanswerable question was: “Why should any uncreated Spirit *be* malignant?” If it was the work of a created Spirit: “Why should God create such a spirit?” Attempted answers only added to the irrationality of the mystery.

What men had done nevertheless had been “to shield God from what they supposed to be so odious a responsibility.” Hence they represented God as a wronged Creator whom “nothing short of divine agony and blood could finally appease and atone. . . . To avoid blasphemy they rushed into the most direct and concentrated of all blasphemies; and so misdirected human thought by their well-

intentioned, but really blasphemous explanations. . . ." Only when this superstition and its fear were eradicated could there be any "approach to the real solution. . . ."

But McComas was not vindictive, and neither did he indulge in malicious accusations: "If the Fathers failed, they failed earnestly, and with sufficient apology. If we fail, either in earnest effort or in success, our apology will be immeasurably less. What we now need, and feel that we need, is an utterly new and untrammelled rational interpretation of Nature and of her methods and designs, under the lights of modern science." But McComas asserted that scientists "seem to have . . . clearly evaded" the opportunity or the responsibility, although they had "clearly laid the foundation" for this task. The reason alleged for this default was "a bitter Experience of the power and proclivities of Superstition [which] has driven Science to fence itself off from Philosophy and Theology. . . ."

McComas insisted that, as intellectual enterprise, the mystery of existence was soluble, and that it was possible

to reconcile the reason of a developing and rising Humanity to the divine creative purposes and methods, by demonstrating that *natural* evolution is also a *Divine* Evolution, and that it is, in its totality and in all its parts, just what it should be and must have been,—namely: divinely wise and beneficent. In short, we need a rational theory of Universal Being which shall at once necessitate and account for all the known phenomena of the Universe in conformity with the agency and designs of a Beneficent Intelligence, with the existence of an immortal soul in all self-conscious and suffering mortals, and with the fundamental aspirations of the human soul itself. This is what I intend to supply—is what I hope and believe I have supplied.

On one aspect of the problem McComas was devoid of illusions: "it is quite beyond hope that the method and style of its presentation should encourage or entertain the Reader." But he was fortified by a resignation born of "prolonged suffering and prostration" and the philosophical humility of a man who had achieved nevertheless a private sense of peace with God: "The Theory is in no hurry. Being ingrained and registered in the very warp and woof of Nature, and ready for man whenever man is ready for it, there is no fear of its being lost, even if I fail to win for it appreciation and success."

A bare outline statement of the McComas system might make it appear deceptively simple and naive, when, in fact it was nothing of the kind. It represented the mastery of a vast amount of scientific philosophical and theological literature, and was no more naive than the works it was refuting. Furthermore, it was not

negative, and in its positive aspects offered a conception of "Creative Evolution" in an "Unfinished Universe" not clearly formulated elsewhere at that date.

Largely, McComas used Herbert Spencer's *Principles of Psychology* and *Principles of Biology* as foils. McComas admired Spencer, but insisted that his materialism fell short of a sound philosophy; life, consciousness, and persistent identity of self were not explained, nor was the ethical chaos of relativism surmounted.⁸

McComas started with three problems about which, generally, men of all ages were concerned in some form, however much they differed in explanations: the soul, a self-conscious self; the mind, somehow related to the brain; and the body, through which the others operated. The psychicalists insisted that the soul existed without extension, and independently of matter, time, and space. Among other things, this view broke down over the problem of dualism, the relation between soul and matter. The scientific materialists discarded soul, and concentrated upon mind as localized in the brain, invoking unknowable cosmic force having its source in one unknowable substance. This was Spencer's view, and the most competent in the materialist camp, so McComas argued that if Spencer was refuted the whole materialist case broke down. Spencer's weakest point, in McComas' estimation, was the discarding of soul which made impossible an accounting, among other things, for the persistent self-conscious self, individuality, and the surmounting of relativism.

The McComas system was a monism, based upon the concept of atoms, which might be differently organized and related in order to account respectively for spirit and for matter. The soul and the

8. A distinction should be made between the two types of relativism then in vogue, the English utilitarian tradition, an expediency philosophy, especially in the form given it by William Paley (1743-1805). Spencer denounced the expediency philosophy of Paley in particular. In his concept of Social Statics, Spencer insisted that ethical principles were absolutes, but they presupposed a perfect man in a perfect world. In the existing imperfection of both, Spencer stressed the point that man did not face a choice between absolute good and evil, but must live in the world as he found it, and what he faced was a practical choice of the lesser evil among possible courses all of which were evil. In this unhappy situation Spencer specified that his guide should be the greatest freedom for himself coupled inseparably with responsibility for an equal freedom for others.

This principle of correlative responsibility in Spencer's ethics is the aspect which is usually minimized or ignored altogether, and upon which he has been most unjustly misrepresented, especially by those historians of ideas who generalize about what is miscalled Social Darwinism. These differentiations are essential to an understanding of Spencer. He maintained that man had developed through untold thousands of years to reach his present condition, but would be required to strive for yet unknown thousands of years before attaining the condition where the absolute principles of social statics were practicable. In the meantime he must make the best possible use of the relativism of Social Dynamics and the choice of the lesser of evils. Consult particularly Spencer's *Social Statics* (authorized American edition, 1865). The preface to the American edition and the final chapter clarify his position on the differentiation between Social Statics and Social Dynamics. In his later writings, Spencer made this differentiation more explicit, but they came after McComas had written his books. McComas attacked Spencer's relativism from a different angle, and struck at a fatal defect, but nevertheless was not altogether fair to Spencer on the matter of relativism.

physical organs of intelligence, both atom-structured, were found in mortal man in one phase of "an illimitable and endless career of psychical education and development—first in mortal chrysalis forms, and finally as a free spirit."

Atoms were in motion according to general laws; time and space were derivatives of motion, absolute and relative, so-called real objects "are various, formal areas of motion. . . . Some phase of psychical change or motion, as perceived, *must* be the mental object. . . . There *can* be nothing but Being, and its motions and the feeling and knowledge of them." Also, he stated that "intelligent motion or self-evolution is the *sole manifestation* and *endless life-mode* of Infinite Being." In other words: that the universe is "an Infinite Being in intelligent motion—a self-evolving, intelligent Infinitel"

When McComas asserted absolutely that "I regard the Universe as a unique whole, existing in a process of law-governed and divinely intelligent self-evolution," he posed a problem of reconciling such a law-governed system with the individual persistent self-conscious self, the immortal soul. He denied free will in the conventional sense as "arbitrary and capricious mental action," which was incompatible with a law-governed universe. But until the minds of men were freed from this false sense of freedom "there can be [no] hope of securing ultimate conceptions or a possibility of a rational or final solution of the profounder problems of Existence. That which *is*, is always of *necessity*. The Future is as definitely certain as the Past or Present. . . ." He had no illusions about the immediate liberation of the mind—education, habit, time, and theology were formidable—but he would bide his time and reverse Jefferson's aphorism by saying: "Truth cannot be dangerous so long as error is left free to combat it."

Having based his system upon the atom, law-governed, as the unit, individuality was introduced and McComas insisted that variety was insured absolutely, in unique complex combinations, and no two organisms could possibly be exactly alike: "If an incomplete organism which is still developing and constantly changing, and which is subjected to constantly changing states, conditions and influences, should act with the mechanical completeness and precision of an atom . . . it would be acting capriciously and lawlessly. To be law-governed is not to act in any particular mode, or always in the same mode, but to always act in some definite and natural mode, according to the inducements, causes and conditions then existing." Thus, in emphasizing uniqueness within

a law-governed universe, McComas was running directly against the tide of 18th and 19th century concepts of equality and uniformity both in their natural science and social science aspects:

There must be adequacy, inevitability and consistency, and not equality and uniformity. To be law-governed, therefore, we should expect an incomplete, growing and changing structure like the psychical organism, especially when acting through such an organism as the human body and brain and under . . . circumstances of human life, to exhibit corresponding changes in its own action and greater or less difference from the action of other organisms differently circumstanced, and in different stages of growth and culture.

McComas insisted that: "The recognition of the atomic composition of Matter, of its indestructibility, and of its persistent and constructive activities, rendered the recognition of some theory of Evolution only a question of time." Also he recognized that such a revolutionary concept would arouse violent hostility, but even that, he pointed out, was valuable: "Doubtless, it was well that a theory so all-embracing and so revolutionary in its results should establish itself under the most exacting and vigorous conditions and tests. . . ."

Spencer's definition of life was rejected as inadequate in favor of F. W. J. Schelling's (1775-1854) view that life is a "tendency to *individuation*." Whether viewed from either aspect, the atomic units or the Infinite Intelligence, "one homogeneous Being" was involved and the process as applied to both, man or the Infinite, was one of "creative evolution"—McComas' own term, but: "During these evolutions, there is neither loss nor increase of essential Substance, but only continual unions, dissolutions and re-unions—continual transformations and reformations of existing forms and materials, resulting in the progressive evolution of forms and structures of greater complexity, definiteness and unity. . . ."

The scientific materialists objected to all nonmaterialistic systems as man centered:

Indeed, it seems to have become fashionable . . . to speak with a fine disinterestedness and contempt of the pretensions and pretentiousness of man. . . . It is the cant of the day to speak of man as a mere ephemeral speck upon the unpretentious little orb which he inhabits—as without significance among the mighty worlds and world-evolutions environing him. But, if man be indeed but an insignificant speck among these more stupendous . . . worlds—where shall we hope to find the true, or *any* significance in the Universe? Man, as viewed by the materialists, is indeed an Insignificance, but his being so, leaves the world a soulless Stupidity.⁹

9. In his book, *The Heavenly City of the Eighteenth Century Philosophers* (1932), Carl Becker made fashionable again among students of the theory of history this type of cynical characterization of man—"a chance deposit," a helpless "foundling in the cosmos" abandoned by the forces that created him to flounder in a neutral universe of relativism. Even without

At this point, certain aspects of the McComas argument may be recapitulated. Atoms, law-governed, enter into variant combinations. This assumption, that atoms may be organized into different combinations, opened the way for resulting structures to assume different properties. Thus was resolved the problem of matter and spirit, both atom-structured. Assuming that life is a tendency to individuation, and that all life is conscious, but not necessarily self-conscious, the point critical to the development of life into a self-conscious self is when it becomes self-conscious. With that transition, a new order of magnitude, continuity of life begins—the soul and its immortality. The breakthrough is achieved by means of the operation of unpredictable, unique combinations of atomized structures. The number of combinations being mathematically unlimited, although law-governed, were unpredictable in their possibilities. Creativity is the consequence of these two principles—unlimited number and variety of combinations of atoms, and the consequent unpredictability of the particular individual combinations—which guarantee that each self-conscious self must be unique, absolutely, although acquiring continuity of life.

McComas could not accept the materialists' mode of assessing compensations within the ruthlessness of evolution, the few, fleeting and unsatisfying pleasures which accompany them ere Death has swept his victims away . . . , and yet, we are told that the individuals who toiled and suffered to win human progress are to be personally rewarded with annihilation; while those who enjoy that progress will receive it as an unearned gratuity. And even these undeserving heirs of progress can only taste and perish. . . . If these be indeed the only results of evolution, it may well be said "there is no God;" however impossible it might be to divest ourselves of the conviction of demoniac agency.

This view of the universe was totally unacceptable to McComas, this demoniac concept:

When we reflect upon the countless ages past and the countless ages yet to come during which innumerable myriads of human beings and a still more innumerable tide of lower conscious and suffering animals have drifted, and must continue to drift, into Time, in vast successive shoals like on-coming sea waves upon a shoreless sea, [it was inconceivable that they had] only to hope, toil, suffer, despair, and finally end their fleeting, delusive and disappointing lives in—annihilation! . . .

One of the major tasks undertaken by McComas was to resolve the difficulty of reconciling the finite and the Infinite—the relative

referring back to the ancient Greek Sophists, in the modern context the idea was so old that it was new to the generation for whom Becker was writing.

For consideration of 20th century usage of the idea by Carl Becker and others, see James C. Malin, *On the Nature of History* (1954), chs. 1, 3, and 8, and *The Contriving Brain and the Skillful Hand* (1955), ch. 11.

and the absolute—in all their manifold aspects. He represented Spencer as regarding “our entire knowledge as relative, and as merely representative of unknown modes of an unknowable Reality. . . .” Yet, in Spencer’s own words “its universal presence is the absolute fact without which there can be no relative facts.” Spencer’s concept of mind was no more than an aggregate of states of consciousness; in other words, there was no “persistent conscious self” to provide continuity of development. McComas denied “innate or intuitive ideas, but insisted upon “instinctive or developed aptitudes which produce very similar results.” Furthermore, he posited that there was no limit to developed aptitudes. For the orientation of the reader, he offered a preliminary formulation of his conception of the individual and the universe:

. . . I regard the Universe as a unique whole, existing in a process of law-governed and divinely intelligent self-evolution; that the organization of the germinal Soul or Self is the controlling event in the course of prior physical evolution—the goal of one provisional cycle of physical progress and the initiation of an endless psychical progression; that, as the first and only indestructible organism and the first self-sustained vitality and conscious personal Intelligence, and one destined to an endless development, the soul itself must constitute the solution or demonstration of a Divine Conception, and that this germ of personal intelligence is inherently possessed of the necessary attributes or capacities for progressively acquiring a true knowledge of the Universe from the experiences won from its various environments and imposed by predetermined conditions and causes. I conceive, that this germ of an immortal Intelligence or Spirit commences its career in a bodily organism, with a direct and conscious knowledge of its own vital individuality . . . as will enable it . . . to progressively develop its own organization and powers, and to form more . . . exact and truer conceptions of the objects of knowledge . . .; and that, while neither . . . necessarily true or complete similitudes of the real objects, yet that the fully-developed conception becomes complete and true. . . .

McComas conceived of a “progressively developed harmony between” the subjective and objective worlds:

So that, although the Soul is seemingly compelled to experimentally work its way up through countless delusive perceptions and false provisional conceptions, these conceptions can never permanently register their false influences in its organism, or misdirect the necessary steps in its progressive growth and intelligence; and consequently, that the Soul will continue to investigate facts and attack problems with ever higher experiences and apter powers for forming and organizing truer and broader conceptions of objective facts and truths, until it successively masters them.

The bodily organ of the Soul, . . . is ever growing up [in] power which we denominate Reason. . . . So that our knowledge grows ever more coherent, symmetrical, consistent, congruous and harmonious, and so becomes true.

Having arrived at the conclusion (chapter ten) "that the Universe of Being is self-conscious in its totality and unity, and that it constitutes a vital and individual or personal intelligence" McComas insisted that: "A God must mean something." Furthermore, "not only are the special systems of evolution [finite personalities] solving their own several problems, but they are, all, the interdependent and inter-influencing parts of a Universal Evolution. They constitute parts of a unique whole." Although moral, as well as physical and intellectual development were "progressive and incomplete," in other words relative, it had "won certain principles and truths, of a moral nature, which are axiomatic in their certainty and universal in their applicability." Because Infinite beneficence was a corollary of Infinite being, intelligence and power: "Evil can only exist to the finite mind under finite relations and conditions, and then only by reason of *mortal needs, desires and sufferings*, and as a *misapprehended process or agency of good*." McComas insisted that "we must elevate our moral conceptions to a standard more commensurate with Infinite Beneficence. . . . Whatever is absolutely greatest and best, that also will God *do*, and *is* doing. . . ."

What then was the role of finite man?—"It is manifest that God, as the Infinite Sum of Being, must necessarily embrace within his essential and unoriginated being, the infinite sum of all possible original, inherent and absolute intelligence, happiness and satisfaction. It is equally manifest that this sum can neither be increased, diminished nor changed; since they are the inherent attributes of his very being, and there is neither room nor possibility for other Being. . . . How, then, is it possible for him to embrace more intelligence or more happiness?" The only possibility McComas could discover was "by the Infinite Personality finitely flowing into finite personalities, and thus winning knowledge and happiness,— . . . and of progressively *acquiring relative* knowledge and happiness through *experience and development*. . . ." This led McComas to his final definition of the divine problem:

The creation—(in addition to the fixed sum of absolute intelligence and happiness)—of the greatest possible amount of finite and relative intelligence and happiness—with the least possible expenditure of time and suffering, by means of endlessly-repeated systems of evolution throughout Infinite Being, which shall continuously and endlessly evolve, and develop into self-sustaining maturity, an ever increasing . . . number or tide of indestructible vital organisms or *finite psychical personalities*, out of the ultimate components of Being, which shall be at once intuitively self-conscious in their primal

organic lives and personalities and satisfied in their persistent and self-sustained organic relations and activities, and yet capable of an endlessly-progressive relative and rational knowledge[,] happiness, and development; and which, by the combined and continued conditions and influences to which they are subjected and the experiences resulting from their associations and relations with other finite forms and beings, as well as from their own motions and activities, however induced, are *necessitated* to an endless career of progressive psychical life and development and to the acquisition of ever broader, higher and truer relative and rational knowledge and a more and more exalted relative happiness.

If this were true, then McComas recognized that further answers were required about "the necessity, appropriateness, adequacy, wisdom, or justice of the means and methods actually used to effectuate the divine purposes. . . ." Accepting this challenge, he admitted that: "Our attention, therefore, must, henceforth be directed chiefly to this moral aspect of evolution. . . ." This answer was broken down into replies to two specific questions: If God is Infinite; (1) Why the delay, (2) Why the toil, suffering, evil, and death? His case rested upon an assumption, most complexly elaborated, "that the *facts so exist*" and "that all existence implies a right reason for existing. . . . McComas admitted candidly that this argument "would be appreciated only by a few. . . ." More suggestive however was his argument about the difference between completed and incompleting beings.

Popular creeds assumed that creation was a completed process and that created beings were completed beings. McComas insisted that there was an immeasurable difference between a "creation of completion" and a self-evolving being: "It is manifest, indeed, that an eternal progression towards the Infinite is the highest possible finite approach towards the Infinite. Progress, therefore, is the necessary law of finite creations." Otherwise souls could not have been created as components of a self-evolving Infinite. Capacities and conscious relative knowledge could not be bestowed, he argued: "They are, in their nature, either experiences or the products of them. . . ." Furthermore, "all periods of time are viewed in relation to the life and motions of the observer" and the time necessary to the evolution of an immortal soul renders finite time insignificant.

Pursuing explicitly then the problem of evil, sin, and death, McComas defined the existential character of man's situation in the world: man had no choice or agency in his own creation—"he is *born* between an *agony and a wail*" and having thus been born

without his own consent could not avoid the vicissitudes of life; he could know happiness only through experience of opposites; he was forbidden absolutely to be satisfied; his enjoyments were mostly anticipatory; and he could not find a reasoned standard of justice in the apparent assignments of rewards and punishments. But the turning point of the argument appeared at this juncture, McComas pointing to what he thought was the crux of traditional error—the assumption that each person's mortal existence involved essentially a completed and compensated career in this world, the other world serving only as a device for a final balancing of the scales of rewards and punishments. Instead, finite existence was to McComas only a preparation and a stage in a continuously evolving system. But the materialistic evolutionist's answer which terminated personal experience with this world was no answer. It was a resort to individual despair: "The defense aggravates the offense." McComas' answer insisted upon the persistent evolving self-conscious self—the immortal soul: "The only unalloyed pleasures and pure happiness man can enjoy, are those experiences which are purely intellectual and those which arise out of purely spiritual sympathies and relations." However, after reviewing the history of the doctrine of transmigration of souls and related spiritualistic ideas, McComas repudiated all such thought. His concept of the evolving soul, he insisted, possessed no kinship with such doctrines, and their only value in relation to his own thought was that they illustrated the persistence throughout human evolution on this earth, from the earliest primitive man to the present, of the imminent fact of a soul, which he insisted was significant, regardless of how erroneous the particular explanations.

Although in an absolute sense McComas denied the existence of evil, yet the idea of good and evil was necessary to finite evolution, but was "wholly relative to human notions. . . ." Accordingly: "God treats the body as a mere provisional shelter and instrument for the early growth and education of the soul."

The Divine moral standard is specific, fixed and perfect. The human standard advances with the progress of mental development and presents a progressive moral "sliding scale." . . . the things in nature which seem to be evil are *only seemingly so from our ignorant and relative standpoint*. . . . A full and true knowledge always shows the true to be the Good. As positive knowledge has increased, and Science has thrown its fuller light upon the real facts and true principles of Nature, the propriety, beneficence and necessity of them have become even more apparent. . . . We may fairly conclude that the general truth is inductively established; while, from an *a priori* standpoint, the whole matter is, and always has been, simply conclu-

sive. . . . In short, the nearer we grasp and comprehend Nature in her *entirety*, the more conspicuous become the necessity and beneficence of her methods and results—even those which seemed most unaccountable and cruel.

The groundwork was laid thus for McComas' approach to history and to valuations of particular men in history. The "Hero" was one whose insights and successes in meeting fundamental needs most fully met the requirements of his particular time. The virtuous were those in the vanguard of their time; the rank and file were simply good; and the laggards were the low and vicious. A man ahead of his age was "a Dreamer," and "destined only to posthumous honors."

Probably the crux of all of McComas' thinking was to be found in the concept of continuous self-realization as the only and highest good, whether applied to finite men or to Infinite Being. The only glimpse of the Infinite which was vouchsafed to the finite mind was by means of analogy based upon the most significant thought available about its own highest aspirations. The commitment to the atomic theory, to a concept of time and space as functions of motion, ruled out absolutely any acceptance of an idea of completion or of being-at-rest. Absence of motion, like vacuum was unthinkable to McComas. Perfection meant completion, in other words, to achieve perfection in the popular sense of either the 18th century idea of progress or of the Christian idea of heavenly perfection, meant for any perfect thing, finite or infinite, to stop dead—if such a status could be thinkable it would be a condition of annihilation or nothingness. But the insistent demand of all life was to continue to live, in other words, to maintain motion. If this complex of thought is kept sharply focused, the logic of the McComas argument was clear: "The greatest mystery has ever been, not only why Nature was cruel and imperfect, but still more, why she is *always* imperfect." The answer lies in purpose—the concept of continuous self-realization, self-evolution, as the only and highest good.

In his own elaborations of his ideas McComas suffered semantic difficulties. In undertaking to explain a new system of thought he could not find adequate old words to apply to the new conceptions, so he often used the accustomed terminology with two meanings, the old and the new. Thus it is necessary, although sometimes difficult, to discriminate his usage in different contexts, in order not to attribute to him gross self-contradiction. Peculiarly difficult is the example that follows—his use of the word perfection—the traditional usage meaning static completion, and his own concept of

dynamic self-evolution that is the denial—absolutely—that completion is possible.

These ideas McComas elaborated in dealing with nature in the physical sense and in the process of psychical development. Thus finite man exhibited the characteristic of working for “specific and completed ends” and judged the “finished work” as good or bad. Then, by analogy “we judge Nature according to the same rule.” The McComas philosophy challenged sharply the validity of such an approach to nature, both in detail and as a whole:

We have never even conceived the ultimate achievements at which she aims. We only see her in the midst of her primary processes. . . . The whole of her supposed imperfections arise from the fact, that we look upon her structures and forms as completed ends. . . . The perfection of Nature, even in her transient forms, is absolute, but that perfection is not in those forms and results of her evolutions *as forms and results*, and as *ends* achieved, but in her *processes* of which *they constitute parts*. We see nothing *but* her processes. . . .; and as means and processes, they are divinely perfect as the end—are exactly adequate and absolutely necessary. That completeness which we denominate perfection, would be the death-blow to physical evolution. To keep it going as a process, it must be *kept incomplete*; since completeness would at once arrest it, even now. . . . The maintaining of this continuous incompleteness in the eternal and infinite rounds of primary and formative evolution or *Soul-making*, is the very sum of all mystery and divine wisdom.

So much for the one aspect of nature. The other, the intangible spiritual side of the finite and infinite, McComas formulated in direct sequence:

It is thus, also, in Nature’s processes of psychical development. . . . That which is perfectly satisfied will neither endeavor, nor change; and the action and effort absolutely necessary to all development would therefore be wanting. It is apparent, then, that it is a matter of infinite wisdom to keep the physical Universe in that exact state of continuous incompleteness and struggle for equilibrium and satisfaction, and the Soul in that continuous state of dissatisfaction and stimulation which in both cases, keep up a continuous struggle,—first, for the Good against the Evil, and then, for the Higher and Better as against the Good, and thus result in continuous physical and psychical developments. If this does not involve supreme wisdom, I confess myself unable to conceive what would. Here are two “perpetual motions”—the included and the inclusive—the Soul and the Universe!—and all made possible by the means we deem so imperfect, evil and cruel.

Of course, McComas saw the possibility of misinterpretation and of abuse of his ideas and hastened to establish a road block:

But, are we to encourage evil and sin *because* they are necessities? On the contrary, they are necessary only, and are expressly provided, for the very purpose of exciting our dissatisfaction, dislike and *active opposition*. . . .

Mortal life on earth, therefore, was only one stage in the continuity of uninterrupted self-evolution process:

This integrating and individualizing [of?] souls from out the Infinite, and welding[,] hammering and tempering them for Eternity in the grim smithy of Mortality, amid the fires of sin, suffering and death, may seem a tedious and wiered [weird?] process, but it is a divine one, and the *only* one by which finite personalities and finite intelligence and happiness can be secured, and in which the "Divine Problem" involved in the infinite intelligence and beneficence of Being or in the nature and life of God can be unfolded and manifested.¹⁰

VI. A CONCEPT OF THE UNIVERSE

After the publication of McComas' two major works, in 1880, no record has been found for a full decade of further printed exposition of his philosophical and theological position. That long silence was broken during the winter of 1889-1890, when he had printed by the Fort Scott *Tribune* Job Printing Office, a 38-page pamphlet (n. d.) entitled *A Concept of the Universe*. The approximate dating of this work is established by a reference to it in the *Daily Tribune*, March 11, 1890,—“a pamphlet of some forty pages recently printed by the TRIBUNE, entitled ‘A Concept of the Universe.’”

This short paper-back volume contained a drastically condensed version of the book, *The Divine Problem*. Probably it was intended to do that and no more, but necessarily much must be lost by such an operation. As an attempt at popularization he needed, even more than in the original, a name for his conception of the solution of “The Divine Problem.” Although not necessarily essential to survival, the success of any project is facilitated by the choice of a good name. All McComas offered in his title was: “A Concept of the Universe.” Assuming that he did not intend to modify his basic idea, the most significant omission was in terminology. He did not contrast explicitly, by means of the terms originally used, the concept of the finished and the unfinished world or universe, and neither did he retain the name which, so inconspicuously, he had given his mode of thought, “Creative Evolution.” Yet, without that striking terminology, he insisted as before upon an open-end system of continuous self-evolution and self-realization which was the process he had described first as “Creative Evolution,” in an

10. A list of the principal scientists and philosophers named by E. W. McComas in *The Divine Problem*. In only a few cases did he cite their works by title. The men are: Alexander Bain, 1818-1903; Claude Bernard, 1813-1878; Robert Boyle, 1627-1691; Thomas Carlyle, 1795-1881; E. H. DuBois-Reymond, 1818-1896; Thomas H. Huxley, 1825-1895; George Henry Lewes, 1817-1878; James McCosh, 1811-1894; Isaac Newton, 1642-1727; Emile Saigey, 1829-1872; F. W. J. Schelling, 1775-1854; Herbert Spencer, 1820-1903; John Tyndall, 1820-1893; Alexander Winchell, 1824-1891. Charles Darwin was not named. William Paley, 1743-1805, was not cited, but if not read directly, McComas was familiar with certain of his views as discussed by Spencer.

unfinished universe. He began with the assertion that: "An untrammelled mind . . . demands, a *priori*, a perfect Being. . . . It rejects the possibility of evil, or the tolerance of evil, by an absolute, uncreated being."

On the other hand, McComas still insisted that the concept of evil arose out of the limitations of finiteness of the human mind and of the relativity of its grasp upon the infinite whole. The atom was the ultimate unit in the infinite universe, and everywhere life and intelligence were manifested, extending from "the atoms to the infinite," with an increase "in range and capacity as it ascends . . . through various degrees of sentience, consentience and instinct, to psychical and personal self-consciousness." He held still that: "Consciousness is the result of organic individuation and activity and not the cause of them." Thus evolution or development required first, physical forms which were temporary or mortal, but once the self-conscious self, ego, or soul, was achieved, it was immortal. Although in its self-evolution, the soul was dependent temporarily upon a succession of mortal forms of increasing complexity, the ultimate goal of each unique self or soul was independence of the physical forms. In this context the life of a human being on earth was only one in a succession of these physical and temporary incarnations of a "Self." Physical death was only a release of the "Self" to a higher form of existence elsewhere which, if this life was lived successfully, should be the object of optimistic anticipation.

In his conclusion, McComas insisted that there was no need for a higher God than "the living, self-conscious Universe itself—the veritable 'God in whom we *live* and *move* and have our being.' A cult based upon this concept would seem to be the natural and appropriate outcome of man's religious development."

But Governor McComas was not himself so constituted as to become the founder of such a cult, and he did not have an Apostle Paul to fashion one by formalization of his "Creative Evolution."

VII. LOCAL ESTIMATES OF THE MCCOMAS PHILOSOPHY

When the McComas books appeared in print, the *Monitor*, February 22, 1880, noticed them, commenting first upon *A Rational View of Jesus and Religion*, which "purports to be an exposition and rational review" of the origin of religious belief, of the Christian movement, of the claims of Jesus to supernatural powers, and more

especially of the claim that Jesus rose from the dead. But what was more significant, this conservative Republican paper insisted: The professed design of the work is not to weaken either the moral or religious element in man's nature—since it recognizes these to be indestructible, and Christianity to be a divine instrument of human development—but its effort is to elevate both morals and religion from the plane of superstition and supernaturalism to that of a rational religion. It maintains the existence of God, of the soul, and of a future life—doctrines which are attempted to be rationally established in the second work—the “Divine Problem.”

Elaborating upon the other book, the editor pointed out that the objective was “to demonstrate by rational methods from the evidences furnished by Nature herself, the existence of God and of immortal souls . . . to substitute *rational conviction* for a *blind faith*.” For McComas’ Infinite Being, the editor explained, “it being forever unfolded in its natural evolution, or divine intelligent life. . . . The whole work is based upon a theory of universal evolution.”

Having summarized the McComas argument as best he could, and without passing judgment, the editor turned to the author, commending both books to the public “as the offspring of a masterly intellect, profound thought and scholarly attainment. The author is too well known, and his gifts too highly appreciated by our people to need or require praise.” In the next phase of his commentary, the editor presumed on the part of the reader of 1880 a personal knowledge about McComas’ private life which is denied the historian, when he continued: the work “is the storehouse of years of unremitting mental toil—toil conceived in physical affliction and corresponding need, coupled with a conscientious and noble desire to benefit and exalt humanity.” Hints of family and personal tragedy involve his wife’s long illness and his own impaired health, details of which are unknown, but which the editor recognized as making a reconciliation of evil and suffering in the world more than an abstract philosophical problem. For McComas, it was as well a peculiarly insistent personal need.

The *Monitor* concluded by saying that:

The style . . . is philosophic yet plain, profound yet attractive. While disclaiming all claims to fine writing, an elevated eloquence, such only as can be acquired by a cultivation of great natural gifts, pervades the whole work, lending it a beauty and force so often lacking in discussions of like character.

“Regardless of preconceived notions and beliefs,” the editor commended “a work of such profound thought and exhaustive erudition” to careful reading.

The *Democratic Herald*, March 11, 1880, reviewed both books: Under the title of "The Divine Problem" the author endeavors to demonstrate rationally that there is a God, and while not attempting to reconcile science and theology, with great force and erudition he corrects many existing errors and opinions which superstition has thrown around his subject, and treats in a plausible as well as new and pleasing manner the subjects of the soul, mind and kindred matter.

In *A Rational View of Jesus*, the *Herald* called attention to the exposition "of the origin of all religious belief, endeavoring to show by well drawn comparisons that christianity is the outgrowth of its surrounding circumstances." As did the *Monitor*, the *Herald* declined to pass judgment saying instead that "In whatever light anyone may view these works, everyone must admit that Gov. McComas fully understands his subjects, and treats them alike with a vast amount of learning and logic, and with his accustomed candor and fairness." The editor recognized the issue involved in these books as "this much vexed and most difficult problem of this or any other age," and that they would "aid many in their investigations." In this light the books were recommended to "thinking men of all shades of belief. . . ."

VIII. THE LATER LIFE OF MCCOMAS

Attention has been called to J. B. Chapman's comments on McComas' reticence about his early life: "He wrote nothing about himself and disliked very much to be written about." As he was not running for public office, what claims did anyone have for invading his privacy? But public curiosity does not always respect such an insistence upon things private as distinguished from things public. On one occasion of record, McComas was reminded rather rudely that the vacuum is sometimes filled by the invention of malicious rumor. Probably there were other instances, but only one has been found where he made a public explanation. His letter to the editor was printed in the *Daily Monitor*, June 4, 1878, under the title: "Correction of History." "Mr. Editor: I learn that one of our teachers in giving the history of John Brown's execution, accredited me with signing the death-warrant, and I have since learned that such an impression has prevailed. Will you permit me, through your columns, to correct this scrap of history. I was not in Virginia during the time of the John Brown *embroglio*, but was living in Chicago, and had no connection with it in any form—save to regret both the acts and the execution of Brown."

The next episode involves also a Fort Scott school teacher, Mrs.

Matthew S. Fox, and her tragic death allegedly as a victim of vicious public intolerance. But it is best to use the story substantially as Governor McComas told it at her funeral:

Friends:—We are assembled here to take our last look at the dead face of our neighbor and friend, Mrs. Fox. Constituted and educated as we are, such a service as we are here to perform must ever impress us as the saddest and most mournful of our duties. The customary church rites and priestly services on such occasions, as well as our education and inherited religious faith, have so tended to heighten the solemnity of death and of our funeral services that, whatever philosophic convictions we may have of the actual beneficence of death as the necessary prelude to our initiation into a new and higher phase of psychical life and development; we cannot escape our fear of death, nor divest ourselves of the awe inspired by its presence, nor repress our grief and tears before the still forms and open graves of those we have "loved and lost."

On this occasion you stand in the presence of the more than usually solemn and impressive fact, while you miss the priestly presence and offices to which you have been accustomed. The reason for this unaccustomed course will be more appropriately explained and better understood after the recital of a few salient facts of Mrs. Fox's life.

For the sake of brevity at this point a summary must suffice, mostly of the details presented by the governor, but supplemented from other sources. Mary A. Van Vrankin was born near Racine, Wis., June 12, 1859, was married in Missouri, near Fort Scott, June 5, 1873, at the age of 14, to Mr. Fox, a shoemaker, about a dozen years her senior. As McComas put it: "In her early girlhood, when penniless and untutored, she was taken charge of, cared for, supported and finally married by Mr. Fox. . . . Her husband had educated her for a teacher." She felt a responsibility for repaying his generosity by making a success in that profession. She earned first class certificates, winning an enviable position in the public schools. Mr. Fox was an outspoken liberal, and so far as she had formulated religious convictions, she shared his views: "Had her hopeful and happy youth permitted her even to think of the bearing of such a fact upon her own secular occupation, her tolerant mind could have conceived of no possible connection between her husband's exercise of his undoubted right of 'free thought' and 'free speech,' with her own right to win her bread by her own toil. . . . How gladdening and beautiful is this sublime confidence of youth." As another put it: "She was kind in her disposition, of a sunny nature, gentle in her bearing towards everybody, greatly beloved by her friends and neighbors." But she received a rude shock by being dismissed without cause from her position. No charges were preferred against her, nor reasons given: "Her pa-

trons earnestly petitioned for her reinstatement; their appeals fell upon deaf ears." She suffered nervous prostration, but her final three month's illness was a "fever of a typhoid type":

The real woman is no longer here. She has been transferred to a new and higher school, where the sole qualification for her admission will be the fact that she has lived, where the sole certificate required is that of her death, and where the sole patron and commissioner is God—the All Father.

At this point, McComas applied his generalized philosophy to the particular case; physical and psychical evolution—the continuity of the life of Mary Fox:

Beloved, respected and supported, as she was, by her husband, her friends, and patrons, while sheltering and growing in this now lifeless form before us, she will yet learn, in her upward physical [psychical] progress, to regard all these earthly experiences, whether of joy or sorrow, as alike indispensable causes and conditions in her physical [psychical] growth and development, and that even her despair and death were divinely beneficent both in aim and end.

A word more. Disbelieving in the efficacy of priestly pray[er]s and intercessions, and believing that she had been the victim of religious persecution, Mrs. Fox declined to have any priestly ministrations whatever, either before or after her death. Her dying request (urgently seconded by her husband) was that I should speak for her at her funeral. Much as I was startled by the request I could not disregard such a dying request without exhibiting a cowardice which I was at least unwilling to confess. In the feeblest manner, therefore, I have now endeavored to fulfill the dead woman's wishes. May the flowers and grasses grow kindly above her mouldering remains, and may all-healing time bring consolation to the grief-stricken husband.¹¹

The funeral of Mary Fox was held at the residence on Sunday morning, August 30. The Knights of Labor and the fire department each attended in a body, six of the Knights of Labor serving as pallbearers. Both local papers commented that the attendance was the largest of any funeral at Fort Scott for some time. And this tribute of so large a number of friends of Mary Fox was in part at least drawn from the regular Sunday morning attendance at the several churches of the city. An "In Memoriam" tribute by Matthew Fox, was Mary's own appreciation of a friend which he applied to his wife, and included original verses, two of which are reprinted here:

At twilight time,
The musing hour,
When the past re-lives
And we feel the power
Of the subtle spell that awhile calls back
The treasures we've lost along life's track—

11. Fort Scott *Daily Tribune*, September 1, 1885; *Daily Monitor*, September 2, 1885. Both newspapers, the *Monitor* probably reprinting from the *Tribune*, misused the word "physical" instead of "psychical" in next to the final paragraph.

We sit and dream,
 Till the present falls
 In the shadow that rises
 And sinks on the walls;
 And the old time only is living and true,
 And dreams are the things that now we do.¹²

Governor McComas acquitted himself creditably in the unusual role just related, but his services were in demand as well for more conventional tasks—he was a key personality in the activities of the Fort Scott Board of Trade during the middle years of the decade of the 1880's, and in December, 1885, he was elected president. On account of ill-health he declined re-election, but served as trustee.¹³

In 1889 the *Tribune*, February 23, showed its continued confidence in McComas by proposing his name for mayor of Fort Scott:

If Gov. McComas could be induced to accept the office of mayor, and if the people could be imbued with sufficient good hard sense to elect him unanimously, it would be a feather in the city's cap. The influence of such a man at the head of the city government would be far reaching and potent for the public good. Gov. McComas is the "grand old man" of this community.

The governor did not afford the city the opportunity, however, and a few days more than a year later he was gone.

His passing revived the stories about his resignation as lieutenant governor of Virginia, the *Topeka State Journal* repeating the charge about his signing the death warrant of John Brown. The *Monitor*, March 21, 1890, came to his defense in "Justice to the Dead," reporting that in Fort Scott such stories were not believed. A Virginia-born attorney was quoted as saying that such an act would have been contrary to Virginia law, as executions were carried out on writ from a court. Thus the *Monitor* concluded: ". . . while we differed with the deceased upon almost every question upon which men have opinions, we believe this statement is due him and his family. There is absolutely no truth in the story." The tribute, based upon the inadequate historical evidence cited, was all the

12. The Democratic *Daily Tribune*, an evening paper, printed most of the items relating to the Fox story one day ahead of the *Daily Monitor*, the conservative Republican paper, but neither editor commented upon the episode as such.

Daily Tribune, August 28 (the obituary), August 31 (report of the funeral service), September 1 (McComas' address and "In Memoriam"); *Daily Monitor*, August 29 (the obituary, with several errors and the "Resolutions of Sympathy" by the Knights of Labor), August 30 (announcement of the funeral service), September 1 (the report of the funeral service), September 2 (McComas' address).

The census records listed the Foxes for 1875, 1880, 1885; Kansas state census, 1875, Fort Scott, ages 29 and 17 respectively; United States census, 1880, 33 and 20 respectively; Kansas census, 1885, 38 and 23 respectively. These data are not consistent, and under the circumstances, the obituary notice would appear to have precedence. All the census records listed Matthew as a boot and shoe maker, and in 1880 Mary was listed "at school," otherwise only as wife.

13. Fort Scott *Daily Monitor*, January 24, 1884; *Daily Tribune*, December 24, 1885, January 17, March 11, 1890.

more significant. Chapman's obituary sketch had given the correct date of his resignation, 1857, two years prior to the John Brown episode, and that should have settled matters conclusively, but the meaning of dates did not seem to register upon the minds of those concerned. Furthermore, all seem to have forgotten that McComas himself had stated the facts in print, in 1878. This same tolerance had appeared in the obituary notice in the *Tribune*, March 11, and in the *Monitor*, March 12: "Without discussing the views and philosophy of these works, we desire here to earnestly commend them to the attention of the public as the offspring of a masterly intellect, profound thought and great attainments."

The *Monitor's* editorial of the same date, after reviewing McComas' political career and his loyalty to the principles under which he was reared, continued:

Possessing a natural taste for the study of philosophy, he found time to turn his hand to the expression of his ideas in book form, and while reaping no pecuniary reward from his work in this respect, he earned the reputation of a deep thinker and a trenchant writer upon his favored themes, and in the school of evolution and rational thought there were few men more deeply versed or more ready in expression. He was a theorist, and yet had few equals in all that is practical. He was a student, and yet he was withal a generous companionable and public spirited gentleman.

The Fort Scott area had not always behaved so wonderfully to its people as individuals, as has been recorded elsewhere. That it acquitted itself so well in some cases is important in order to maintain perspective upon the whole situation and on what the Fort Scott community was capable of doing. Regardless of rumors about his Virginia career, his Civil War position, and knowledge of the fact that he was a lifelong Democrat, and that he was unorthodox in religion, Governor McComas was held in high esteem. The Republican *Monitor*, regardless of changes in editorship, always singled him out for kind words of personal respect. However unorthodox his views on philosophy and religion, his sincerity and his philosophical mind were ever the subject of admiring and respectful comment, if not actual veneration.

IX. THE MCCOMAS FUNERAL

The essential sequel to the story of the McComas philosophy was the manner in which the Fort Scott community met the crisis of his funeral. Like many other communities, because of dissension and other factors, Fort Scott had failed on the long pull to actualize fully upon its own potential in physical advantages. On occasion, however, it had behaved magnificently in meeting emergency situ-

ations. The unexpected passing of E. W. McComas, who died in his sleep the night of March 10-11, 1890, presented the community with a test of its capacity for nobility. J. B. Chapman, editor of the *Democratic Tribune* wrote that:

During his residence here he has been our most prominent citizen. His great ability and advice was invoked upon every important occasion. . . . He was always progressive, lending his indomitable energy to every public movement in the development of the city. He stood foremost in encouraging public improvements and his eloquent voice and powerful pen were always active in the effort of enterprises that inured to the welfare of the city. . . .¹⁴

The funeral of Governor McComas presented problems. The McComas family had an Episcopalian tradition, which may have included the governor. But the author of the book, *A Rational View of Jesus*, could not have been considered a member in good standing of St. Andrews parish church. The board of trade was in charge of arrangements, and attended in a body. The service was held in the Methodist Episcopal Church, and the Rev. Henry Mackay, rector of St. Andrews read the Episcopal service for the dead, and delivered the funeral discourse. Except for the Catholic church, the Methodist was the city's largest church building, which may have governed the choice of place.

Undoubtedly the occasion required a certain elasticity in both theology and conscience. Rector Mackay opened his remarks:

"Whatever is, is right." This sentence is a pivotal point for many, if not for nearly all, of the theories of him who lies before us in the arms of nature. It is a philosophic saying, and might be considered all [an ?] axiom. And it requires the clear, acute, incisive intellectual powers of a philosopher to comprehend and analyze its avenues to any satisfactory conclusion. Such a mind was his—such a mind knows no death. He being dead yet lives in his worth and works as a citizen of our world. He was an evolution of some great stock, because greatness must have its birth through great antecedents. There is no such a thing as chance.

After surveying the conventional biographical data, Mackay returned to the difficult task of reconciliation of McComas' life and his heresy with a broad but ambiguous orthodoxy, which evaded the main issue, that McComas had treated Jesus and Christianity as religious fraud. Necessarily, this course required Mackay to focus his discourse upon the characteristics of the man as they were known to all his listeners, emphasizing those certainties as the exemplification of a truly religious life regardless of conflicts with theological uncertainties beyond comprehension. That life was

14. Fort Scott *Daily Tribune*, March 11, 1890.

known to all and was such that no one could condemn, except upon the abstractions beyond the limits of tangible proof.

The major portion of the remainder of Mackay's tribute to McComas is reprinted as follows, omissions being indicated by the usual signs, and the text as originally printed divided into paragraphs 3 and 4, the headings being inserted in brackets to aid the reader in following the transitions from topic to topic:

[INTELLECT]

The ex-governor gave early tokens of intellectual powers. His mind proved to be a generalizing, speculative product. It was not satisfied with looking at the surface of things—it must dig deep down, extend wide its reach—soar aloft as with wings of light, that it might, as far as practicable, enter the innermost chambers of the knowable. The outlook and trend of his intellect developed in authorship. His works are said to be ably written, clearly expressed, and their speculations presented with confidence, ability and force. In appearance he was a towering pine. . . . His hair and beard, for some time past, were white as snow, his figure almost perpendicular. . . . He indeed, was a tall, noble human-tree in the forest of humanity. . . .

[RELIGIOUS CHARACTER]

But we have come to another quality of his critical, investigating mind—his religious character. Here, too, he stands out a monument of moral principles. . . . His morality was as high and ennobling as his intellectuality. He was an honest man. Is not honesty good religion? He was a virtuous man. Is not virtue good religion? He was a good, kind husband and parent. Are not these factors of good religion? He was a generous man, open in general 'tis said, forward to surrender rights, lest he should not be right and rather than to give offense or injure. Is not this good religion? He read the scriptures many times, perhaps, if you will, as a critic. Is not that good religion? Most assuredly these are good facts of good religion.

[BELIEF IN GOD]

But his religion was deeper, broader, better than the moralities of religion. He read, marked, learned, inwardly digested the scriptures, and with what result, think you? Did he turn away from this book and say, "There is no God," "there is no heaven," "this world begun and will end our being?" No such thing. He believed in the existence of God, and in immortality. Is not such a belief good religion? May my right hand forget its cunning if I ever should deny such a religion, or such a man. In fact, as an evolutionist in theory and belief he could not well be anything else. If, indeed, he ever endeavored, ever wished, to make merchandise of his evolution, it might have been thought that his faith was a sham. But, as a retired man of mind, seeking health and enjoying leisure, his evolution ideas were, perhaps, nothing more than words. Kossuth, however, did say "words are things." Indeed, men cannot avoid using crude thoughts. Judge him by what he is certain of—what his life and character unfold. Do this in the late Governor McComas' case, and you will acknowledge that his moral religious life was a grand one.

[IMMORTALITY]

And as to immortality. Did he believe in immortality? Those who are bone of his bone, flesh of his flesh, those who knew him intimately say that he did. But you may like the words continuity of life, better than the term immortality. You are at full liberty to adopt these words, either will suit me. Continuity of life is immortality called by another name. He who regards this earthly house as perishable, but its soul tenant imperishable, must, does believe that "apart and behind the wall of sense, we are now and then, caught up through high communings into the divine sphere where are the substances of which the earth is only the shadow." Truly this divine particle of Plato—this undying thing called soul, must be a substance, for what is not a substance is nothing. I have no doubt but that this once noble man fully believed, because he believed in immortality—that everything about us and within us indicated that this existence is preliminary and preparatory—a segment, so to speak, and not a circle. We want to believe that now as the mortal surface has rolled off, his spirit is unfolding in flowers of the world of spirits. . . . Such, it seems to, and is believed by me is man. And he whom we wish to honor, in this public ceremony, has left a record of which the people of the city should be justly proud. Do you prefer character that is golden, to a heaven of which but little is known, or can be known. Does character make heaven? Certainly. For wherever God is, is heaven, and it is his sublime character which makes heaven what it is. May we not, then, entertain a humble hope that character will find its affinity there as here? We want to, we will, entertain the larger hope.¹⁵

Another tribute was printed in the *Daily Tribune*, March 14, 1890—a poem by Fort Scott's young Democratic poet who was yet to achieve national fame, Albert Bigelow Paine:

HE SLEEPS

Calmly he lies,
His tired eyes
Forever closed.
Such peaceful rest
In that calm breast
Never reposed.

Worn with the strife
And burdens of life,
Softly he slumbers,
Heedless that I
Standing near by
Murmur these numbers.

Calmly he left us
That which bereft us
Came without warning
Sleeping, they thought him
While darkness had brought him
Another morning.

15. *The Daily Monitor*, Fort Scott, March 14, 1890.

Tireless, he pondered,
While the world wondered
At his seclusion.
Problems that vexed him—
Long years perplexed him
Now find solution.

X. CONCLUSION

E. W. McComas' silence and even hostility toward inquiries about his past are understandable—a son of Virginia and of a family identified for generations with the culture of the Old Dominion, with two brothers in the Confederate army and one, H. C. McComas, in the Union army, and with a Democratic affiliation in Chicago during the Civil War which would lay him open to the charge by intolerant nationalists of being a "Copperhead," whatever that might mean to different people. Apparently still at heart an unreconstructed state-rights Democrat, as pertained to constitutional theory, he did not confess his "error" in public as did Gen. John H. Stringfellow, a fellow Virginian, and Judge Samuel D. Lecompte, a Marylander, in 1868, who endorsed General Grant, the Republican party, and adjustment to the new centralized nationalist order. He did not, as they did, accept the national revolution as decided upon the battlefield, to the effect that the constitution placed no limitation, beyond the principle of expediency, upon centralized power.¹⁶ During the years following 1865, Republican Kansas was a good place for Democrats who wished to escape even the temptation to run for office. And not having invited investigation into his past by hostile political opponents, McComas had avoided the more vicious forms of partisan abuse to which candidates of that day were subjected.

Whatever his views about the past, McComas was concerned in a different manner about the future—the individual and the universe evolving through "creative evolution." Probably relatively few people in Fort Scott understood this facet of his personality—the philosopher and recluse. But there was still another side. In his quiet way he identified himself with the community and the promotion of its future. People who did not accept his politics or his philosophy, did appreciate his work with the board of trade. The several facets of his personality appealed to different people, and there appears to be no good reason to challenge the *Tribune's* compliment on the occasion of its attempt to persuade him to run

16. James C. Malin, *On the Nature of History* (Lawrence, The Author, 1954), ch. 6, "On the Nature of the American Civil War: The Verdict of Three Kansas Democrats."

for Mayor—"Gov. McComas is the 'grand old man' of this community."

Generalization by classification under labels of liberal and conservative, radical or progressive and reactionary, is misleading or worse in most any case, even when the bases of definition are limited to innovation versus status quo. Governor McComas is an object lesson in the dangers inherent in such procedures. Superficially, his position during the preliminaries and during the course of the American Civil War, and on the issues of antislaveryism and abolition would appear to set him down as conservative or even reactionary in defense of state rights. But he did not defend slavery, nor join in secession as did two of his brothers. By the same standard, they would have been even more conservative. However, even during that conflict, and its several types of crusades and intolerances, he was an advanced advocate of the program for organized labor in Chicago—not a mere liberal—on that issue he was a radical. In philosophy and religion, McComas was among the advanced thinkers, but not an extremist. By this is meant that extreme scientific materialism, agnostic or even atheistic, was radical, while a defense of traditional revealed or supernatural religion was conservative. As related to those two extremes, the governor was somewhere between, and in the unenviable position of those who undertake to hold a straight middle-of-the-road course in the midst of the turmoil produced by crusading extremists of both the right and the left. He was unclassifiable because he was a unique person. The only generalization that is really permissible in this connection is that all persons are unique, although most become anonymous for want of records of their complexities.

Academic philosophers of the 20th century may consider it presumptuous to mention McComas, the Kansas Prairie Philosopher of Virginia origins, in the same sentence with the French philosopher, Henri Bergson (1859-1941), but both reacted in part at least to the same stimuli, to Herbert Spencer immediately, and to F. W. J. Schelling (1775-1854), more remotely, and both used the term "Creative Evolution" to describe their respective philosophies.¹⁷ Although different as systems, important similarities did not end with that descriptive term. Both began with Herbert Spencer, repudiating his materialism and setting themselves the task of improving upon Spencer. McComas' book was published in 1880, and Bergson's in 1907. If adverse critics of McComas maintain

17. Henri Bergson, *Creative Evolution* (1907), authorized translation from the French by Arthur Mitchell, the University of Kansas (New York, 1911).

that his thinking was defective, they may be reminded that adverse critics of Bergson insisted not only that he had nothing new to say but that he was guilty of plagiarism.¹⁸

Bergson appealed to intuition as an avenue of escape from science and rationalism. Some interpreted this as a form of mysticism, or as anti-intellectualism. McComas rejected innate or intuitive ideas, insisting upon instinctive or developed aptitudes. The critical point in considering both men is that in several respects they were in the same tradition and that many minds were exploring the implications of evolutionary thought to the foundations of Western culture. Contrary to what appears to be popular belief, Charles Darwin was not among those who participated in these larger philosophical quests. Furthermore, among the many who did attempt the formidable task, few indeed succeeded in achieving the breakthrough from the concept of completion or the finished universe, to the philosophy of incompleteness or unfinished universe. Whatever the defects of the McComas philosophy, the remarkable aspect of his undertaking is that as early as 1880 he had achieved so large a measure of success.

To be sure, McComas made certain important, even critical assumptions, unverified and unverifiable—so do all philosophers—but if they are taken at their face value for the purpose at hand, he constructed out of them an articulated system. Indeed, within this context, it gave life and the universe a meaning, stoical or existential in character, but balanced slightly in favor of optimism. The only valid basis of criticism of his or other systems of philosophy, either favorable or adverse, is to concede for the sake of analysis the unverifiable aspects, and to examine the structure of the thought in terms of adequacy and consistency of development. The final acceptance or rejection of the system and its tendencies and implications depends upon personal value judgments of the critic.

So far as identifiable, McComas' inspiration came not from the 18th century French philosophers, unless by reaction against them, but, by direct acknowledgment, primarily from English science and philosophy and German philosophy. He made an explicit commitment to a concept of progress, but not to the 18th century systems of Priestley, Condorcet, or Godwin. For them the goal of progress was the achievement of perfection, which means com-

18. Ben-Ami Scharfstein, *Roots of Bergson's Philosophy* (New York, 1943); Hugh S. R. Elliot, *Modern Science and the Illusions of Professor Bergson* (London, 1912); Charles Nordmann, *The Tyranny of Time: Einstein or Bergson?* Translated from the French by E. E. Fournier D'Albe (London, 1925).

pletion in the finished individual and the finished universe. McComas paid no tribute to New England transcendentalists, nor to Millennialism.¹⁹ When he used the terms progress and perfection, he meant perpetual incompleteness. In creative evolution, happiness consisted in pursuit, not possession. What sets McComas apart from the several systems of evolutionary philosophy of his time was his complete break with the traditional idea of progress or millenary variants. He belonged to a new dispensation.

The system formulated by McComas did not impose upon man a finished soul in the ennui of the traditional or Christian Heaven, and, of course, he had no use for a Hell as a place of punishment. Rewards and punishments were not a part of his system. The very concept of the Christian Heaven was impossible to his thinking because it was static. The 18th century idea of progress was a variant of this type of "creation of completion," only "adjusted" partially to the new religion of science. For McComas, the highest concept of being was one of dynamics, self-realization through creative change, and nothing less than that would satisfy his sense of the highest good and happiness to a self-conscious individual included in a self-conscious universe.

To Spencer, and to Darwin, the organic development (evolution) of the human species was terminal, and death of the material body of the individual man thus evolved closed his life span. In both respects, the species and the individual, the developmental hypothesis was man-centered. If these assumptions were valid, then indeed the individual man must despair of a diabolical creation—such a man would be "a mere ephemeral speck," as McComas put it, created only to die in a completely meaningless sequence—immortality was a necessity to McComas' philosophy. Consistency in his system required an evolutionary view of the soul and of the biological organism, the association being temporary until the self-conscious and continuously self-evolving personality was freed from physical and mortal forms to enjoy further self-evolution as a free spirit—always incomplete, unfinished, unique, and unpredictable, although law-governed. To the extent that McComas assumed that a state-of-being continued self-evolution beyond the man-spirit stage, he had liberated his philosophy from the traditional view that the human species is terminal. But the true happiness of this free spirit, as of man, depended upon an anticipation of a unique, unpredictable, unfinished creative evolution.

19. Francis Ellingwood Abbott formulated a development philosophy of self-realization, but apparently within the framework of traditional concepts: Stowe Persons, *Free Religion: An American Faith* (New Haven, 1947), p. 35.

Letters of Daniel R. Anthony, 1857-1862

—Continued

Edited by EDGAR LANGSDORF and R. W. RICHMOND

PART THREE, OCTOBER 1, 1861-JUNE 7, 1862

I. INTRODUCTION

DANIEL R. ANTHONY'S participation in the Civil War, although of short duration, was productive of as much controversy as the other facets of his career. He was commissioned in the Seventh Kansas cavalry, originally called the First Kansas, and was mustered in as a major on September 29, 1861. One month later to the day he was promoted to lieutenant colonel, serving in that rank until his resignation was accepted on September 3, 1862.

The Seventh Kansas was the famous "Jayhawker" regiment, originally recruited by Dr. Charles R. Jennison under authority granted by Gov. Charles Robinson. Jennison received a colonel's commission from Robinson on September 4, 1861, but it was not until October 28 that he and the regiment were officially mustered into federal service. In the interim, Anthony was in command of the companies as they were organized.

Jennison was widely known—notorious, in fact—as a guerrilla leader during the border warfare of the territorial period. He had taken vast quantities of loot, it is said, from Missourians, Proslavery and otherwise, including so many horses that it has been suggested Kansas equine pedigrees should be recorded as "out of Missouri by Jennison."¹

Anthony's letters, and accounts from other hands, make it apparent that Jennison spent little time with his troops. He has been criticized as "too busy playing poker . . . to take the field in person,"² but there was a certain glamour about him, a prestige, that, as Anthony writes, was "worth a great deal." In any event the

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1. Simeon M. Fox, "The Story of the Seventh Kansas," in *The Kansas Historical Collections*, v. 8, p. 16. Fox served with the regiment from 1861 to 1865, first as an enlisted man in Co. C, then as regimental sergeant major, and finally as first lieutenant and regimental adjutant. He was later adjutant general of Kansas, 1895-1901.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 28. According to Fox, the regiment "led the strenuous life" while Anthony was in charge. See, also, S. M. Fox, "The Early History of the Seventh Kansas Cavalry," in *ibid.*, v. 11, p. 240. In this article Fox wrote (p. 243) that Anthony "superintended the organization of the regiment and was the god of the machine. He was in active command of the regiment during the brief time it served in Missouri, and to him should be given all credit or blame that justly belongs to this organization growing out of its service along the border." This service began about November 10, 1861, and ended January 31, 1862.

actual command was largely in Anthony's hands, and reports indicate that he exercised his authority capably and vigorously.

On September 18-20 Confederate troops under Gen. Sterling Price won a victory at Lexington, Mo., and it was feared that Price would shortly launch an attack against Kansas City. The Seventh Kansas at this time was in process of recruiting. Only three companies, A, B, and C, had been organized, and these were rushed, under the command of Anthony, to aid in the defense. Other companies were sent up as they were organized, until by October 1 a reasonably respectable force had been assembled, though the men lacked uniforms and mounts. For several weeks these troops served as provost guards at Kansas City and Anthony was provost marshal.

During the remainder of 1861, and through January, 1862, the regiment was stationed at various points in the vicinity of Kansas City, engaged chiefly in scouting and patrolling as well as in some guerilla activity. The Historical Society has a copy of a letter written by John Brown, Jr., who was captain of Co. K, in which he says that during this time the regiment seized enough horses belonging to rebels in Missouri to outfit the entire command.

It then proceeded to deprive the rebels of every means by which they had successfully carried on the War against the United States. Their wagons were loaded with such household stuff as would be especially needed to set their slaves up in housekeeping in Kansas. . . . Of the property seized, the principal part was turned over to the U. S. Quarter Master. . . . Before our regiment left Missouri more than two thousand slaves were by us restored to the possession of themselves, were "Jayhawked" into freedom. This especially secured for us the title of "Jayhawkers" which ever since we have borne without blushing. The chief difficulty we had to confront from first to last, has been the persistent efforts of those higher in authority to make us yield to the demands of slavery. . . .³

These raids and seizures of rebel property constituted the "Missouri Policy" referred to by Anthony in his letter of April 25, 1862, which resulted in sweeping changes in the regiment's higher echelons.

The only real battle of this period, and the only one in which Anthony was ever a participant, occurred on November 11, 1861. This was the Battle of the Little Blue, on which Anthony comments in his letter of November 24. Early in February, 1862, the regiment went into camp at Humboldt, moving in late March to Lawrence. Thereafter it received orders and counterorders until late May, when it left Fort Leavenworth for Southern battlefields.

3. John Brown, Jr., to Parker Pillsbury, July 18, 1862.

II. THE LETTERS

HEAD QUARTERS 1ST KAN CAVALRY
KANSAS CITY MO OCT 1, 1861

DEAR BRO [MERRITT]

From present appearances I shall be obliged to march with our forces east towards Lexington— I now have six companies in all 400 men and more expected— we have not yet got our horses but hope to soon— Our men are all in good spirits— they are quartered in good brick stores & dwellings— The officers Head Quarters are in a fine 1½ story brick dwelling close by. we live well—have to sleep on the floor—

If you are well enough to come I wish you would— See Capt M H Insley of the Mansion House—⁴ He will furnish you with a good horse, saddle Revolver Sabre and all the equipment complete for me— I have one horse here but want two— we shall be gone say two weeks— You can come with horse on the boat— they will pass you to Kansas City— Write me how matters progress in Leavenworth— We shall have a fine army to start with and hope to do some good before we return—

Say to Alex to pay out no money except on an order from me—⁵ he can write the companies saying I have gone on a trip comd'g a Regiment to see P. R. J. & Co at Lexington ⁶

You had best write home also saying to them when I have gone— I have little time to write and shall have less soon—

Lanes command is here— they look like fighting men— Genl Sturgis and Lane will act in concert—⁷

Yours &c

D R ANTHONY

4. Captain Insley was a quartermaster officer for Lane's brigade, which consisted of the Third and Fourth Kansas volunteers and the Fifth Kansas cavalry. At this time he was apparently acting as a supply officer for the Seventh (First) Kansas cavalry also.

5. Alex D. Niemann, an employee in Anthony's office, was in charge of his insurance business during most of his absence.

6. P. R. J. & Co. is probably a reference to Generals Price, Rains, and Jackson, Confederate commanders at Lexington.

7. Samuel D. Sturgis, 1822-1889, a West Point graduate and regular army officer, was appointed a brigadier general of volunteers August 10, 1861. Sturgis and Lane did not "act in concert" as Anthony presumed but disagreed violently on how the Missouri border residents should be treated. Lane, also a brigadier general, was seldom concerned with any orders other than his own and believed that the property of Southern sympathizers was due no protection.

In this controversy Sturgis typified the regular army officer who was trained to carry out the policies of his superiors regardless of his personal feelings. In August, General Fremont, commanding the Department of the West, had declared all slaves held by Missourians who were in arms against the federal government to be free. President Lincoln had disapproved Fremont's order. The President's policy was directed solely toward restoration of the Union and he did not want to antagonize the border states by any move toward freeing their slaves or depriving loyal citizens of their property.

The association of Sturgis and Lane was later mentioned by General Grant, who wrote to Secretary of War Edwin M. Stanton on October 14, 1865, referring to a defeat of a Union

Nov 5th 1861

DEAR FATHER

We expect to leave here within two or three days for Sedalia—the terminus of the Pacific Rail Road— I shall be in command as Col Jennison will remain here to perfect the organization of the regiment— The distance from here is 130 miles— we go to escort 500— six Yoke ox teams (miles of waggons) for transportation for Genl Freemonts army— we expect then to either join the “Grand Army” of the South west— or pass into the Cherokee Nation and put down the rebellion there— then proceed to Fort Smith in Arkansas and effect a junction with Genl Freemont—⁸ I send you a copy of my pay acct— very fair pay— I drew \$244.75 Oct 31 in full to that date

Merritt will go with me— he can do much better here than elsewhere—

Truly

D R ANTHONY

We recd to day 329 Boxes equipments & clothing— 950 saddles—and a complete horse equipments— also 950 over coats &c— 3 companies have Sharps Carbines— Navy Revolvers & Sabres— 3 cos— pistol carbines Sabres & revolvers— balance minnie rifles— Sabre Bayonets & revolvers—

D R A

CAMP UNION

KANSAS CITY NOV 24, 1861

DEAR FATHER

Here we are again after a trip of one week to Pleasant Hill in Cass County Mo— with 8 companies under my command

We were surrounded by rebels who were concealed in the brush— Had no fight with them— although our pickets were chasing in theirs all the time— Eleven of their pickets were killed by our men— and only one of ours wounded— Four of

force under Sturgis in 1864, as follows: “Notwithstanding his failure at Guntown, Miss., I know him to be a good and efficient officer. . . . From the beginning of the war he has suffered from having served in Kansas, and coming in contact with, and in opposition to, civilians, Senator Lane probably in the lead.”—*Dictionary of American Biography* (New York, 1928-1958, 22 vols.), v. 18, pp. 182, 183.

8. Maj. Gen. John C. Frémont was the commanding general of the Department of the West with headquarters at St. Louis. On November 2, 1861, three days before Anthony wrote this letter, Frémont, then at Springfield, was relieved of his command by President Lincoln and replaced by Maj. Gen. David Hunter.

Anthony's mention of the “Grand Army” here and in succeeding letters probably means the “Army of the Southwest” or the “Army of the West,” terms which are used in most of the standard sources to mean Union troops operating in the Missouri-Arkansas area during 1861-1862. However, he may have been referring to a large-scale expedition which was to move through the Indian territory and into the South—a plan advocated by Lane.—(See letter of January 8, 1862.) Frémont had wanted to march an army through southwestern Missouri and northwestern Arkansas to the valley of the Arkansas river and then down that stream to the Mississippi. Had these plans worked out the two forces presumably could have effected a meeting in Arkansas. For additional information on the abandonment of the Lane-supported plan see Footnote 19.

our men who were acting as flankers strayed away from their position so far that they were taken prisoners— we sent a company of men after them and retook them—

We recovered 470 of the 500 oxen 27 of the 50 waggons which were stolen by the rebels while they were on their way from Ft. Leavenworth to Sedalia without an armed escort—

I go this morning with 8 companies to take up Head Quarters at Independence Mo— 12 miles east from here— I go again in command— My side is now nearly well— for 8 or 10 days I could not get in the Saddle— then commenced by having my leg thrown over.

Have been in the field constantly— Last night one of our men was shot by a Lieutenant who was out on patrol— the man drew his revolver on the Lieut and the officer shot him dead— no complaints— Last night one of our men stole some property and he is to be shot this morning at 9 a.m.

Merritt has been very sick with the measles— he is now much better so that he sets up— he will be out in a few days— Although I doubt whether he will be fit for work this winter— And I regret it very much—as there never was a time when I needed him or some trusty man so much as now— and I could give him a chance to make money fast— . . .

I doubt whether any battle has been fought which was more desperate than the one on the Little Blue some three weeks ago— we lost 9 men killed and 8 or 9 wounded— the enemy lost 15 killed & a large number wounded—⁹

I was only struck on the hilt of my sabre by a colt revolver bullet— one of our men who was wounded and a prisoner reports that there were several men who recognized me and say they fired over a hundred shots at me—and thought I was killed—but I come out safely— While in the vicinity of Pleasant Hill 12 miles from the battle ground— they said if it had not been for me the battle would have been lost— they all heard my commands

Merritt remains here with Doct. Thorne—¹⁰ I hope to be back within a week or two

Truly
D R Anthony

9. The first recorded engagement of the regiment was fought November 11 by companies A, B, and H, under the command of Anthony. A Confederate force said to be four times larger was attacked and driven from its camp. The rebels then took up a strong position in the hills along the Little Blue river. Anthony's men were unable to dislodge them, but destroyed their camp and captured their horses. Official reports state that the three companies lost nine men killed and 32 wounded.—*Report of the Adjutant General of the State of Kansas, 1861-'65, Military History of Kansas Regiments* . . . (Topeka, 1896), p. 93.

10. Dr. Joshua Thorne, a surgeon with a volunteer reserve battalion at Kansas City, Mo., was in charge of the military hospital in that city.—Carrie W. Whitney, *Kansas City, Missouri, Its History and Its People* . . . (Chicago, 1908, 3 vols.), v. 1, pp. 193, 194.

LEAVENWORTH Dec 3, 1861

DEAR AARON

I am here on a short leave of absence— the first time since my connection with the regiment— Our regiment has been ordered to move from Westport & Kansas City Mo to some place 5 to 20 miles south from here on the west bank of the Missouri in Kansas—

From appearances we shall make our Head Quarters near the Mo & Leavenworth this winter for the purpose of crossing over into Platte county Mo and annoying them as much as possible this winter—

I have sold my paper to Webb at a loss of \$2376.00¹¹

I have taken a Secesh Stallion worth 1,000, and a Grey horse worth 200. I now have three tip top horses—

Dont you want a captaincy or a majorship in the army— or dont you want to come out here and speculate in cattle— horses and mules— there is a good chance to buy cheap—and stock a large farm here at little expense—

There is money in it to any one who will attend to it— I would advise you to come out and try it. Why wont you come?—

Merritt is still at Kansas City— I have sent for him to day—

D R ANTHONY

CAMP DENVER NEAR WEST POINT Mo
Dec 22 1861

DEAR FATHER

Here we are again after a trip of six days to Kansas City Independence Harrisonville to this place—

On our route we had several skirmishes with the enemy mostly with our picket guards— our force was only 250.— we took 150 mules & 40 Horses—129 Negroes and gave the negroes 60 Horses & mules a lot of oxen, 10 waggons & two carriages and all loaded down with Household Furniture— The negroes train into Kansas was over a mile long—

In one skirmish we killed Col Hurst of the 3rd Mo and 6 or 7 of his men (rebels)—

We will not remain here long but will move further into Missouri to get forage—and Beef

Col Jennison hopes to be promoted to a Brig Genl— in that case I hope to fill his place—

11. Anthony announced the sale of the *Conservative* to D. W. Wilder, who had been editor since the paper was established, in an editorial note on November 8, 1861.

I took a fine Secesh flag at Harrisonville— also a Secesh commission which I will send you if I can—

The weather has been beautiful until this morning there is 6 inches of snow— tis not cold—

How did Merritt stand the ride home!

Truly

D R ANTHONY

HEAD QUARTERS
CAMP "JOHNSON"

MORRISTOWN Mo Dec 26, 1861

DEAR SISTER

Well here I am again in command of the camp.

Our regiment of 900 cavalry 3 companies of the 7th Missouri 2 cos 8 Iowa and Capt Howard with 3 pieces artillery—and Lieut Col Martin with 2 Cos 8th Kansas—¹² in all 1500 men— quite a handsome command— Col Jennison gone to Mound City—he will return on Saturday—

I have selected a fine house for my Head Quarters—the owner is in the Secesh army—(This letter is written on Secesh paper taken at Harrisonville Mo) My house contains 3 rooms—is unplastered—

Our Adjutant— Lieut Hoyt (of Boston) [of] John Brown Jrs. Company R J Hinton and my orderly Robt Pierce—(one of the best boys in the world) occupy the House with me—¹³ then I have four colored individuals for servants—one to take care of House— one body servant one cook and one waiter To day was our first dinner here as we had none Christmas we called it our Christmas Dinner— We had splendid biscuit— coffee—roast goose & chickens & Butter & Molasses— with plenty of secesh crockery What we failed in food was made up in dishes— What we did have was gotten up in the very best of Style— I never ate a better dinner anywhere—

Tomorrow Lon says he will give us the same with apple dump-lings and pies—

12. Lt. Col. John A. Martin of the Eighth Kansas infantry was mustered into service October 27, 1861. He was promoted to colonel and regimental commander November 1, 1862, serving until his discharge November 16, 1864. Martin lived at Atchison, where he published the *Freedom's Champion*, and was active throughout his life in Kansas politics. He served as governor, 1885-1889.

13. The regimental adjutant was John T. Snoddy of Mound City. George H. Hoyt of Boston, Mass., was mustered in as second lieutenant of Co. K on December 11, 1861, promoted to captain of the company on May 27, 1862, and resigned because of disability on September 3, 1862. This was a rifle company raised by John Brown, Jr., in Ohio, which was mustered into the regiment on November 12. Brown himself was mustered in as captain of the company on January 10, 1862, serving until his resignation because of ill health on May 27, 1862. Richard J. Hinton, widely known for his work in behalf of the Free-State cause during the territorial period, was employed at this time as a newspaper correspondent. In 1862 he was commissioned a first lieutenant to recruit and train Negro troops, reportedly the first man in the United States to receive such a commission. Robert H. Pierce of Chicago, a private in Co. E, became a first lieutenant in the 21st Illinois infantry, April 21, 1862.

The 4 colored individuals are playing the Fiddle in the Kitchen and the boys are playing Euchre in the front room—

Our sleeping room up stairs is carpeted but unplastered— I have a mattrass & Feather bed on a good French bedstead but no sheets—

Hinton sets close by reading the Chicago Tribune I put 17 men on police duty to day for leaving camp without permission— The men all sleep in tents snow 6 inches deep—and quite cold— They have plenty of straw—

We expect to remain here some two months—but will probably move south on a scouting expedition with a strong force to feel after Price—

Ever Truly

D R ANTHONY

HEAD QUARTERS

CAMP JOHNSON

MORRISTOWN Mo Dec 28, 1861

DEAR AARON

Dont you want a Captain's Commission in the 1st Kansas Cavalry— If so I think I can give you a place Capt McLean worth 150 \$ per month and plenty of hard wet cold riding & sleeping in tent to do—

The news is the enemy have gone south 150 miles and we have no fighting to do unless we move down to them—

I may go Leavenworth again first of Jany— The weather has moderated—freezing nights and thawing days—

Our (My) Quarters are in good shape—

I fear my body Servant Griff has gone to his long home— ten days ago I sent him from Independence Mo with a long train of waggons and one hundred twenty negroes to Leavenworth He arrived safely—but must have lost his way or been captured on his return through Missouri— I would hate to lose him as he is invaluable— A good servant is rare to be found— Griff would take good care of trunk clothing &c

Col Jennison & Lady arrived in Camp today and this evening at 8 o'clock we complimented them with music from our Infantry Brass Band Also a dash of the Bugle Blast 22 strong and good music—

How does Merritt get along—he ought to be here at work—

Truly

D R ANTHONY

HEAD QUARTERS
FIRST KANSAS CALVALRY
CAMP JOHNSON
MORRISTOWN Mo Jan'y 8th 1862

DEAR SISTER

Your letter of the 28th Ult. come last night—

We now have a daily messenger from here to Leavenworth and from here south to Ft Scott—

From present prospects we shall move as the *advance guard* of the *Grand Army* of the West into the Cherokee Nation Arkansas and south until we meet an enemy in force— This Grand Army will number about 20,000 men—and will move within four or eight weeks— While the advance is the most dangerous it is thought the most honorable and most of our

[letter incomplete]

MOUND CITY KANSAS
Feby 3rd 1862

DEAR SISTER

Our command arrived here yesterday afternoon—

We march tomorrow for Humbolt 45 miles southwest from this place—¹⁴ We have been three days on the march from our old camp at Morristown which is 50 miles northeast from this point— Our men have had to sleep out on the snow— the weather has been cold and cutting— today is sleety, freezing and wet— we hope to reach Humbolt on the 4th and 5th inst— After resting a few days I propose taking 500 men and taking our Mountain Howitzer (12 pound) and go south 100 miles into the Cherokee Nation 50 miles south of Humbolt there are 6000 or 7000 friendly Indians— we are now sending them *food* and *clothing*— they send me word they are anxiously waiting for us— that they are ready to fight all rebeldom— They seem to understand the issue—

Col Jennison is now at Leavenworth— he expects to command a Brigade—in that case—I of course command the Regiment and the advance to the Grand Army of the southwest—

In our march we free every slave, *every man* of all nations. Kindred tongue and color, and arm or use them in such manner as will best aid us in putting down rebels— We hope to stir up an insurrection among the negroes—

Many men whites and Blacks ask why dont Fred Douglass come

14. On January 31, 1862, the regiment began a move to Humboldt, Kan., where it remained until late in March.

out here—raise a regiment of Blacks— I know the reasons why. But if Fred could get \$10,000 he could raise a regiment and our Maj Genl would not refuse them— Blacks can soonest gain the confidence of the slaves, and rebels fear nothing more than the loss of a baby Darkie or an insurrection

I hope to do something in my southern trip— Genl Hunter told me to go as far south as I pleased—¹⁵ If I cant fight I can run— We can do nothing until the weather moderates— as we must march south without tents and luggage— go with celerity and boldness to win—

Capt John Brown Jr is now with us— I like him much— he remembers you and seems glad to be with us—

Truly D R ANTHONY

HEAD QUARTERS

FIRST KANSAS CAVALRY

CAMP HUNTER

HUMBOLT KAN Feby 22, 1862

DEAR MOTHER

Here I am in this out of the world place—the town the Secesh from Missouri & Indian Country burned some two months ago—¹⁶

The few houses remaining stand on the Prarie about one mile east of the Neosho River one of the largest rivers of Southern Kansas— it empties into the Arkansas Our camp is near the bank of the river in an Oak Grove— Although the weather has been intensely cold our men have lived comfortably— I live in a house about $\frac{1}{4}$ mile south of camp—

Col Jennison having been appointed Acting Brig Genl—while he is so acting I shall have command of the Regiment— It is hard work with so many restless men—who have lived among rebels so long that it now comes hard for them to respect the person and property of Loyal citizens— They have lived so long on chickens turkeys apples jellies taken from Secesh—and now they have to come down to regular army rations—

We had a snow storm this week—but the afternoons are so comfortable that the snow is fast disappearing—

15. Word was received from Washington on November 12, 1861, that a new military command, the Department of Kansas, had been established three days before, and that Maj. Gen. David Hunter had been assigned as commanding officer. Headquarters of the new department was at Fort Leavenworth.

16. Humboldt was raided on September 8, 1861, by a band of Missouri guerrillas, Cherokee Indians and Osage half-breeds. A month later, on October 14, the town was again attacked, this time by a Confederate cavalry force. Most of Humboldt's buildings were burned by this group but only one resident was killed.

My living is not half as good as when in Mo— I have good Beef Steaks—good hot bread & Coffee—very little change—I did board but now I have my black boys cook for me—

Our men are constantly parading in front of my quarters— we have three hours drill in morning—and two hours in the afternoon—I comdg on the regimental drill—of one hour 4 to 5 PM each day—and on Parade—Inspection & Reviews Until you have seen 700 or 800 men mounted—you will have little idea of the splendid appearance they make—they cover nearly one half mile square— Today we have a Review of troops—and 34 guns in memory of Washington— Also in honor of recent victories at Ft Donaldson & by Genl Sigel—¹⁷

We dont know how long we remain here—probably 3 or 4 weeks more

I went to Leavenworth the last time to get a leave of absence but our regiment was ordered to this place and I deemed it best not to apply

I hope to hear of Merritts recovery—I think he would like to go with us— I hope to hear from you

Susan is about the only one who writes much—

With love to yourself and all

I am your son

D R ANTHONY

HEAD QUARTERS FIRST KANSAS CAVALRY
CAMP "HUNTER" HUMBOLT KANSAS
March 1, 1862

DEAR AARON

For the past two months efforts have been made by the [Leavenworth] Times paper and Judge Ewing assisted by parties who were disappointed applicants to oust me from the Post office.

Upon being notified of the fact I wrote the P M Genl—Genl Lane & Genl Pomeroy U. S. S.—

The 1st Asst P M Genl wrote me all would remain unchanged— so long as the office was well conducted and my sureties were satisfied with my deputies— I forwarded their approval of my appointment of the Deputies employed—

17. Fort Donelson, on the Cumberland river in Tennessee, fell to Union forces under General Grant on February 16, 1862. The victory was widely celebrated in the North as balancing the Confederate victory at Bull Run the year before.

Franz Sigel, 1824-1902, organized the Third Missouri infantry regiment and became its colonel, May 4, 1861. He rose to the rank of major general and held several important commands prior to his resignation in May, 1865. He was serving in Missouri as a brigadier general at the time Anthony wrote this letter but the mention of a victory by Sigel is difficult to understand. Sigel had been at Wilson's Creek in 1861 and led a force at Pea Ridge in March, 1862, but no record has been found of his scoring any significant victory between those two major engagements.

Genl Lane wrote to Hon Montgomery Blair P M Genl a most emphatic endorsement of my appointment and approval of my course while in the army—and his desire for me to remain there during war—

Enclosed I hand you copy of letter reed by me from Genl S. C. Pomeroy U.S.S.¹⁸

Considering all the circumstances I think I can feel proud of these several prompt and decisive answers to my letters.

We have now been here nearly four weeks— Since we came here Actg Brig Genl Jennison has not interfered with my disciplining the Regiment— Heretofore he has come to the regiment every few days and relaxed the rigor of my orders— Jennison has done every thing I could ask of him—but then he is in reality unfit for any position on acct of his poor education— He spells “took” “Flowering Mill” “Hoit” “Shure” and “Sich” like— The prestige he has—is his name—which is worth a great deal— I have written Genl Hunter to give me orders to move my Regiment to Ft Gibson— I think I could capture it—and I want the honor of retaking it—as I have suggested how and have learned the situation of forces there— this place is 150 [miles] north of Ft Gibson— I think that with the aid of the friendly Indians I could retake Ft Smith also—

You might show this letter to the [Rochester, N. Y.] Express (I mean Genl Pomeroy’s) not for them to publish—but to say if they desire that all our Senators and leading men are my friends— I have many thanks for the Express for the many kind words spoken by them of me— I hope the time will come when I can reciprocate.

I do not wish any thing public said of what I say of Jennison— We are on the best of terms— But we are very careful not to permit him to write or do any thing unless done under the supervision of some of his friends— who have good judgement— Jennison knows his weakness and always submits to proper inspection—

There is one thing which may seem strange— Col Jennison has been col of this regimt six months and *has yet to give the first command* to them— I have always commanded them— Have been with them in all their expeditions into the enemy’s country except one time Jennison went to Independence I speak of these things

18. Sen. S. C. Pomeroy told Anthony, in a letter dated Washington, January 25, 1862, that “. . . I give no *aid* or *comfort* to any man who is seeking your removal because you are willing to serve your country. . . . I have been delighted with all I have heard of you and of your regiment. . . . I dont believe you will lose the Post Office without my knowing it. *You certainly wont if I do.* The P. M. General assured me that so long as your ‘bondsmen were satisfied’ and the office was well conducted you should not be removed. . . .”—“D. R. Anthony Collection,” Manuscript division, Kansas State Historical Society.

so as to have them on the record right— I have now posted myself in the Tactics so that I am posted in all the evolutions of a regiment—and can maneuver my command better than any officer in it—

I learn today that Merritt is at the Post office— This place is 120 miles south of Leavenworth— Write the news often— From present appearances I shall not be able to obtain a "Leave of Absence" to visit Leavenworth or elsewhere The Hunter, Lane embroglio is not yet settled— I hope it will soon—for now is the time to strike¹⁹ I have so written Genl Hunter that I may or they may know my ideas—

Truly D R ANTHONY

CAMP "HUNTER"

HEAD QUARTERS 1st KAN CAVALRY

HUMBOLDT KAN March 8, 1862

DEAR SISTER

Here we continue to remain—how the Lord only knows— Today we shot one man for desertion and attempting to go over to the enemy—²⁰ he stole my horse—a valuable Black—Saddle Briddle Halter & Saddle Blanket— I offered \$200 reward and caught him Genl Jennison ordered a court martial—and he was condemned to be shot— I declined to have any thing to do with the trial for the reason I had offered a reward—

Our matters are in good condition except we all want to move— Genl Jennison continues unwell— I do wish he was well—Maj Lee goes tomorrow to Ft. Leavenworth to see what is to be our fate or destination. Considering all things Jennison ought to be a Brig Genl— I want him to have [it] because it would promote me to Colonel— I have had full command of the regiment for most of

19. Ill feeling between General Hunter and Lane had developed over the large-scale military expedition to the South. The Leavenworth *Conservative* published several items during February, 1862, indicating that Lane expected to resign his seat in the U. S. senate to take command of this expedition. However, Hunter on January 27 issued General Orders No. 2 in which he stated his intention to lead it in person. On March 11 the Department of Kansas was merged in a new Department of the Mississippi, under command of General Halleck, and Hunter was ordered to a new command comprised of the states of South Carolina, Georgia, and Florida. Talk of the expedition came to an end. Said the *Conservative* on March 14: "It was well called a 'Newspaper Expedition!'"

20. This was Alexander Driscoll, a private of Company H. According to a letter printed by the Leavenworth *Conservative*, March 20, 1862, Driscoll had deserted from the English at Sebastopol and from Price's forces at Lexington. He had enlisted in Co. H, October 10, 1861, since which time he had robbed a Union man in Missouri, stabbed a fellow soldier, and finally escaped from his guards, stole a horse, and fled toward a Confederate camp. He was soon captured, however, tried by court martial, and shot by a firing squad. "Col. Anthony addressed us upon the occasion," wrote the newspaper correspondent, "and although a man of iron nerve and possessed of a large amount of fortiter in re, yet still the solemnity of the occasion, the sad duty to be performed, the occasion and the surroundings evidently affected the heart of our gallant Colonel, as they did every soldier present."

the time and now for 5 weeks have had absolute command—
When our men are out they make a big show

I have mastered the Tactics so that I can now put them through
all the maneuvers and evolutions—

With Love to all I am As Ever

Merrits with me he is doing well

Try

D R ANTHONY

HEAD QUARTERS FIRST KAN CAVALRY.

CAMP HUNTER HUMBOLDT March 8, 1862

DEAR MOTHER

Your letter recieved in due season—was “right” glad to hear from
you—

Have been more lonesome here than at any time since I have
been in the army—for the reason I have nothing to do but to drill
the men, and the weather has been cold windy and unpleasant
for that Today the wind blows a perfect hurricane—

Merritt is now standing at the delivery in the Post office I could
give him a Lieut Coms if he felt disposed to take it and thought he
could fill it— I shall pay the note you hold of \$500 & interest in
a few days and then you can have your mortgage reduced— On
the 1st July 1862 I hope to have all my debts paid— My income
this year will foot up very handsomely I shall realize as follows
Life and Health Fires Post Office & Colonelcy and all prospering to
Witt—

Post Office	2,500
Rent of Anthony Buildings	3,000
My pay as Lieut Col	2,652
Interest & Insurance	1,848

My hopes are.....Total \$10,000
A fair income for one year “Ten thousand a year”—

I hope you wont think I am speculating to much— I haven't
much to write about my own matters— I tried for a “Leave of
Absence” but it was not granted— Dont think I shall get off until
this campaign is over

As ever truly your son

D R ANTHONY

Keep right on writing

LEAVENWORTH April 23 1862

DEAR FATHER

Herewith I hand you check for \$570.00 to pay my note of \$502.50 & inst— Cancel the note and send it to me. I would suggest you apply it in payment of the Home mortgage at once.

I dont know whether I can go east or not— Our regmt is now at Topeka enroute to Ft Riley—²¹

Merritt makes a splendid officer—and you must not write any thing to unsettle him—²²

Col Jennison got into trouble on acct of his own foolishness Saying the regiment would disband if he resigned— the officers resign &c— The officers wouldn't and he made extravagent statements about its disolution ²³

Truly D R ANTHONY

LEAVENWORTH April 25 1862

DEAR BRO

Your letter to Merritt recd & forwarded to him. If the war permit does not cost over \$100 perhaps he had best get the permit—

Or perhaps you had best wait and see the destination of the Regiment—

Merritt makes a fine looking officer and a good one too, I think He is now at Ft Riley enroute for New Mexico— There are some doubts about our regiment going or any other regiment—all the troops are needed here—

21. On March 25 the regiment, now the Seventh, had been ordered to move from Humboldt to Lawrence. On April 22 it received new orders to proceed to Fort Riley, where it was to prepare for a march to New Mexico. However, this plan was later countermanded.

22. Merritt—Jacob M. Anthony—was mustered in as second lieutenant of Co. A on April 2. He was promoted to captain of Co. I on May 16, 1863, and served until September 29, 1865. S. M. Fox, *op. cit.*, pp. 25, 26, describes Merritt as "molded from more plastic and tractable clay" than his brother Daniel. "He had courage and staying qualities, and made up in persistency what he lacked in aggressiveness. He was an excellent company commander, and I believe that he, of all the officers appointed from civil life who came to the regiment after it went into the field, overcame the resentment of the men and served through to the end."

23. Jennison's difficulties apparently stemmed in part from his forays against Southern sympathizers in Missouri—his "Missouri Policy" as Anthony calls it—which were not approved by his military superiors, and in part from his immoderate remarks. S. M. Fox, *op. cit.*, p. 24, says that when James G. Blunt was made a brigadier general on April 8, Jennison, "who was an aspirant for the promotion himself, was highly wroth, and made an intemperate speech while in camp at Lawrence, during which he practically advised the men to desert." Several, principally from Co. H, took him at his word and disappeared. Jennison himself resigned his commission on April 11. Six days later he was arrested by order of General Sturgis and sent under guard to St. Louis. Charges were preferred against him but no official action was ever taken on them. He was released from arrest and reinstated in his original rank.

A contradictory note in this affair is an explanation by Sturgis, dated April 26 and printed in the Leavenworth *Conservative* April 30, that Jennison's arrest "was the result of representations made by Lieut. Col. D. R. Anthony, of his own regiment, and Col. Geo. W. Deitzler, his immediate commanding officer, and was made at the earnest solicitation of this latter officer, who . . . demanded his 'immediate arrest,' and charges him with the most grave and serious crimes known to military law." Yet Anthony, in these letters, makes no mention of any implication in the arrest and indicates no serious disapproval of Jennison's policy. In the following letter, in fact, he states that in respect to the events in Missouri "we are all in the same boat." Only a few months later Anthony's own abolitionist sentiments caused him to defy his own superior officers and ultimately resulted in his resignation from the army.

I am trying to get leave of absence for 20 days—but it is doubtful if I succeed—

Col Jennison has been released—is at Barnums Hotel—and assigned the limits of St Louis—

He talked very foolishly about the regiment disbanding &c and said harsh words of the officers and President—which he said might cause his arrest— If they have charges against him for his Missouri Policy—we are all in the same boat—

Truly

D R ANTHONY

LEAVENWORTH April 28th 1862

DEAR FATHER

Our Regmt is now at Ft Riley enroute for New Mexico—

I was detailed by Genl Sturgis to set on a General Court Martial at the Fort Genl Mitchell & Col Graham having been excused left me the President of the court—²⁴ We got through Saturday and I am now waiting here for court papers to be made up by the Judge Advocate for my signature— Also for the end of the month to obtain special orders from Genl Sturgis to draw my pay, and also to try and get a leave of absence for 20 days to go east— Genl Halleck will hardly grant my request—but I thought I would ask him and see—

Merritt makes a good officer and thus far is well liked— I spent a couple of hundred dollars to outfit him—

Coat wescoat & Pants	\$44.00
Saddle	32.00
Boots	8.00
Guantlets	3.00
Sabre Revolver Belt	30.00
Horse & Blankets	150.00

And so the figures run up more than I thought but for the first time in his life he blacks his boots—brushes his hair and tries to look fine—

I have high hopes of him if he is now *permitted by his friends to do well*

Truly

D R ANTHONY

24. Robert B. Mitchell, a native of Ohio, was a veteran of the Mexican War. He moved to Kansas in 1856, participated actively in Free-State politics and served as territorial treasurer from 1859 to 1861. On June 20, 1861, he was commissioned colonel of the Second Kansas infantry, later designated the Second Kansas volunteer cavalry, and was promoted to brigadier general April 8, 1862.

In February, 1862, Col. Robert H. Graham of Leavenworth had raised four companies for service in New Mexico. An order issued by General Hunter on February 28, consolidated them with the Eighth Kansas Volunteer infantry, Colonel Graham being assigned the command. In June he became ill and died at St. Louis on November 11.

LEAVENWORTH May 28 1862

DEAR FATHER

Yours with canceled notes recd—

Merritt left yesterday on the "Sam Gaty" for Corinth Miss.²⁵ Cos A. C. E. & part of F went today and tomorrow the balance of the regiment goes— I go in command—

We have had blustering times, Jennison resigned—Lt. Gov. Root commissioned Maj Blair our Col & Gov. Robinson when he returned from Washington com Maj Lee col—both had command a few days each—²⁶ On the 26th Genl Blunt issued an order revoking the one giving Lee command— And as I was the Senior officer giving it to me—and ordering "A L Lee to resume his position as major and report to Col D R Anthony for duty"

Now we learn Col Jennison has been reinstated— In the meantime however I keep the command until the thing is settled— It will take us 8 or 10 days to go to Corinth—

I think you had best come to Leavenworth for 4 or 6 months— I had obtained a leave of absence for thirty days— but on the order to Corinth thought best to go there first—

Truly

D R ANTHONY

HEADQUARTERS 7th REGT K. V.
COLUMBUS KY June 6th 1862

DEAR AARON

Here we are in the land of Dixie again—

This trip from Leavenworth was made on Steamers 700 miles in three days— We are now camped with the 8th Kans 12th & 13th Wis 54th Ill infantry 2nd Kansas & 8th Wis Batteries 2nd cavalry & ours 7th Kan cavalry on the ground and in the fortification of the rebels— Genl Quinby commands the post—a very important one too ²⁷ on his Staff I find Capt Barton & Lieut Erick-

25. On May 18 the regiment received new orders to report to Fort Leavenworth and prepare to move south. May 27 and 28 the troops embarked on transports at the fort with instructions to proceed via Pittsburg Landing and report to General Halleck, then operating against Corinth. Fox, *op. cit.*, p. 30, identified "The New Sam. Gaty" as the lead transport in this movement.

26. Charles W. Blair, Fort Scott, was mustered in as major of the Second Regiment Kansas volunteers on February 28, 1862. In September, 1863, he was transferred to the 14th Kansas Volunteer cavalry, became its colonel in November, and served with that organization until he was mustered out in August, 1865. The *Report of the Adjutant General* does not show him as officially connected with the Seventh Kansas at any time.

Lt. Gov. Joseph P. Root, a Wyandotte physician, was surgeon of the Second Kansas from December 28, 1861, to April 18, 1865.

Albert L. Lee of Elwood was mustered in as major of the Seventh Kansas October 29, 1861, promoted to colonel of the regiment May 17, 1862, according to the *Report of the Adjutant General*, and to brigadier general of volunteers on November 29, 1862.

27. Brig. Gen. I. F. Quinby was commanding officer of the District of the Mississippi.

son of Rochester— A no 1 men and good officers & business men Maj Strong of 12th Wis a Granvill Washington Co [New York] man & capt Norton son of Reuben Norton of Easton [New York] in same Regt— Wherever we go we find old acquaintances—

The labor and expense on these Fortifications must have been enormous to the Rebels— over 7 miles of earth works, One of the strongest natural points for defense I ever saw— surrounded by water swamp & woods 200 or 300 ft high commanding the country for miles around— The rebels ought to have put in a years provisions and stood a siege— with 20,000 men they ought to have held it against odds—

The mortality amongst them must have been fearfull— The Post surgeon estimates 7,000 graves— Most must have died from disease. We find the remains of dead rebels scattered about—

From appearances their sanitary regulations must have been bad— Most of the troops were from Miss La & Texas Ala & Geo— they dug holes in the ground, pitched their tents over them—dug holes in the banks like out door cellars and built an endless number of log huts— mudded up to make them warm—

The ground on which our camp is made—was covered with Brick—burnt logs—mud—old Hay—Tents clothing Beef Bones and other Bones—all half rotten and putrid—for the past two days I have had 300 to 400 men policing the ground in & around camp— Hauling off and burning every thing offensive— And to day we begin to feel that we are breathing the pure air—

You know we started for Corinth at Cairo our destination was changed to this point— Merritt went on the first boat and went to Pittsburg Landing— the 3½ companies with him have been ordered back by Genl Halleck— We expect him here to day.

Two of our companies under Maj Herrick yesterday went to Moscow²⁸ 12 miles south on the Mobile and Ohio Rail Road— this is the terminus of this road— it has not been in running order since the rebels evacuated— Some of the bridges were destroyed at that time— To day the 12th Wis Infantry 8th Wis Battery & our regiment are ordered to Union City 16 miles south east of Hickman on the M & O R. R. The road is to be put in running order at once—

Did I tell you that when Col Jennison resigned—Lieut Gov Root appointed Maj Blair of the Kan 2ond Colonel of this regiment—

28. Thomas P. Herrick entered military service October 28, 1861, as a major in the Seventh Kansas. He was promoted to lieutenant colonel September 3, 1862, and on June 11, 1863, became colonel of the regiment, serving in that capacity until the end of the war.

that when Gov. Robinson returned from Washington he appointed Maj Lee Col—so for a few days we had two Colonels But Genl Blunt Comdg Dpt of Kansas recinded the order and gave me the command of the regiment again. Now Col Jennison has been reinstated Col of our regmt by the Secy of War. whether he will take command again or not is doubtful— rumor says he has been assigned to duty in the Indian Territory— If so I shall retain command of the Regmt—

When I left Leavenworth Thomas C Stevens of the firm of Thos Carney & Co put on board 2 Boxes Sparkling Catawba & Cigars with his compliments— Tom Stevens was remembered by every officer on board belonging to 12th Wis & our regmt— Just recd news that Merritt was still at Pittsburg— all or Anything of interest herein you may publish—

As Ever

D R ANTHONY

HEAD QUARTERS 7th REGT K. V.
CAMP QUINBY
COLUMBUS KY June 7, 1862

DEAR SISTER

Your letter from some where reached me at Leavenworth while I was enroute from Fort Riley to Pittsburgh—

My time here has been passed very pleasantly— On the 2ond I invited Marcus J. Parrott to dine with me—²⁹ I gave him Roast Chicken Potatoes Bread Coffee Butter & a Bottle of Sparkling Catawba— We ha social time—with some promises of future good friendship— Which is somewhat refreshing in these times of unfaithfullness— The next evening Genl Mitchell comd'g our Brigade Leut Lines & Pratt of his Staff—Genl Quinby—Capt Barton & Leut Erickson of his Staff—the last three from Rochester—called on me at my tent in camp—which is about one half mile from town— We had a pleasant chat I regaled them with Sparkling Catawba and it was appreciated too as no one else of the 5 or 6000 troops here had the article—

The next day Maj Strong formerly of Granville Washington Co N. Y. and Capt Norton son of Reuben Norton of Easton N. Y. and of the 12th Wis Volunteers dined with me— And last nigh[t] Genl Quinby & Capt Barton made another social call— Night

29. Parrott, a resident of Leavenworth, had been a leader of the Free-State party during the territorial period and was twice territorial delegate to congress. It was he who telegraphed news of the admission of Kansas to the Leavenworth *Conservative*. Parrott was at this time an assistant adjutant general of Kansas with the rank of captain.

before last the band of the 12th Wis Vol composed of some 20 men with silver instrument serenaded me—

So you see I can hardly be lonesome—

Yet I desire to get out of the Army at an early day on account of some little differences in the Regt in reference to who shall be colonel— Gov. Robinson wont commission me for the reason I have always belonged to the Lane party as its called— Some 20 of the officers are for me—and some 15 for Lee

Maj Blair has been commissioned Col by the Lt Gov— Maj Lee has been com Col by Gov Robinson— Col Jennison has been reinstated by order of the President— I prefer to have Jennison and hope he will not be promoted to a Brigadiership— As the matter now stands I am commanding the Regiment and I doubt whether Jennison will rejoin the regiment—if not I will still continue to command— Two of our companies are at Moscow 12 miles south on the Mobile and Ohio R. R—Under Maj Herrick— One Co is acting body Guard for Genl Mitchell— Seven Companies are in Camp with me— Col Jennison is absent Maj Lee just arrived— Merritt come in last night Merritt says his trip to Pittsburgh was a pleasant one— he is well, doing well & liked well— I never was so well pleased with him as since he come into the service— he makes a good officer and attends to his business

Marrying nearly ruined him— *Let every one at home let him rest— refrain from writing him about his wife or himself as regards old matters or as regards future prospects— Dont be anxious—*

We expect to move South in a few days— As we now are well supplied with arms. In good fighting order—

All letters of a visiting nature send to me

7th Regt Kan Vol
Mitchells Kan Brigade
Via Cairo—

III

(Part Four, the D. R. Anthony Letters of June 20-
September 14, 1862, Will Appear in the
Winter, 1958, Issue.)

Bypaths of Kansas History

HIGH LEVEL DEBATING AT LEAVENWORTH

From the *Leavenworth Times*, August 28, 1858.

The last question which came before the Leavenworth Debating Club was: "Which is the most beautiful production; a girl or a strawberry?" After continuing the argument two nights the meeting adjourned without coming to a conclusion; the old ones going for the strawberries, and the young ones for the girls.

"THE MOMENT OF TRUTH"

From the *Marysville Locomotive*, August 27, 1870.

A woman from this locality who left her husband's "bed and board" a few days ago, and took the "responsibilities" with her, dispatched the following consoling message to him: "You needn't worry any about the children—none of 'em is yours."

APPLIED KNOWLEDGE

From the *Washington Weekly Republican*, May 30, 1873.

An Atchison youth just fresh from college is about to bring suit against his sweet heart for breach of promise. He has learned that two negatives make an affirmative and is going to test it in the courts, as the idol of his heart has replied in the negative twice to his popping the question.

FIGHT WITH A BUFFALO

From the *Ellis County Star*, Hays City, June 15, 1876.

We learn from Mr. H. C. Allen of this city the following facts concerning a rough and tumble fight between W. N. Morphy, late of this city, and a nearly full grown buffalo calf, which for cool daring beats anything we have as yet heard of. On Tuesday last, while Messrs. Allen and Morphy were driving along the prairie between Buckner and the Saw Log a herd of buffaloes were seen approaching. As soon as the animals came in sight a thirst for blood was aroused within the minds of the two travelers. The only weapons in the outfit were a thirty-two calibre revolver and a ripping knife. Morphy jumped on his pony with the revolver, and struck out for the game, Allen following with the ripping knife as soon as he could detach one of his horses from the wagon, and secure the other. Morphy soon had a victim singled out and fired at him five times; but the pony jumped up and down in such a manner that not one of the shots took effect. Soon getting tired of running, the animal turned and charged on the pony. He tried this several times, until the matter becoming

somewhat monotonous to the recipient of its attentions, he charged on the buffalo. They collided, and the pony, buffalo and Morphy were scattered all over the ground. All three regained their footing at the same time, and each commenced business: the buffalo to butting the pony, and Morphy to kicking the buffalo. While busily engaged in this pleasing entertainment the animal, turning quickly, made for Mr. M. The latter seized him around the neck in a loving embrace and they went to the earth together, the man uppermost. Just at this stage of affairs Mr. Allen arrived and while the bison was down thrust his knife into its vitals, thus ending one of the most novel struggles ever heard of outside of a ten cent novel.

EVEN EX-GOVERNORS WERE NOT SAFE IN DODGE CITY

From the *Dodge City Times*, March 24, 1877.

Last Thursday morning our political magnates were agreeably surprised by the intelligence that the once famous political boss of the State, ex-Gov. Thos. Carney, of Leavenworth, had arrived on the 6 o'clock train. It was at first whispered among the knowing ones that the Gov. was about to open up a canvass for his election to J. J. Ingalls' place to the U. S. Senate a year from next winter, and this theory was strengthened by the fact that he was observed in close communion with R. W. Evans. Gov. Carney, however, soon dispelled this illusion by informing some of our business men that his operations in Dodge City were to be of an exclusively commercial nature; in fact, that he was buying hides and bones for a St. Louis firm. It seems from later developments that the Governor's real business in Dodge City was to entice our unsophisticated denizens into the national game of draw poker, and fleece them of their loose cash, as Schenck used to do the beef eaters over in England, the talk he made about the hide and bone business being merely a blind to cover up his real design.

The Governor's reputation and dignified bearing soon enabled him to decoy three of our business men into a social game of poker, 'just to kill time, you know.' Gov. Carney's intended victims were Col. Norton, wholesale dealer and general financial operator; Hon. Robert Gilmore, and Chas. Ronan, Esquire. The game proceeded merrily and festively for a time, until, under the bracing influence of exhilarating refreshments, the stakes were increased, and the players soon became excitedly interested.

At last the Governor held what he supposed to be an invincible hand. It consisted of four kings and the cuter, or 'imperial trump,' which the Governor very reasonably supposed to be the ace of spades. The old man tried to repress his delight and appear unconcerned when Col. Norton tossed a \$100 bill into the pot; but he saw the bet and went a hundred better. Norton didn't weaken, as the Governor feared he would, but nonchalantly raised the old gent with what he supposed was a fabulous bluff. Governor Carney's eyes glistened with joy as he saw the pile of treasure which would soon be all his own, loom up before his vision, and he hastened to see the Colonel and add the remainder of his funds, his elegant gold watch and chain. Norton was still with the game, and the Governor finally stripped himself of all remaining valuables, when it became necessary for him to 'show up' his hand.

A breathless silence pervaded the room as Gov. Carney spread his four kings on the table with his left hand, and affectionately encircled the glittering heap of gold, silver, greenbacks and precious stones, with his right arm, preparatory to raking in the spoils. But at that moment a sight met the old Governor's gaze which caused his eyes to dilate with terror, a fearful tremor to seize his frame, and his vitals to almost freeze with horror. Right in front of Col. Norton were spread four genuine and perfectly formed aces, and the hideous reality that four aces laid over four kings and a 'cutter' gradually forced itself upon the mind of our illustrious hide and bone merchant. Slowly and reluctantly he uncoiled his arm from around the sparkling treasure; the bright, joyous look faded from his eyes, leaving them gloomy and cadaverous; with a weary, almost painful effort he arose from the table, and, dragging his feet over the floor like balls of lead, he left the room, sadly, tearfully and tremulously muttering, 'I forgot about the cutter.'

The next eastward bound freight train carried an old man, without shirt studs or other ornament, apparently bowed down by overwhelming grief, and the conductor hadn't the heart to throw him overboard. Gov. Carney is not buying bones and hides in this city any more.

WHEN THE SPLIT SKIRT WAS INTRODUCED TO OTTAWA

From the *Ottawa Daily Republic*, September 5, 1908.

"Isn't it awful!"

That is what more than one woman in the big audience at the Rohrbaugh theater exclaimed last night when Miss Carrie Lowe, leading woman of the Morey Stock company, appeared on the stage in a directoire gown.

The wearing of the sheath gowns had been generally and persistently advertised and there is no doubt that many of the people went to the theater last night to see them. That they got their money's worth goes without saying.

In the titular role of Anna Karenina, the Tolstoi play, Miss Lowe made her appearance in the first act gowned in red. It was a costume moulded to her graceful figure and if not "loud" was at least a trifle emphatic.

The skirt was split up the side to the knee and when Miss Lowe moved around it parted and displayed a trim leg and a black velvet garter with a diamond buckle.

In justice to Miss Lowe, who in private life is Mrs. Murphy and a very charming little woman, it should be stated that she declined to wear the red gown, which was brand new, until after she had sent for Manager Marc Robbins and obtained his opinion on it.

"Don't you think it is a little broad?" she asked.

"It's all right," replied Mr. Robbins. "We have advertised it and the people want to see it. That is what they are coming for. Of course, you couldn't wear that gown on the street, but there's nothing really objectionable about it."

And so it came about that the new gown of red silk gauze made its debut in Ottawa.

In the second act Miss Lowe wore another sheath gown. This one was of hand-made lace trimmed in black velvet ribbon and diamond buckles.

Miss Lowe's third directoire gown was of black gauze spangled in gold and made over black.

Neither black gown was as noticeable as the red one. With each of the three costumes Miss Lowe wore a directoire hat to match the gown.

After the curtain dropped on the first act a buzz went around the house. The "sensation" had been produced. Some men talked about the directoire costume but it was the women who discussed it in detail.

The toning down of the effect by the appearance of Miss Lowe in the succeeding acts in sheath gowns which were more modest, if that is the word, was a clever move of the actress, and a majority of the people left the theater with the idea that the new gown wasn't so bad, after all.

The Tolstoi play was given an excellent presentation last night. Tonight's bill, concluding the engagement of the Morey Stock company in Ottawa, will be "On the Frontier," a melodrama of western life introducing cowboys and Indians. It is filled with thrilling climaxes and hearty comedy and will please the admirers of the Morey company.

Gornly's orchestra will play at the Rohrbaugh tonight.

Kansas History as Published in the Press

Historical articles of interest to Kansans appearing in the Kansas City (Mo.) *Star* in recent months included: "Cornhusking on a Kansas Farm Lasted All Winter in Earlier Era," by Jennie Small Owen, November 28, 1957; "Tim Hersey Built Abilene's First Home, and Wife Named Town," by Vivian Aten Long, March 8, 1958; "Story of a Building at Emporia Explains Carnegie Library Gifts," by Clay Bailey, May 6; and "Traces of the Old West Lure Tourists in Kansas," by Beverly Baumer, August 3. Among articles in the Kansas City (Mo.) *Times* were: a history of the Garfield Congregational church, January 14; "To Statehood the Hard Way," by Lelia Munsell, January 29; "First College of Kansas [Highland] Is 100," by John DeMott, February 7; "Funston's Double Trouble in Philippines," based on an article by William F. Zornow, February 26; "Walking Through Border Wars of 1858," a story of William P. Tomlinson, newspaper reporter who covered the border on foot, by Jonathan M. Dow, March 25; "New Weapons Blast Old Kansas Enemy [Grasshoppers]," by Roderick Turnbull, July 1; "A Strange Concrete 'Eden' in [Lucas] Kansas," by Joseph B. Muecke, July 11; "Lincoln-Douglas Debates Spotlit Kansas and Missouri a Century Ago," by Jonathan M. Dow, October 15.

Otto Stunz, Hiawatha, violin maker and motorcycle rider, is the subject of a biographical sketch by Velma E. Lowry in the *Wichita Eagle Magazine*, February 23, 1958. Now 79 years of age, Stunz has been making violins since 1906.

Publication of the letters of William Hamilton in the *Journal of the Presbyterian Historical Society*, Lancaster, Pa., continued in the March, 1958, number. For mention of the first installment of the letters, see "Kansas History as Published in the Press," in the Winter, 1957, issue of the *Quarterly*. Hamilton was a missionary to the Iowa, Sac, and Fox Indians from 1837 to 1853. The mission was located near present Highland.

"Heartland of Kansas: a Profile," is the title of a series of articles on some of the towns and communities of the Wichita trade area, by Ralph Hinman, Jr., which began appearing in the *Wichita Beacon*, March 2, 1958.

Historical articles published in the Independence *Daily Reporter* during recent months included: "Famous Kansas Trees Had Part

in State's History," by Mary Bassett, March 16, 1958; "Elk Falls: Shadows of Frontier Days Linger On," by Lily B. Rozar, April 6; and "Indians Influenced Town Names," by Velma Lowry, April 20.

Included in the April, 1958, number of *The Swedish Pioneer Historical Quarterly*, Rock Island, Ill., was Emory Lindquist's "A Proposed Scandinavian Colony in Kansas Prior to the Civil War." Dr. C. H. Gran developed a plan for establishing a Scandinavian colony in Kansas in 1858. However, only a few settlers accompanied him to Kansas and the project failed.

The Elkhart *Tri-State News* published a history of the Richfield Methodist church, April 4, 1958. The church building was completed in 1888, a Presbyterian project. Later the two organizations shared the building.

W. A. Rawson related experiences of his first winter in western Kansas, 1885-1886, in the Hoxie *Sentinel*, April 24, 1958. He was 13 years old at the time.

The Irving Presbyterian church, founded in 1862, the oldest of the denomination in the Blue valley, will soon succumb to Tuttle creek dam. A history of the church was printed in the Marysville *Advocate*, April 24, 1958, and the Blue Rapids *Times*, May 29. On May 29, the *Advocate* printed a history of the community of Reedsville in Marshall county. With the recent abandonment of the school, the village, settled in the late 1860's and 1870's, has disappeared.

Numerous historical articles have appeared in the Baxter Springs *Citizen* in recent months. Among them were the following: a biographical sketch of Gov. Samuel J. Crawford, April 24, 1958; a history of the Baxter Springs Presbyterian church, May 1; a story on the Polster Bros. store, May 8; a history of the John R. Hughes home, June 5; and a biographical sketch of Charles Opperman, June 30. Historical sketches by Claude H. Nichols on the Baxter Springs area appeared in the following issues of the *Citizen*: April 24, May 1, May 29, June 5, 12, and 19.

"What My Grandfather-Grandmother Told Me" is the title of a series in *The Clark County Clipper*, Ashland, beginning April 24, 1958. The stories were written by members of an Ashland High School English class, based on early-day experiences of their grandparents.

An article on St. John's First Methodist church appeared in the *St. John News*, April 24, 1958. The church dates back to 1883.

The Trinity Lutheran church of Greenleaf was organized in 1882 by the Rev. J. Schauer, according to a history published in the *Greenleaf Sentinel*, April 24, 1958. The church building was erected in 1883.

Orville W. Mosher, president of the Lyon County Historical Society and curator of the society's museum in Emporia, is author of a series of articles in the *Emporia Gazette* under the title "Museum Notes. . . ." Articles in this series published in recent months included: "Perry Edwards Survived a Serious Civil War Wound," April 26, 1958; "French Settlers Came to Lyon County in 1850's," May 2; "French Settlers Had an Important Place in the Early History of Lyon County," May 7; "Emporia Has Memorialized Its Heroes of Past Wars," May 30; "Cattle Drives Reached Lyon County Before the Railroad," June 7; "Much Evidence Remains of [Milton] Wilhite's Work for Town [Emporia]," June 26; and "Emporians Went All Out to Celebrate [July] Fourth in '98," July 4. Also running in the *Gazette* recently was a series by Conrad Vandervelde on the College of Emporia entitled "A 75-Year History of C. of E." The first installment appeared May 17, 1958.

Recent articles by Lily Rozar in the *Independence Reporter* included: "No Ghostly Pallor in Moline's 79-Year History," April 27, 1958; and "Longton Was Second City Founded Along the Elk River," May 25. On July 6 the *Reporter* published a history of Byler school district, near Independence, by Louise Clubine.

Historical notes on the Pond Creek stage station, Wallace county, appeared in the *Gove County Republican Gazette*, Gove, May 1, 1958. The stage coach depot is still in existence, though it has been moved from the original site on the Smoky Hill trail to the Madigan ranch north of Wallace.

A biographical sketch of Ezra Dow, by Lil Johnson, and a portion of a letter describing his life in Kansas, written by Dow in 1870, appeared in the *Salina Journal*, May 4, 1958. Dow came to Kansas in 1869, settling near Salina.

Ray Myers is the author of a history of the Salem Methodist church, in western Jewell county, published in the *Smith County Pioneer*, Smith Center, May 8, 1958, and in the *Lebanon Times*, June 5. The charter of the church is dated May 9, 1883.

Fort Leavenworth's 131-year history was reviewed in an article in the *Leavenworth Times*, May 8, 1958, and in the *Junction City Union*, May 13. The fort had its beginning when the site was selected by Col. Henry Leavenworth in 1827.

Ruby Basye is the author of the following articles which have appeared in the *Hutchinson News* during the past several months: "Early Day Dodge City Bullfight Enraged Only the Spectators," May 11, 1958; "Kiowa Citizens Moved Town to Present Site," June 5; "Rockefeller Ranch [in Kiowa County] Gay Kansas Spot in the 1890s," July 20; "Kiowa Rancher's [Herbert Parkin] Home Has Long Tradition," July 28; and "Hays Pioneer [Justus Bissing] Spends Years Creating Cathedral Clock," August 24.

"Elk Falls: Shadows of Frontier Days Linger," an article by Lily B. Rozar, was printed in the *Longton News*, May 15, 1958. The first settlers were the R. H. Nickols family who arrived in 1870.

In the autumn of 1887 the Herndon Mission Covenant church was organized. Members worshiped in homes until a sod church building was erected in 1889. A history was printed in the *Atwood Citizen-Patriot*, May 22, 1958.

A short history of Fort Larned by Mary Gamble was printed in the *Dodge City Daily Globe*, May 22, 1958. The fort, an important military post on the Santa Fe trail, 1859-1878, is now open to the public as a historic site.

Indians raided the work crew on the new railroad west of Fossil Creek station, now Russell, in 1868. A story of the raid told in the *Russell Daily News*, June 5, 1958, quoted an account by Adolph Roenigk, one of the crewmen. A brief history of the town of Bunker Hill, by J. C. Ruppenthal, appeared in the *News*, June 26.

Seventy-three years of church history were reviewed in an article on the Kiowa Congregational church printed in the *Kiowa News*, June 5, 1958. A Sunday School was organized in 1885 and the church the following year.

A biographical sketch of the late Mrs. Bessie Vaught Arnall appeared in the editorial columns of the *El Dorado Times*, June 7, 1958. Mrs. Arnall was born in 1865 and lived 93 years in Kansas.

The Great Bend *Tribune* printed a history of Pawnee Rock by Dorothy Bowman in the issue of June 8, 1958. Used by the Indians for a lookout and an ambush from which to attack travelers on the Santa Fe trail, the rock is now part of a state park.

Karen Becker is the author of the following articles in the *Arkansas City Daily Traveler*, which resulted from recent interviews with pioneers of the Arkansas City area: "Arkansas City Woman [Mrs. Flora Ann Rambo] Recalls Grasshopper Plague of 1874," June 12,

1958; "91-Year-Old Writer [Frederick H. Schuler] Still Going Strong With Prose and Poetry," June 17; "A[rkansas] C[ity] Woman [Mrs. Jessie Harvey] Recalls Seeing Indians Near Her Wagon Train," August 14; and "Pioneer Arkansas City Woman [Mrs. Caroline Burnett] Still Looks on Bright Side in 93rd Year," August 21. The *Traveler* published a history of the Arkansas City Public Library July 7, also by Karen Becker.

On June 12, 1958, the *Holton Recorder* printed a brief history of School District No. 1, Jackson county, by B. F. Hafer. The school was started in 1858 in a log building. The article appeared in the *Jackson County Clipper*, Holton, June 19.

Three articles on social life in Coffeyville during the 1890's and early 1900's, by Jo Jaminet, were printed in the *Coffeyville Daily Journal*, June 18, 25, and 27, 1958. The stories were based on clippings in a memory book kept by Mrs. J. W. Cubine. On July 2 the *Journal* published an article by Joe W. Allen on the 87-year-old house at Neodesha which was the home of the late Dr. and Mrs. Allen McCartney.

Eaton school, District 47, Cowley county, was the subject of an article by Mrs. Ben Banks in the *Winfield Daily Courier*, June 20, 1958. The first building was erected in 1876 and was called Sheridan school.

On April 21, 1870, the first issue of the *Guilford Citizen*, now the *Fredonia Citizen*, was published by John S. Gilmore, according to a history of the newspaper by Jo Rodgers in the *Wichita Eagle Magazine*, June 22, 1958. The *Citizen* is still published by the Gilmore family.

An article by Harold O. Taylor on the history of Limestone creek, in the Pittsburg area, and the Baxter Springs-to-Osage Mission trail appeared in the *Pittsburg Headlight*, June 23, 1958. It was entitled "Scars From Pioneer Trail Remain."

As a souvenir for visitors to the city, the *Dodge City Daily Globe* issued a "Traveler's Special Section," July 1, 1958. Included are articles from early issues of the *Globe* and a directory of present-day Dodge City businesses.

The *Wichita Beacon* in recent months has published a number of historical articles, including: a discussion of the 1857 map of Kansas, by Ralph Hinman, Jr., July 9, 1958; "Wind Wagon Astonished Early Kansans," by Bula Lemert, July 20; "Old Dutch Mill

[at Wamego] Makes Top Tourist Attraction in Northeastern Kansas," by Peggy Haley, July 27; "Brothers [John and Alonzo Dexter] From Gold Fields Began Town of Clay Center," August 3; and "Homesteaders Built a Western Empire," by Ed Andreopoulos, August 17.

Boyd's Crossing, where the "dry" route of the Santa Fe trail crossed Pawnee creek, was the subject of a historical article in the *Stafford Courier*, July 10, 1958. The site of the crossing is on the grounds of the Larned State Hospital.

Early Fort Leavenworth history was included in an article in the *Pittsburg Headlight*, July 26, 1958. The fort, established in 1827, is receiving the attention of officials of the Civil War Centennial Commission as they plan a commemoration of the war.

Indian depredations in the Solomon valley in 1868 were reviewed in the *Beloit Call*, August 12, 1958. Several pioneers were killed, two children abducted, and a large amount of property destroyed.

A 40-page special edition was published by the *Kinsley Mercury*, August 14, 1958, in commemoration of the 85th anniversary of Kinsley's founding.

The *Eureka Herald* published a 48-page centennial edition August 21, 1958. Articles included a history of the Eureka area and biographical information on many of its pioneers.

Many historic spots in Kansas were described in an article by Edward Collier in the *Abilene Reflector-Chronicle*, August 24, 1958.

"John Calhoun: the Villain of Territorial Kansas?" by Robert W. Johannsen, comprised the September, 1958, issue of *The Trail Guide*, Kansas City, Mo., publication of the Kansas City Posse of the Westerners. Calhoun was president of the Lecompton Constitutional Convention and a Proslavery leader in Kansas territory.

Kansas Historical Notes

Five Kansans have been named to the advisory council of the Civil War Centennial Commission. They are: Alan W. Farley, Kansas City, attorney and 1957-1958 president of the Kansas State Historical Society; Nyle H. Miller, Topeka, secretary of the Kansas State Historical Society; W. Stitt Robinson, Lawrence, associate professor of history at the University of Kansas; Charles A. Walsh, Concordia attorney; and Fred W. Brinkerhoff, Pittsburg publisher. The commission, headed by President Eisenhower, was set up by congress to plan and co-ordinate a commemoration from 1961 through 1965.

On May 3, 1958, the Crawford County Historical Society sponsored ceremonies in Girard at which a portrait of Crawford, recently found in the executive mansion, Topeka, by Mrs. George Docking, was presented to Crawford county. The speaker for the occasion, Fred W. Brinkerhoff, reviewed Crawford's life. Others participating included: T. E. Davis, president of the society; Dr. Leonard H. Axe and Dr. R. C. Welty, of Kansas State Teachers College, Pittsburg; and Joe Saia, chairman of the Crawford county board of commissioners. An election of officers was held at a meeting of the Crawford county society in Pittsburg, September 24. T. E. Davis was re-elected president; Belle Provorse was chosen vice-president; Vivian Walker, secretary; and Mrs. Joe Black, treasurer. Directors elected were: Mrs. A. C. Washburn, Guy Coonrod, and Mrs. C. A. Burnett. The speaker for the meeting was Henry Carey of Kansas City, Kan.

The Hill City Oil Museum was formally opened May 3 and 4, 1958, with more than 1,000 visitors during the two days. Construction was sponsored by the Hill City Chamber of Commerce. Exhibits have been contributed by oil companies and related industries.

Northwest Kansas pioneers were honored May 4, 1958, at a Pioneer Day celebration held at Rexford. Officers for the coming year include: Louise Peterson, president; Alex Barnett, vice-president; Cecil Geisenhener, secretary; and Mattie Pointer, treasurer. Kathleen Claar was the retiring president.

An account of the settlement of northwest Ottawa county, known as the Bohemian settlement, was given by Henry Blaha at the May

17, 1958, meeting of the Ottawa County Historical Society in Minneapolis. At the meeting June 14, Mrs. Raymond Brown told of her family. Her father was Thomas F. Hally, a Delphos shoemaker. The meeting of July 12 included the reading of a letter from C. E. Hollingsworth, Denver, which included items of early Ottawa county history. Many "firsts" of the county were given. "Extracts From the Personal Memoirs of A. D. Taliaferro," written in 1931, was read by Ray Halberstadt. The society met again August 9 in Minneapolis. Feature of the program was a report on the history of the Stanton township area by Henry Kunc.

L. W. Hubbell was re-elected president of the Hodgeman County Historical Society at a meeting in Jetmore, June 14, 1958. Other officers: W. F. Stueckemann, vice-president; Nina Lupfer, secretary; and Murriel Eichman, treasurer. Trustees chosen for three-year terms were: Mrs. C. W. Teed, Miss Lupfer, and Stueckemann. Mrs. Margaret Raser was reappointed program chairman.

Incorporation of the Scott County Historical Society has been completed. Dr. H. Preston Palmer was elected president at a meeting in Scott City, June 27, 1958. Other officers are: W. A. Dobson and J. H. Kirk, vice-presidents; Mrs. Clarence Dickhut, secretary; Mrs. Ernestine Deragowski, treasurer; and Bill Boyer, James W. Wallace, Mrs. Dickhut, John Boyer, and Dr. Palmer, trustees. The society has launched an ambitious program including the improvement and maintenance of Battle Canyon, scene of the last major Indian battle in Kansas, as a historic site; and restoration of the El Quartejeo pueblo in the Scott County State Park.

Baxter Springs celebrated its centennial June 30 through July 5, 1958. Featured was "The Baxter Springs Story," a pageant based on the town's history.

R. A. Clymer, El Dorado, was master of ceremonies for the unveiling of a historical marker at the Matfield Green service area on the Kansas turnpike August 12, 1958. The marker was dedicated to the bluestem pastures of Kansas' flint hills. Speakers at the dedication were: Wayne Rogler, Matfield Green; Walter A. Johnson, Emporia; Lawrence J. Blythe, White City, chairman of the Kansas Turnpike Authority; and Gale Moss, turnpike manager. The unveiling was by Ginger Countryman, El Dorado, Kansas' rodeo queen.

Dr. John Ise, former University of Kansas educator, addressed the Butler county Old Settlers Day gathering in El Dorado, August 24,

1958, on "Pioneers and Pioneer Life." The event was sponsored by the Butler County Historical Society.

Uniontown, Bourbon county, observed its centennial September 2, 1958, with a parade, speeches, a display of old-time clothing, and other festivities.

O. O. Vieux, Greensburg, was appointed president of the Kiowa county museum committee at a meeting of the executive committee of the Kiowa County Historical Society September 4, 1958. The museum committee is responsible for raising money and generating interest for a museum in Kiowa county.

Charles O. Gaines was elected president of the Chase County Historical Society at a meeting in Cottonwood Falls, September 6, 1958. Paul B. Wood was chosen vice-president; Clint Baldwin, secretary; George Dawson, treasurer; and Mrs. Ruth Connor, historian. The executive committee consists of the above officers and Mrs. Ida Vinson, Mrs. Helen Austin, Mrs. Bea Hays, and R. Z. Blackburn. Wood was the retiring president. Guest speaker at the meeting was Zula Bennington Greene (Peggy of the Flint Hills) who spoke on early newspapers of Chase county.

The Kansas Tuberculosis and Health Association recently published an appeal for bricks bearing the slogan "Don't Spit on Sidewalk." The bricks, manufactured a half century ago, carried the slogan as part of Dr. S. J. Crumbine's campaign to prevent the spread of communicable diseases. Renewed interest in the bricks is occasioned by the approach of the 50th anniversary of the Christmas seal program.

A history of the Immanuel Lutheran church, Norton, was recently published in a 15-page pamphlet in observance of the church's 50th anniversary. The congregation was formally organized April 21, 1908.

The League of Women Voters of Topeka recently published a 40-page pamphlet entitled *Know Your City—Topeka*.

Atchison's disastrous storms of July 11 and 30, 1958, were recorded by word and picture in a 32-page pamphlet edited by Charles Spencer and lithographed by the Sutherland Printing Co. of Atchison.

On May 26, 1958, the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Madison, announced publication of *In Support of Clio, Essays in Memory of Herbert A. Kellar*, edited by William B. Hesseltine and Donald R. McNeil. Among the essays is "Mechanical Aids in Historical Research," by George L. Anderson, head of the history department of the University of Kansas, Lawrence.

A new edition of Dr. C. M. Clark's *A Trip to Pike's Peak* . . . , edited by Robert Greenwood, was published in 1958 by the Talisman Press, San Jose, Cal. The work is an account of the Pike's Peak gold rush, 1859-1861, in which Clark participated.

Army Life on the Western Frontier, a 187-page book containing selections from the official reports made between 1826 and 1845 by Col. George Groghan, edited by Francis Paul Prucha, was recently published by the University of Oklahoma Press, Norman. Groghan was inspector general of the army and visited the frontier garrisons frequently over the 20-year period.

Dr. Clifford P. Westermeier is author of a 272-page volume entitled *Who Rush to Glory*, on the First, Second, and Third United States volunteer cavalry regiments during the Spanish-American War, published recently by the Caxton Printers, Caldwell, Idaho. Called the Cowboy Volunteers of 1898, the regiments were commanded by Cols. Theodore Roosevelt, Jay L. Torrey, and Melvin Grigsby. Recruits came largely from the states and territories of the Great Plains and Rocky Mountains.



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THE COVER

Rolling and walking stock of the Consolidated Street Railway of Cottonwood Falls and Strong City, with crews and friends. They are posed on the old and new bridges over the Cottonwood river at Cottonwood Falls, December, 1914. Apparently both nags were camera shy. One hid his head behind a telephone pole, the other turned at precisely the right moment. *Photo Riggs Studio, Cottonwood Falls.*

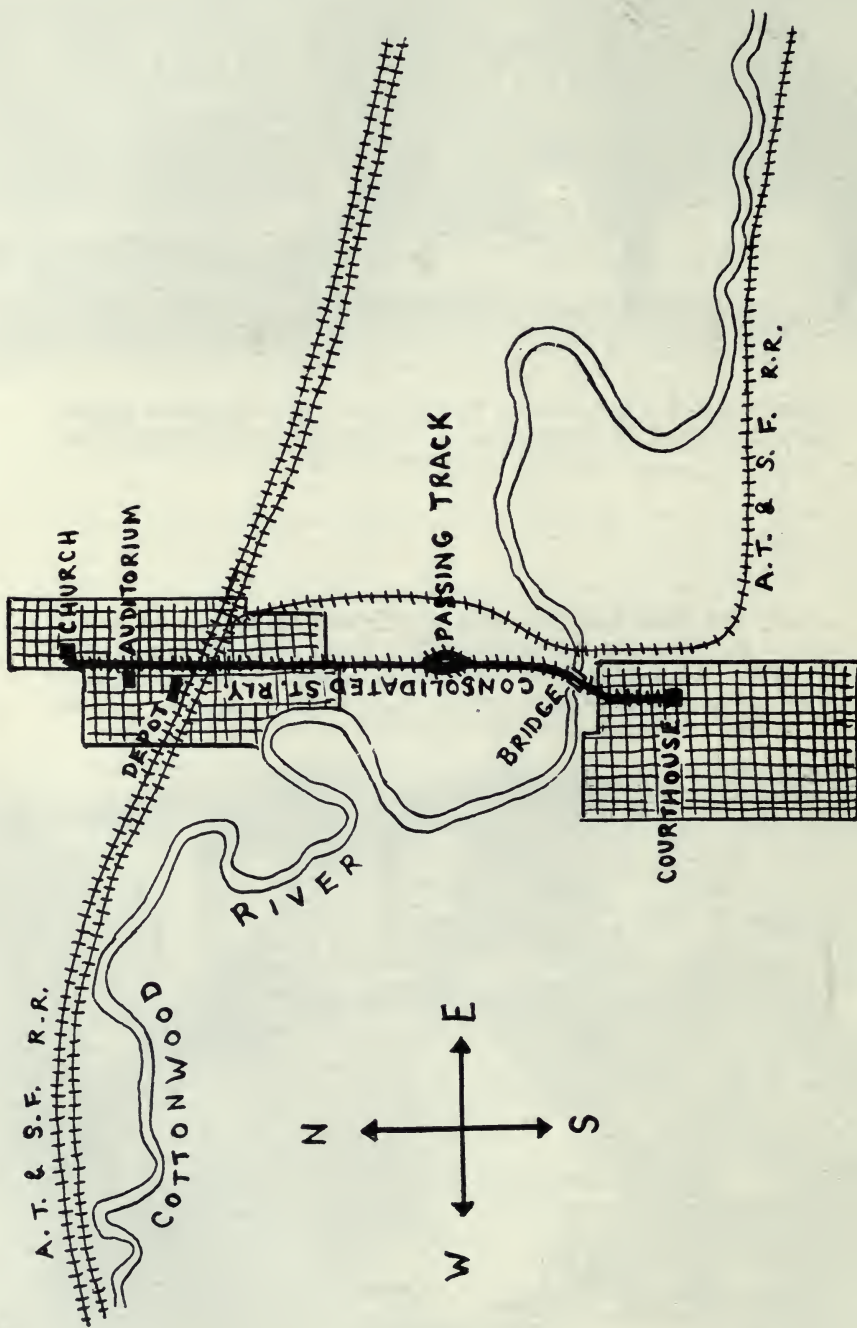


A winter view of a Consolidated Street Railway car in downtown Cottonwood Falls during the pre-auto days. Notice the heavily bundled driver and the unprotected horse.

Looking north along Broadway street in Cottonwood Falls from the second story of the Chase county courthouse. This photo, probably taken in the late 1890's, shows a horse car at its southern terminal. The long shadows of the summer afternoon prove that the horse is still there, as he is about to begin the two-mile trip to the Catholic church in Strong City.



STRONG CITY



THE KANSAS HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

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The Horse-car Interurban From Cottonwood Falls to Strong City

ALLISON CHANDLER

ONE of the strangest stories in Kansas interurban annals concerns the Consolidated Street Railway of Cottonwood Falls and Strong City. This line rightfully laid claim to being one of Kansas' first inter-town street railways. It was never an electric railway system; it was established as a horse-car line and survived more than three decades without substantial change. Then it proudly converted to a modern car line and collapsed within 18 months! Consolidated was Kansas' shortest interurban—two miles long,¹ but it was steeped in Kansas history.

In July, 1870, the Atchison & Topeka railroad reached Emporia 20 miles to the east, in its push westward.² Immediately there was speculation as to which side of the Cottonwood river the new rail line would extend. The company was having difficulty in financing the westward extension,³ and time was running short in which to reach the western line of Kansas, to earn the grant of lands across the state. It was important that the line be extended to the Arkansas river as quickly as possible to get full benefit of the cattle business which was going northward to Abilene and the Kansas Pacific.

For these reasons, the new rails were laid north of the river, and Cottonwood Falls, just south of the stream, lost out. Cottonwood Station was established in 1872,⁴ just one and one-half miles north of Cottonwood Falls. The town which immediately began grow-

ALLISON CHANDLER, who is employed in the advertising department of the *Salina Journal*, has prepared a book-length manuscript entitled "Trolley Through the Countryside." The portion reproduced here is part of that manuscript.

1. *Poor's Manual of the Railroads*, 1910.

2. John Bright, ed., *Kansas—The First Century* (New York, 1956), v. 1, p. 243.

3. Letter from W. C. Burk, special representative, Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railway Co., Topeka, dated March 23, 1954.

4. *History of Kansas Newspapers* (Topeka, 1916), p. 154.

ing up around the station was in 1881⁵ named Strong, after a president of the Santa Fe, and became popularly known as Strong City.⁶

By late 1887 the Chicago, Kansas and Western line, which had been taken over by the Santa Fe, had completed its 150-mile northwest branch from Strong through Concordia, and on to Superior, Neb., with a subbranch running from Abilene to Salina.⁷ Strong City accordingly became an important junction for passengers, mail, and freight on the line. The need for transportation from the Strong City Santa Fe depot into downtown Cottonwood Falls grew as the railroad prospered. Citizens of the twin cities organized late in 1886,⁸ and obtained a charter for the operation of a horse-car interurban rail line to be known as the Consolidated Street Railway Company. The first board of directors included J. W. McWilliams, W. H. Holsinger, J. M. Tuttle, and W. P. Martin, all of Cottonwood Falls; together with C. J. Lantry, E. A. Hildebrand, and Wit Adair, all of Strong City. The road was capitalized at \$10,000, divided into \$10 shares. It was announced that actual work on the line would commence as soon as the stock was subscribed. Chase county commissioners gave permission to the company to secure a right of way, as well as to use the steel bridge over the Cottonwood.

On February 19, 1887,⁹ a meeting of the stockholders was called to adopt bylaws. By that time nearly all of the stock had been subscribed and a preliminary survey of the right-of-way completed. On April 7¹⁰ it was announced that 4,500 Arkansas white oak ties had been ordered, the ties measuring four and one-half feet long by six inches wide and four high, and costing \$27.00 per hundred. By mid-April¹¹ grading was under way, and by June 2 workmen were laying ties. On July 28¹² the newspaper announced that mules for the railway had been purchased and the drivers engaged. Finally, on August 20, the street cars arrived and on Monday, August 22, 1887, the road was in business.¹³

A large car-and-horse barn was built along the route just north of the river. The three-foot six-inch narrow gauge, lightweight 36-pound rails¹⁴ ran down the center of Cottonwood's main street,

5. *Ibid.*

6. Letter from W. C. Burk, dated March 23, 1954.

7. *Chase County Leader*, Cottonwood Falls, November 3, 1887, January 5, 1888.

8. *Ibid.*, December 16, 1886.

9. *Ibid.*, February 17, 1887.

10. *Ibid.*, April 7, 1887.

11. *Ibid.*, April 14, 1887.

12. *Ibid.*, July 28, 1887.

13. *Ibid.*, August 25, 1887.

14. *Poor's Manual of the Railroads*, 1910.

called "Broadway." Its route was from the courthouse square in Cottonwood Falls, three blocks north to the bridge, then diagonally two blocks before straightening out to head due north into Strong City on that town's main street, called "Cottonwood Avenue." At first the line stopped at the Santa Fe tracks. But by December 8, 1887,¹⁵ it had been continued north the remaining two blocks of the Strong City business district and up the next two blocks to the Catholic church. The total distance from courthouse to church measured two miles.¹⁶

The railway used horse power in the literal sense of the word. At first a single mule and later a single horse, wearing bridle, collar and abbreviated harness, was attached to a singletree by means of a pair of one-inch rope traces. The singletree in turn was hooked onto the front of the interurban car at two points. Leather lines were hitched from bridle to the edge of an overhead canopy at the front of the car. At the end of the two-mile run the mule or horse was unhitched from one end of the vehicle and rehitched at the opposite end. There was no turntable, no "Y," no "V." Only the horse turned around!¹⁷

The cozy-looking interurbans themselves, of which the company kept two in operation constantly, were of the all-metal street car variety with simple open platforms at each end, protected from the elements only by a canopy and a three-foot-high buckboard. A single stirrup-like steel step assisted the passengers at each of the four corners. The driver remained outside of the car proper, on the platform, either standing or sitting propped up on a high stool. This meant heavy clothing in the winter months, with overcoat, mittens and earmuffs as standard uniform. The horse was left to endure the elements as best he could. The five square windows on either side of the car gave vision to 12 passengers inside, all facing the middle of the car. However, standing room often permitted the car to double that capacity. In addition to "vision windows" there were ventilators in the roof. Also, two short vents in the roof were outlets for monkey-stove pipes used in the colder months.

The 14-foot-long cars were mounted on four iron spoke wheels, and at each end of the car on the platform was a brake crank. This had a gear on the lower end which worked the steel brake shoes. The driver's chief duty was not so much that of urging on the horse as of constantly loosening and tightening the brake to prevent

15. *Chase County Leader*, December 8, 1887.

16. *Poor's Manual of the Railroads*, 1910.

17. Interview January 16, 1954, with Clint A. Baldwin, secretary of Chase County Historical Society, Cottonwood Falls.

the car from rolling wild on a grade and injuring both horse and passengers.¹⁸ While most of the line was relatively flat, the two northernmost blocks were up a steep hill and the brake proved a valuable piece of equipment at that point. While these were midget cars compared with the regular electric interurbans of probably 50,000 pounds in weight, the horse cars did weigh several tons and represented surprisingly heavy vehicles to be pulled by single horses. The equipment was copied from that of steam railroads and consisted of well-oiled journals rolling on bearings at each of the four wheels.¹⁹ When it is considered that a man with a crowbar can move a standard railroad freight car, it is understandable that a 1,000-pound horse could pull several tons of steel on the modest grades of the Consolidated line. Even so, the practice of pulling loaded cars with horses was considered inhumane by many and undoubtedly the lives of the Consolidated horses were shorter than the average.²⁰

Signs on the car neatly proclaimed: "Consolidated Street Railway Co." One later car bore the banner: "Main Street and Union Depot," signifying that one of the chief values of the line was to transport steam train passengers to and from the Santa Fe station in Strong City.²¹ While the distance from the courthouse to the station was one and one-half miles and to the Catholic church two miles, a standard fare of five cents prevailed for men, women, and children, regardless of age and regardless of distance traveled.²² There were no tickets, no tokens, just nickel-collecting by the driver as the passengers entered the car.

The daily schedule began about seven o'clock each morning, seven days a week.²³ A half-hour schedule was maintained until dark by use of two cars. The car starting from the courthouse at noon would make its two-mile run to the Catholic church with frequent stops and would be ready to start the return trip at 12:30. The other car would leave the church at noon and would be back at the courthouse ready for its next northerly run at 12:30, the cars passing midway on a passing track. This half-hour daylight schedule was maintained almost without interruption for three decades. The horses and mules were required to pull the interurbans between five and six miles an hour to preserve this schedule

18. *Ibid.*

19. Interview March, 1954, with Douglas Coates, Santa Fe railway, Salina, a boyhood resident of Cottonwood Falls during horse-car days.

20. *Ibid.*

21. Postcard borrowed from Clint Baldwin, November 23, 1953.

22. Interview with Fred G. Siler, Cottonwood Falls, real estate broker, January 16, 1954.

23. Interview with Clint Baldwin, January 16, 1954.

and it proved a satisfactory arrangement over the years, until the dawn of the auto age, when more speed was demanded. There were, of course, no reports of "hot boxes" suffered by the Consolidated in all its 30 years.

While passenger revenue was almost the sole source of income, the line did have a contract with the United States government to haul mail from Strong City to the Cottonwood Falls post office.²⁴ The mail pouches were carried inside the car whenever possible, but oftentimes were of necessity piled on the rear platform for the trip. Only personal baggage of passengers could be squeezed into the car, for which there was no charge.²⁵

The Consolidated did not attempt to haul express or freight between the towns. Baggage drays, horse driven, could be hired.²⁶ One of these vehicles was the old Union Hotel hack with which was associated one of the illustrious names in Santa Fe railroad history, James E. Hurley. Hurley, who later became an outstanding general manager of the Santa Fe, came to Cottonwood Falls as a boy and at one time drove the hotel hack.²⁷

In its horse-car days the Consolidated employed a maximum of ten men, possibly fewer.²⁸ And as late as 1910 the company owned four cars and eight horses.²⁹ There were always two drivers on duty during daylight hours, as well as attendants and helpers for the spare horses quartered in the car barn. One Cottonwood Falls man likes to recount the occasion decades ago when a local youngster told him: "Mister, when I grow up I want to be a horse taker!" To which he replied: "Son, they'll string you up in Texas for taking horses." The boy was undaunted, and explained: "But, Mister, you don't understand. I mean taking a horse from the horse car into the barn and taking another horse out of the barn to the car."³⁰

Among the drivers remembered by residents of the towns were John Mailen, Billy Reifsnyder, Ed Gauvey, and Charley Fish.³¹ Although the company attempted to keep a strict schedule, there was one unidentified driver who was reluctant to leave the courthouse or the church at the appointed half hour unless he had a passenger or two. He was the friendly type and would pile a few

24. *Ibid.*

25. *Ibid.*

26. *Ibid.*

27. *Santa Fe Employes' Magazine*, Chicago, September, 1910, p. 41.

28. Interview with Clint Baldwin, January 16, 1954.

29. *Poor's Manual of the Railroads*, 1910.

30. Recalled by Mrs. Arabella Moore, *Chase County Leader-News*, January 16, 1954.

31. Interview with Clint Baldwin, January 16, 1954.

youngsters into his car for a free ride if there were no paying passengers. Citizens who remember say, "He got lonesome on that long drive by himself."³²

Many adults have humorous recollections of the little railroad. The wheels of the Consolidated were set rather close to the center of the car, making it somewhat precarious for passengers to congregate at one end. Some of the more mischievous boys of the towns would often clamber aboard, pay their fares, and when the car was in motion, suddenly move to the rear seats. This would tilt the little vehicle backward enough to make the front wheels leave the rails. The driver would protest and threaten, to little avail, and the citizenry were frequently treated to the spectacle of the Consolidated being pulled along on two wheels by a surprised nag in front of an oath-hurling driver.³³

Train connections and matters of business gave the railway its chief lifeblood in nickels. But there were other occasions as well. Many families of Catholic faith lived in Cottonwood Falls, two miles or more from the church on the hill in Strong City.³⁴ Not only on Sunday but at various time in the week were church goers transported to services in the old stone edifice. As the towns developed, Strong City became a center for road shows, plays, and other public entertainment, first in the old opera house, then, from 1900 on, in the city auditorium, still standing two blocks south of the Catholic church. On these occasions, both Consolidated cars would pull in from Cottonwood Falls, loaded to the platforms with entertainment seekers. There were no headlights on the cars, but the drivers arranged kerosene lanterns on the sides to assist passengers and to aid the horses in picking their way down the darkened street.³⁵

Sundays sometimes provided another opportunity for service. In that era, before even the days of Sunday movies, young blades from Strong City would ride the horse cars over to Cottonwood Falls for dates. Then they would take their girls into the old stone courthouse where it was warm and cozy. That inevitably meant a climb to the lofty cupola for a breath-taking view of the town and countryside. However, woe be it if Cottonwood Falls swains caught up with them pursuing such social activities on foreign soil

32. *Ibid.*

33. Interview with Douglas Coates, March, 1954.

34. Interview with Clint Baldwin, January 16, 1954.

35. *Ibid.*

At times, it is said, they could not wait for the leisurely-moving interurban to take them home.³⁶

There are records of at least four major Cottonwood river floods during the horse-car days. The mammoth flood of 1903 covered the old steel bridge and the lowlands sufficiently to cut Cottonwood Falls off from Strong City for days. In 1904, 1906, and 1908 high water again interrupted service. In 1914 a new Marsh arch-type concrete bridge was built at a cost of \$13,700.³⁷

There are no recorded major wrecks, nor collisions of the cars with hacks, drays, or early-day autos. Notable was the fact that there was never a collision with a speeding Santa Fe passenger, baggage, or freight train at the Strong City crossing. Considering that the Santa Fe eventually stepped up its eight trains a day to well over 20 fast passenger trains through the crossing every 24 hours, it is remarkable that some miscalculating horse-car driver didn't get one of the old interurbans in their path. The cars had to cross five separate tracks, two of which were high-speed tracks of the main line, possibly 20 times a day. One safety factor was the Santa Fe's installation of crossing bars after the passenger schedule had been increased past the 20-trains-per-day mark; they swung down and blocked the horse cars and other vehicles whenever a main line train was approaching.³⁸

After the advent of motion pictures in the early 1910's, the horse cars became moving advertisements of the current or next cinema billing at local theaters in Strong City and Cottonwood Falls. Cars posing on the two Cottonwood river bridges in December, 1914 [see cover picture this issue], contained banners indicating that patrons were admitted for a flat charge of five cents per head.³⁹ One banner proclaimed: "Matinee Saturday, Gem Theatre, 2 reels, doors open 2:30, 5c." Another announced: "The Trey O' Hearts, Wednesdays, 2 shows, Doors open 7:15." A third said: "The Master Key, Saturdays, Gem Theatre." Another 1914 horse-car photo in downtown Strong City revealed a car-length banner directing would-be interurban riders to the "Bank Hotel" in Strong City.⁴⁰

It was in late 1916 and early 1917 that progress could be no longer stayed and agitation grew for more modern transportation. The

36. Interview with Douglas Coates, March, 1954.

37. *Chase County Leader*, August 13, December 24, 1914.

38. Photo in *Chase County Leader*, May 28, 1914.

39. Photo taken December, 1914, by Riggs Studio, Cottonwood Falls.

40. Photo in *Chase County Leader*, May 28, 1914.

Model T Ford was making its appearance in increasing numbers and speed was becoming more important in public transit. On November 23, 1917, the *Chase County Leader* proudly announced:

The cars of the Consolidated Street Railway . . . probably the last horse cars in the entire country have been taken off by the company who will now replace them with a motor car and more up-to-date equipment. For . . . thirty years . . . the horse car line has made regular trips every half hour. . . . The track is now being widened and repaired. . . .

In November, 1917, John Mailen made the last run as driver of a horse car and the twin-town horse interurban became history.⁴¹ Although citizens of both towns had learned to love the old horse cars, the majority were jubilant. It meant no more manure on the streets, no more inhuman treatment of horses by exposure to the bitter winter weather, no more passengers jumping out of the car to push it up the Strong City hill, no more slow speed transportation between towns. To the company it meant no more buying and feeding oats and hay, no more watching over sick horses and paying veterinarian's bills, no more overstraining of their nags by overloads of passengers.

Prior to the start of motor service the company issued the following instruction through the local press:

THE STREET CAR COMPANY GIVES NOTICE TO PATRONS

Patrons . . . must always be on the right side of the car, and on crossing, and where there is a double crossing going either to the north or south, must always be on the first crossing as there will be only one stop made on a double crossing. When packages are received by the car man, they must be paid for, as the motorman won't have time to get off and hunt the money, and the party who receives the package must either meet the car or state on package where to leave it. This may be a little unhandy to start with, but we must have some system or we won't make any time.⁴²

January 22, 1918, was a great day in the two towns when the new motor car arrived on the street, started its gasoline motor, and began its first run.⁴³ The single motor interurban continued to maintain the original one-half hour schedule of the old horse cars. But it ran twice as fast, so the company needed only one piece of equipment. Mr. Davis of Wichita became the first motorman of the new interurban, with John Mailen and Sylvester Miller as helpers.⁴⁴ On January 24, 1918, the Consolidated had its regular annual meeting

41. Interview with Clint Baldwin, January 16, 1954.

42. *Chase County Leader*, January 8, 1918.

43. *Ibid.*, January 25, 29, 1918.

44. Interview with Clint Baldwin, January 16, 1954.

of the now motorized company in Strong City. Directors chosen for the year were W. C. Harvey, George W. Crum, and Walter Hassan, all of Strong City; George McNee and W. W. Austin of Cottonwood Falls, and H. L. Baker of LaCrosse.⁴⁵

The year 1918 soon revealed that motorized progress had played the stockholders a cruel trick. The car's gasoline engine was extremely noisy and there were numerous complaints from citizens in both towns. The company inaugurated a parcel-delivery service in an effort to drum up more revenue.

The complaints were only annoying; the real appalling fact, realized after it was too late, was that the light 36-pound rails suitable for the slow-moving horse cars, would not stand the speeded-up schedule of the motor car. With disgusting regularity the new interurban jumped the track.⁴⁶

There were other troubles, and rumors that the company wanted to quit. On February 11, 1919, C. K. Cummins of Hutchinson visited Cottonwood Falls to confer about improving the railway; that is, by refitting the entire two-mile line with new and much heavier rails that could withstand the speeded-up car operations.⁴⁷ Then on June 30, 1919, the *Chase County Leader* reported:

The stockholders of the Consolidated have made application to the Public Utilities commission to discontinue business . . . because of its [the line's] inability to longer be operated at a profit, and it is likely that the equipment will be disposed of and the two miles of track taken up. What was very likely the last car to make a trip occurred at 5:30 last Friday evening, June 27.

On July 21 the *Leader* reported that permission had been granted to junk the line, and the Consolidated, which had already stopped operating, died an official death after 32 years of service, 30½ as a horse-car interurban and a year and a half as a motorized car line. Walter Hassan, one of the directors, was granted permission to start a bus line between the two towns and by July 23 had a large new yellow-painted Reo bus in operation⁴⁸ at a fare of 10 cents, the same price that had been charged by the motor car on the street railway. But that, too, died within a few years and today one must provide his own transportation between the cities.

45. *Chase County Leader*, January 29, 1918.

46. Interview with Clint Baldwin, January 16, 1954.

47. *Chase County Leader*, February 14, 1919.

48. *Ibid.*, July 23, 1919.

Immigrants or Invaders? A Document

P. J. STAUDENRAUS

I. INTRODUCTION

IN SEPTEMBER, 1856, scores of Northern men converged at Mount Pleasant, Iowa, then the Western terminus of the Burlington railroad. Youthful Free-State partisans were launching an expedition to "Bleeding Kansas." In all, 200 men and 20 wagons started for the territory, and they expected additional groups to join en route. During the last weeks of September and early October the wagon train crept across Iowa and Nebraska. On October 10, 1856, it entered Kansas. United States dragoons patrolling the territorial boundaries near Plymouth, Kansas territory, promptly halted, searched, and arrested the entire party on the grounds that it came to the restless territory as a military unit for warlike purposes. Only a month before, the territorial governor, John W. Geary, had outlawed armed bands of men as a step toward suppressing strife and turbulence in Kansas.¹

Leaders of the Free-State company, Shalor W. Eldridge, Samuel C. Pomeroy, John A. Perry, Robert Morrow, Richard Realf, and Edward Daniels, angrily protested the arrest. They argued that Governor Geary had specifically approved the entrance of bona fide immigrant parties, and they asserted that they were legitimate settlers seeking homes in the territory. The arresting army officers disbelieved their statement, for they noted the absence of the usual complement of agricultural implements, household furniture, farm supplies, women, and children. A search of the wagons, despite the objections of the Free-State men, revealed a sizable cache of weapons and war supplies. Concealed in the wagons were 36 Colt revolvers, ten Sharps rifles, 145 breech-loading muskets, 85 percussion muskets, 115 bayonets, 63 sabres, 61 dragoon saddles, plus cartridges, powder, and one drum. Members of the wagon train conceded that they were organized as a military unit—for purposes, they said, of self-defence. They explained that this precaution resulted from reports of lawlessness in Kansas. At a hearing before Governor Geary near Topeka, Eldridge and his companions maintained that their party was a peaceful one. Geary

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1. Executive minutes of Gov. John W. Geary, September 11, 1856.—*Kansas Historical Collections*, v. 4, p. 526.

confiscated the munitions but released the men with a warning to disband at once.² The Free-State men proceeded to Lawrence, entered the village in a dress parade carrying arms and flags not detected in the search, drew their wagons in a circle at the head of Massachusetts street on the banks of the Kaw river, and lit their camp fires for the last time. Next day, they dispersed.³

The arrest and brief detention of the Free-State men occurred on the eve of the presidential election of 1856. In the following weeks the incident played a part in the Republican campaign to discredit the Democratic administration. Republican newspapers such as the *Chicago Tribune* and the *New York Tribune* promptly dramatized the arrest as an "outrage," "atrocious," "gigantic crime," and "high-handed invasion of the constitutional rights of American citizens." They pictured the Free-State men as peaceful settlers harrassed by rapacious army officers and double-dealing Democratic politicians. Horace Greeley described the Free-State men as earnest, weary immigrants "robbed of all their property, except the clothes they stood in." "Republican reader!" Greeley exclaimed, "Your money is paying for all this blood-thirsty wretchedness."⁴ Only in later years did leading participants such as Shalor W. Eldridge and Robert Morrow admit that the wagon train was indeed a military unit intentionally prepared for war-making in Kansas.⁵

A letter written as the wagon train trekked across Iowa frankly states the military nature of the expedition. The author, Edward Daniels of Ripon, Wis., was one of the leaders of the ill-starred venture. The 28-year-old Daniels was formerly state geologist of Wisconsin and a loyal Republican. Born in Boston, Daniels grew up in western New York, attended Oberlin College, and as a young man found employment in Wisconsin as schoolteacher and mining engineer. His close friend, Horace White of Beloit, was an agent of the National Kansas Committee with offices in Chicago. In letters and conferences White warmed Daniels' interest in marching to Kansas with expeditions organized and outfitted by the National Kansas Committee. Another close friend, Oscar Hugh LaGrange,

2. For official reports by Governor Geary and the officers participating in the arrest, see *ibid.*, pp. 583-586, 607-612.

3. *New York Daily Tribune*, October 25, 1856.

4. *Ibid.*, October 21-25, 28, 29, 31, 1856.

5. Robert Morrow, "Emigration to Kansas in 1856," *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. 8, pp. 305, 306; Shalor Winchell Eldridge, "Recollections of Early Days in Kansas," *Publications of Kansas State Historical Society*, v. 2, pp. 110, 111; cf. William E. Connelley, *History of Kansas, State and People* . . . (Chicago, 1928), v. 1, p. 552. Connelley insisted that the authorities were deliberately abusing "peaceable and lawabiding citizens, coming to seek homes."

A Ripon schoolteacher, accompanied Daniels on the trip to Kansas.⁶

In his hastily scrawled account Daniels gave no hint that his company was an agricultural unit. He spoke of military matters: sentries, messes, officers, stacks of arms, and even a cannon which the company buried in a well-concealed grave near the Kansas-Nebraska border. Hurriedly but not without elements of literary grace he described the vicissitudes of military life. The mood and tone of the letter suggests a soldier writing to his worried family. As such, the letter could stand as a prototype for thousands of war-time letters written a few years later.

II. THE LETTER

OSCEOLA,⁷ [IOWA,] Sep 26th 1856

DEAR MOTHER AND SISTER

I write from my tent 10 o'clock at night. We are in the midst of Iowa pushing rapidly towards Kansas. Our journey has been exceedingly pleasant thus far. The weather very fine, roads good, and every condition of travel pleasant.

I sent back word to you by Mr. Bovay⁸ who went with us to Mount Pleasant. We have 200 in our Company many of the very best of men. We are divided into messes of 6 each. One mess in a tent. Hugh LaGrange is in my mess with 4 other fine fellows. We march about 25 miles per day and will be in Kansas if we have good success in about 12 days. We have good news from there of peace and quiet. We are very much disposed to rejoice at this for although prepared to fight we do not at all crave the opportunity. We have three artillery and 2 rifle companies and will be joined by other parties till our number reaches 500.

We have just completed our military organization. Col. Eldridge is General, Gen. Pomeroy of Massachusetts and myself Adjutant Generals, Col. Perry of Rhode Island Colonel.

For three days I have had the entire control of this great train of 20 wagons and 200 men. It is an immense burden and yesterday when Gens. Eldridge and Pomeroy arrived I was very glad to lay aside the responsibility and care of my position for a time.

6. Manuscript sketches, "Edward Daniels" and "Oscar Hugh LaGrange" in "Dictionary of Wisconsin Biography" project, State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Madison; Horace [White] to Edward Daniels, Beloit, Wis., May 31, 1856.—"Edward Daniels Papers," State Historical Society of Wisconsin.

7. The letter is in the "Edward Daniels Papers," *ibid.* Osceola was a station on the "Lane Trail," according to William E. Connelley, "The Lane Trail," *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. 13, pp. 268, 269. On September 17, 1856, the *Chicago Tribune* noted that Kansas-bound emigrants from Wisconsin were passing through Chicago and intended to travel "the Iowa route, via Burlington."

8. Alvan Earle Bovay (1818-1903), a leading citizen of Ripon, Wis., and an energetic Republican party organizer.—See Samuel M. Pedrick, *The Life of Alvan E. Bovay, Founder of the Republican Party in Ripon, Wis., March 20, 1854* (Ripon, Wis. [1957]), pp. 2-17.

The people are very kind here; as we pass they bring us many little luxuries and bid us Godspeed. We get melons, squashes, pumpkins and occasionally a few peaches and sweet potatoes. I have never enjoyed my meals better. We have several very good cooks. We have had 3 oxen given us since we started and numerable [?] chickens so we fare well for meat.

To-day as I stood addressing the men from the top of a cannon wheel I had mounted as a rostrum a man came up and addressed me whom I used to know at Oberlin. A very strange meeting [I] tho't. The boys are all asleep and no sound is heard save the stamping [of] the horses and the measured tread of the guards as they pass by my tent. I am sitting upon the ground writing upon a cartridge box and leaning against a stack of guns. We have had a fine meeting this evening in the open air which is warm and balmy. We have delightful music both vocal and other and our toilsome march is relieved by many happy hours. Still we think often of the luxuries & pleasant scenes of home. We get plenty of wild grapes. They make us many feasts and good sauce.

The wind blows my light. I must go and see to my guards and go to sleep next.

Write me to Lawrence, Kansas, where I hope to be next week.

Very truly yours

EDWARD DANIELS

III. EPILOGUE

Daniels does not indicate whether he and LaGrange ever intended to settle in Kansas, but soon after their inglorious arrest at Plymouth, both men returned to Wisconsin and subsequently joined in the escapades of Sherman M. Booth, antislavery editor of the Milwaukee *Free Democrat*. Booth's defiance of the Fugitive-Slave Act involved him in numerous lawsuits with federal authorities and temporarily made him a Republican martyr. In August, 1860, Daniels and LaGrange forced their way into the jury room of the Milwaukee Customs House where Booth was imprisoned and carried him to Ripon. With their assistance Booth eluded capture long enough to campaign for the Republican ticket in the Ripon area.

After Lincoln's inauguration, Daniels was a member of Jim Lane's curious "Frontier Guard" which stationed itself at the executive mansion in April, 1861. Later, Daniels and LaGrange organized the First Wisconsin cavalry regiment. Colonel LaGrange participated in the capture of Jefferson Davis and later served as superintendent of the mint at San Francisco. Daniels resigned his

commission during the war, purchased an estate in Virginia, and published the *Richmond State Journal*. He died in 1916, in his 88th year.⁹

Many years after the Eldridge wagon train disbanded at Lawrence, Daniels chose the rhetoric of the battlefield to praise the Free-State partisans. In a speech in the 1880's, he portrayed them not as immigrants but as inspired warriors who sought to thwart a slave-ridden Democracy. Generously mixing his metaphors, he lauded his Northern companions, armed and aided by such groups as the National Kansas Committee, as "that Spartan band" who fought and won the "Thermopylae of freedom."¹⁰

9. Manuscript sketches, "Edward Daniels" and "Oscar Hugh LaGrange" in "Dictionary of Wisconsin Biography" project, State Historical Society of Wisconsin; "The Soldiers of Kansas, the Frontier Guard at the White House, Washington, 1861," *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. 10, pp. 419-421; Edgar Langsdorf, "Jim Lane and the Frontier Guard," *Kansas Historical Quarterly*, v. 9, pp. 13-25; Henry Harnden, "The First Wisconsin Cavalry at the Capture of Jefferson Davis," *Collections of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin*, Madison, v. 14, pp. 516-532.

10. Manuscript speech, about 1885, commemorating Gen. James D. Webster's services to National Kansas Committee.—"Edward Daniels Papers," State Historical Society of Wisconsin.

With the First U. S. Cavalry in Indian Country, 1859-1861—Concluded

LETTERS TO *The Daily Times*, LEAVENWORTH

Edited by LOUISE BARRY

III. THE LETTERS, MAY 3, 1860-APRIL 28, 1861

CAMP ON LEAPER'S CREEK,⁴⁵ NEAR FORT COBB, C. N.,
Thursday, May 3d, A. D., 1860.

EDITOR OF TIMES: The second squadron of 1st Cavalry left Fort Washita, C. N., on the 9th of April last, to proceed to Camp Cooper, in Texas, to join the command of Major [George H.] Thomas, 2nd. Cavalry, then under orders to scout the country northwest of Camp Cooper and along Red river, to chastise all hostile Indians, and to show them no mercy whatever. Our route lay in a southwestern course, over a beautiful, rich and picturesque prairie, in the Indian Territory, to Red river, which we crossed on the following day. The salutation we received upon Texan soil was a drenching shower of cold rain, lasting for about half an hour, when the clouds suddenly broke away, and the sun poured forth its burning rays, almost suffocating us.

The majority of the farmers in this part of Texas have already done all their oat sowing, corn and potato planting; corn is already two inches in height.

Immediately after crossing the boundary line between Texas and the Indian Territory, brought within our view two settlements only, and, composing each, only one family, and at a distance of thirty miles apart, while in Texas we passed settlements every two or three miles. The soil in Texas is superior to any that I have heretofore seen. In picturesque scenery Texas almost surpasses the world.

APRIL 11.—Today we struck the [Butterfield] Overland Mail route to California. The roads were in very poor condition before this, but since we are on this great thoroughfare we have splendid roads. Large herds of horses, ponies and cattle cover the treeless

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45. Leeper's creek—named for Indian Agent Mathew Leeper, who in 1860, after the death of Samuel A. Blaine, succeeded him as head of the agency for the Indians from Texas, near Fort Cobb.—M. H. Wright, "A History of Fort Cobb," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, v. 34, p. 55. See, also, Footnote 52.

portions of the country. This evening we pitch camp on Gaine's creek, now nearly dry; only a few holes of stagnant water are left to show that there is a creek in the vicinity. The following morning we struck the tents, and were in the saddle at an early hour ready for the march. We passed through Gainesville, a village containing upwards of 500 inhabitants.⁴⁶ The town bears marks of having been founded a long time ago. About one half of the houses it contains have been erected since the Overland mail route has been in operation; the other half have the appearance of being centenarians. From Gainesville we crossed over a very desolate looking prairie. Not a solitary tree was to be seen the whole day. Deer, grouse and turkey are in abundance all along the route. Settlements are becoming scarce; the only houses we meet with are mail stations. On the 13th we marched through timbered country a distance of twenty-seven miles, and pitched camp on Barnsly creek, close to a mail station.—Here I was informed that most of the depredations committed in these parts was done by the Reserve Indians, recently removed from this State to Fort Cobb. They come in parties of five and six, and steal any thing they can get hold of. Not long since a blacksmith, employed by the Overland Mail Company to shoe their horses between Sherman and Fort Belknap, was found murdered in the road, about eight miles from the latter place; he had left Belknap on a tour to shoe the horses between that place and Sherman.

On the night of the 14th, a severe storm passed over camp, blowing down nearly all of our tents, and drenching the inmates to the skin. Several coaches have passed us on the road; they are invariably loaded with passengers. Milk and Butter are very scarce in this section of the country, notwithstanding farmers have large herds of cattle, but keep only a few for domestic use—the remainder run at large over the prairies.

On the 16th we had a heavy shower of hail. The hail stone[s] were of uncommon large size; some were as large as a walnut with the hull on. We passed through Jacksborough, a neat little village.⁴⁷ On the 18th we received orders to abandon the Camp Cooper expedition and to proceed to Fort Cobb, there to join the command of S. D. Sturgis, Capt. 1st Cavalry. We lay over one

46. Gainesville, Tex., was a ten-year-old town in 1860, settled by persons who had started west on the California trail. It is near the center of, and the seat of Cooke county, Texas.—W. P. Webb, ed., *The Handbook of Texas* (Austin, Tex., 1952), v. 1, p. 660.

47. The settlement of this town began in 1855. When it became the seat of Jack county, Texas, in 1859, it was named Jacksborough. In 1899 the name was changed to Jacksboro.—*Ibid.*, p. 900.

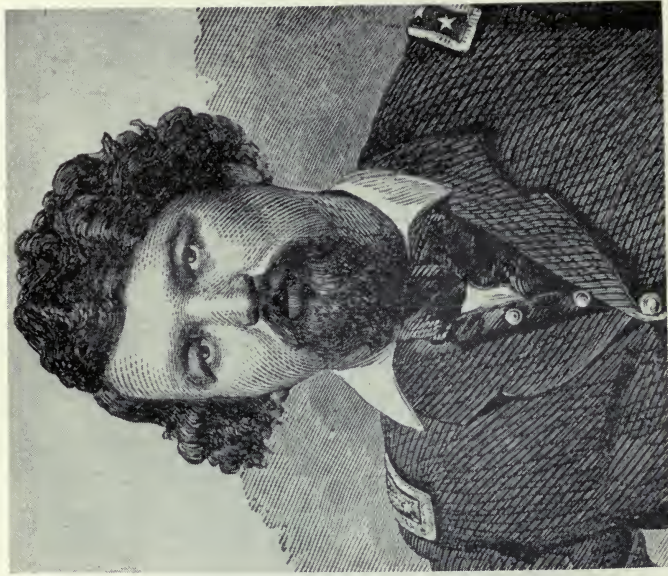


Forts Washita and Arbuckle, I. T., as sketched "by a government draughtsman." Originally published in *Harper's Weekly*, March 16, 1861; reprinted in *Harper's Pictorial History of the Civil War*.



William H. Emory
(1811-1887)

Major, First U. S. cavalry, 1855-January 31, 1861, when he became lieutenant colonel. Commanding officer at Fort Arbuckle 1859, and at Fort Cobb late 1859-1860. Led all U. S. troops in Indian territory to Fort Leavenworth in May, 1861. Highest rank: Major general, U. S. V.



Samuel D. Sturgis
(1822-1889)

Captain, Company E, First U. S. cavalry, 1855-May 3, 1861, when he became major. Commander of the Southern column, Kiowa-Comanche expedition, summer of 1860. Highest rank: Brigadier general, U. S. V. Sketches from *Harper's Pictorial History of the Civil War*.

day in camp six miles east of [Fort] Belknap,⁴⁸ to rest our horses.—Accordingly, on the 20th, we set out on our way to Fort Cobb. Every thing went on smoothly until we arrived on the banks of the Little Wichita river, where we were compelled to unload our wagons and ferry ourselves across on a raft. Our horses we turned loose on the bank, and they swam across, while the saddles were put across on the raft. A few days later we came into the Buffalo range. A more desolate looking country I never saw. Grass was eat off so close to the ground that our horses had to do without while we were in the buffalo country. The prairie was perfectly black with them. When in camp near the Wichita mountains, a herd of buffaloes stampeded our mules, and run off five of them for good. Passed through Camp Radzeminski, where Major C. Van Dorn had established his head quarters while on the war trail of the Comanches in 1858-9. We finally arrived at Fort Cobb on the 29th of April.

There has been but little done towards the erection of Fort Cobb. All that has been done towards its erection is the laying of the foundation of a saw mill, but I am informed that as soon as the necessary appropriations are made by Congress, the work will be pushed vigorously forward. The troops stationed here, are, four companies of infantry, and two of cavalry.⁴⁹ Their quarters at present consist of tents put on pickets. A few log houses have been built for officers' quarters.

The expedition ordered out under command of Capt. S. D. Sturgis, consists of six companies of the 1st cavalry, (B, A, C, D, E and I). There are no positive orders when we are to set out on the march. In the first place, we have to await the arrival of provisions from San Antonio, Texas, and the arrival of companies A and B, who set out on the march for Camp Cooper from Fort Arbuckle. An express was out after them, but could not cross Red river.

Yours anon,

Rover.

48. Fort Belknap, Tex. (mentioned in the introduction to these letters), had been established in 1851, the same year as Fort Arbuckle, C. N. Both were located by Capt. R. B. Marcy. Fort Belknap's site is about a mile south of present Newcastle, Tex.—*Ibid.*, p. 620; W. S. Nye, *Carbine and Lance* . . . (Norman, Okla., 1937), p. 21. At the point "six miles east of Belknap," the cavalymen were about 40 miles from Camp Cooper. Here they turned and traveled almost due north to reach Fort Cobb, approximately 150 miles distant.

49. Maj. William H. Emory and the same command who had established the post the previous autumn were still at Fort Cobb in April, 1860. The troops were Companies D and E, First U. S. cavalry (formerly at Fort Arbuckle), and Companies B, C, D and F, First U. S. infantry (formerly stationed in Texas). Only the infantry troops were left at Fort Cobb after the expedition under Sturgis set out on June 9, 1860.

CAMP ON PAWN [POND] CREEK,⁵⁰
NEAR FT. COBB, C. N., June 3, '60.

EDITOR OF TIMES: We are still in the vicinity of Fort Cobb, awaiting orders to proceed against the Kiowa and Comanche Indians. A sufficient quantity of provision has arrived, but as yet no positive orders have been issued to take up the line of march.—Orders are almost daily issued, but only to be countermanded before the time arrives to put them into execution.

Preparations towards the erection of Fort Cobb are progressing slowly; the sawmill, which I spoke of in my last, is going towards completion at a snail pace.

On the 10th ult., a party of Delaware and Tonkowa Indians made another foray amongst the Kiowa Indians, and succeeded in taking seven scalps. They came upon a party of fifteen Kiowas about seventeen miles from the Fort, killed seven of their number, returned to their camp the following day, and celebrated the event with the war dance, carousing throughout the whole night, and each succeeding night for two weeks. It is of common occurrence for the Kiowa Indians to make descents upon the Indians here, and drive off their horses, ponies, mules and cattle, to the number of ten and twenty at a time.

On the 18th ult., we were joined by Companies A and B;⁵¹ the command now consists of four companies, under command of Capt. W[illiam N. R.] Beale. Companies B and A marched all the way to Camp Cooper before they received the order to concentrate at Fort Cobb; they returned to Fort Arbuckle, remained there ten days, then set out for this place.

On the 22d ult., three Kiowa Indians made themselves sufficiently bold to drive off eighteen head of cattle belonging to Col. Leaper,⁵² the beef contractor for Fort Cobb; the herder, a Mexican, in attempting to rescue his master's property, was severely wounded in the right arm with an arrow.

On the 23rd ult., a detachment of fifty recruits arrived from San Antonio, Texas, for the Infantry Companies at Forts Cobb and Arbuckle. A more intelligent set of men are not to be picked up every day by Uncle Sam.

There are rumors afloat that as soon as we leave here, 3,000 Texan volunteers contemplate making an attack upon the reserve

50. Pond (not Pawn) creek—later known as Cobb creek.

51. Apparently Companies A and B, First cavalry (previously stationed at Fort Smith), had been garrisoned at Fort Arbuckle (along with Company E, First infantry), during the winter of 1859-1860 (to replace Companies D and E sent to establish Fort Cobb).

52. Mathew Leeper (*see* Footnote 45) later in the year became head of the Indian agency at this place.

Indians, for depredations supposed to be committed by them on citizens in the border counties of Texas. It is my opinion that the depredations committed on the frontier of Texas, are the work of white men, disguised as Indians.

JUNE 4TH.—Orders were issued to-day for us to hold ourselves in readiness to march for the scene of Indian hostilities on the 7th inst., with ninety days' provisions.

The southern column of the Kiowa and Comanche expedition⁵³ consists of six companies of 1st Cavalry; the northern of four companies of 1st Cavalry and two of 2d Dragoons, and the western of five companies of Mounted Rifles and one of 1st Dragoons—making altogether eighteen companies of mounted troops in the field against the cowardly red skins of the Plains. Should these eighteen companies of cavaliers fall in with these red devils, they will teach them how to murder peaceful emigrants in a manner they will not easily forget.

I hope this Summer's expedition against the Indians will prove more successful than that of last summer.

Rumor says that the Indians number upwards of 3,000, and are in camp one hundred miles north of here on the Washita river.

JUNE 5TH.—Capt. S. D. Sturgis, commanding the southern column of Kiowa and Comanche forces, joined us from Fort Cobb today, with companies C and D, of 1st Cavalry.

The weather here for the last two weeks has been exceedingly hot, with a prospect before us of still hotter weather.

Lieut. [Albert V.] Colburn, with seventy-three recruits for the 1st Cavalry, is daily expected to arrive here; he will probably join us before we take up the line of march.

More when time permits.

ROVER.

53. The Kiowa-Comanche expedition of 1860 was undertaken to punish these Indians for a series of murders and depredations on the Santa Fe trail in the fall and early winter of 1859. The outbreak stemmed from the killing of Kiowa chief Big Pawnee by Lt. George D. Bayard near Allison's ranch (at Walnut creek crossing), on September 21, 1859.—S. J. Bayard, *The Life of George Dashiell Bayard* (New York, 1874), pp. 154-158. At the time there were large camps of Kiowas and Comanches on Walnut creek seeking a peace treaty with the U. S. The killing of Big Pawnee sent them on the warpath. Within six weeks some 20 persons traveling the Santa Fe trail in Kansas had been massacred by these Indians.—*The Daily Times*, Leavenworth, November 5, 1859; *Weekly Leavenworth Herald*, October 29, 1859.

For an account of the movements of the expedition's northern column (commanded by Maj. John Sedgwick), see Lt. J. E. B. Stuart's diary of 1860 (edited by W. S. Robinson), in *The Kansas Historical Quarterly*, v. 23, pp. 382-400.

CAMP ON ARKANSAS RIVER, FIVE MILES SOUTHWEST
OF CAMP ALERT,⁵⁴ K. T., July 22, 1860.

EDITOR OF TIMES—DEAR SIR: As I stated in my last, we took up the line of march on the 9th of June. Early in the morning of the same day, a batch of seventy-three recruits arrived in camp; they were immediately assigned to the different companies. At eleven o'clock the "general" (signal to strike tents) sounded; after every thing was stowed away in wagons, we took the road for the Kiowa and Comanche country. The first three days we made short marches up the Washita Valley, in order to give the mail rider time to overtake us. After the arrival of the mail, we took up the march in good earnest. The Washita river has some curious freaks about it. Upon several occasions, when we camped on its banks, not a single drop of water was to be seen. Towards evening, all at once, the water rises sufficiently high to swim horses.

The seventh day out, while in camp on the Washita river, some of our Indians reported that there was a party of Kiowas in camp, not far from us. Company B was immediately dispatched to the supposed Kiowa camp, but returned in the evening and reported that the Indians seen were a party of the Keetcie tribe, from the reserve at Fort Cobb. Leaving the Washita river to our rear, we struck for the Canadian river. Between these two rivers we passed over the most barren country the globe affords. With the exception of a narrow strip of bearing soil along water courses, the country is a complete bed of sand and rock.

On the 17th of June, after a march of thirty miles, we came to the Canadian, and to our utter disappointment, found not a solitary drop of water in it. We marched about five miles from the north side, where we came to a small lake. Here hundreds of dead fish were floating upon the surface of the water. For want of a better place, we camped here. Along the bottoms of creeks wild game, such as turkeys, grouse, deer, antelope, rabbits and buffalo are very plenty, especially the latter, which are scattered over the prairies in herds by thousands. The bad water we used for the past week has told severely upon the health of the troops—all, or nearly all, having a severe attack of diarrhoea.

The second day after crossing the Canadian, we crossed the North Fork of the same river—a beautiful, clear running stream of water

54. Although Camp Alert (established as a camp on Pawnee Fork in October, 1859) had been officially renamed Fort Larned nearly two months before this date, the old name still clung. Fort Larned was soon to become an important military post on the Santa Fe trail. The site is on the south side of the Pawnee Fork, west of present Larned.—*The Kansas Historical Quarterly*, v. 1, p. 204; v. 23, p. 162.

—marched two miles beyond it, and camped by the side of a beautiful little stream of water, composed entirely of springs, the waters of which are far superior to the famous springs of Europe. Up to the 20th of June, we saw neither sign, trail or trace of hostile Indians. We continued up the North Fork of the Canadian for several days. One day we passed by what appeared to have been a large camp of soldiers, only a few days old. From the time we passed the above place, orders were issued that no firing of arms, nor blowing of bugles, be allowed on the march or in or about camp, until further orders.

After sunset, on the 21st of June, while in camp on the north branch of the north fork of the Canadian, and while a party of men were bathing in an adjoining lake, John G. Telle, of Company I, was accidentally drowned. His body was under water for nearly an hour. When it was brought on shore, the surgeon did all in his power to restore life, but all to no avail. His body was consigned to the grave early next morning. After which we took up the line of march, and traveled over a grassless, traceless and waterless prairie a distance of twenty-four miles, and were finally compelled to pitch camp at a small lake of stagnant water. A hot, scorching wind blew across the prairie all day long, nearly burning all the skin off our face and hands. On the 23d of June, we marched over a beautiful spot of land, between the north branch of North Fork and Rabbit Ear branch of the Canadian river.

Soon after the tents were pitched, on the banks of the Rabitear branch of Canadian, our guides came into camp and reported they had discovered a trail of a party of Indians going North; orders were immediately issued to prepare for a six days' scout. Early in the morning of the following day, we took leave of the train, taking with us only one wagon to each company. We marched over a very hilly country, until we reached Kiowa Creek, near the Cimaron river, where we found the camp of the Indians, of the night previous; at this point, a messenger arrived from the wagons and reported that one of them had broken down; upon hearing this, the commanding officer concluded to camp.

The broken wagon reached camp some time after dark. This being our first night without tents, [omission?] and as a consequence all hands received a severe ducking. The following morning we resumed the march early, crossed White's Creek and Cimaron river—passed over a fine country studded with thousands of plum bushes; the fruit upon them, is as yet unripe. This day we camp at a water hole in the center of a large prairie. We kept on marching

for several days, when an express was started to the train for it to follow us.—At the expiration of the six days we had seen no Indians, nor were likely to do so. The train arrived in camp at noon on the 29th of June; preparations were immediately made for a twenty days' scout with pack mules.—At 9 o'clock on the morning of the 30th, everything was in marching order, and we proceeded forward; before proceeding on the march we were mustered.

We marched from 8 o'clock until after sunset, when we came to the Arkansas river, leaving the train about 55 miles to our rear. The country we passed over was a vast level stretch of prairie, without hill, dale, tree, shrub, or even a spear of grass. Our camp is situated nine miles below old Fort Mackay, and opposite to the train of Maj. Sedgwick's command,⁵⁵ on their way to join the command, which is represented to be in a state bordering on starvation.—On the 1st day of July we crossed the Arkansas river and marched up it for three days.—On the evening of the third day some of the officers of Major S.'s column⁵⁶ were at our camp. On the 4th we marched down the river two miles and laid over the remainder of the day. The following morning we took up the march and continued down the river until we arrived at our crossing; here we awaited the arrival of our train. The day we crossed the large prairie, the command was scattered about ten miles along the trail. A number of the mules gave out for want of water.—When the rear guard arrived in camp it was past midnight; I happened to be one of the unlucky ones forming the rear guard. Several times when the moon was hidden behind a cloud, we lost the trail; had it not been for two Mexicans who were in rear of all, overtaking us at this point, we probably would have perished. The whole party scattered out in search of the trail and finally it was found, and the Mexicans placed in front, who guided us safely into camp. After the arrival of the train at the Arkansas river we prepared for a fifteen days' scout; at this time we took with us two wagons to a company.

On the 9th of July we took up the march for the head waters of Walnut Creek, having been informed that the Kiowas were in that

55. The supply train of Sedgwick's command was camped on the north bank of the Arkansas, on the Santa Fe trail, a few miles below the junction of the "wet" and "dry" routes where Fort Dodge was to be established five years later (1865). Sturgis and his troops were south of the river. "Fort Mackay" was another name by which short-lived (1851-1854) Fort Atkinson was known. The exact location of Fort Atkinson (called Camp Mackay when Sumner's troops were camped there in 1850-1851), long a matter of controversy, has been established as in the S. W. $\frac{1}{4}$, Sec. 29, T. 26 S., R. 25 W., about two miles west of present Dodge City.—*The Kansas Historical Quarterly*, v. 23, p. 131.

56. Maj. John Sedgwick's troops (Companies F, G, H, and K of the First cavalry, and two companies of Second dragoons) formed the northern column (see p. 403) of the Kiowa-Comanche expedition of 1860. His First cavalry troops were headquartered at Fort Riley and some of them had patrolled the Santa Fe trail in the Fort Atkinson area for the past three summers.

direction. Marched 28 miles and camped on Coon Creek. The following day we marched over very heavy prairie a distance of 20 miles and camped on Pawnee Fork; when within about five miles of camp, we saw a large herd of elk, the first I have seen this year. The following day we came to Walnut Creek, crossed over, and continued down the stream until we arrived at the mouth; ⁵⁷ passed a large number of old camping places of the Kiowa tribe. By the appearance of the evacuated camp, I should judge that they numbered upwards of 700.

While laying in camp at the mouth of Walnut Creek, Co. "A" was sent to scout in the vicinity of Cow Creek. The following day one express arrived from Capt. Beale, stating that he had come on to a large trail of Indians. The same evening, (the 15th,) the remainder of the command took up the march for Cow Creek; march twenty-two miles in the night, and pitch a temporary camp for about two hours, to rest men and horses. At day-light we were in the saddle, ready for the march, leaving camp without a bite to eat; arrive at Cow Creek, after marching about twenty miles. Here we took something to eat, the first in twenty hours. At this place we saw numerous Indian camps of recent evacuation. The following day we marched down the creek, to within about five miles of its mouth,⁵⁸ where we found about three hundred Kaw Indians in camp, laying in their winter stock of Buffalo meat. During the night's march, one of "C" Company's men got detached from the command, lost his horse, and was left a way wanderer upon the prairie. After arriving at Cow Creek, a corporal and two privates, with a guide, set out in search of him, and found him about twelve miles from camp, in a deplorable condition, having been without food for thirty-six hours. They arrived in camp just as we were on the point of starting for the mouth of Cow Creek.

From Cow Creek to Pawnee Fork, (our present camp,) we made in four days, being a distance of 88 miles.

During our absence from Walnut Creek, one of the houses upon its banks was broken into, the contents stolen therefrom, and then burnt to the ground. It is supposed that the deed was done by a party of outlaws which infest the country along the Santa Fe road. Such men ought to be burnt at the stake.

Forty-four days have passed away since we left Fort Cobb, out of which we marched forty-one and laid over three. We marched a

57. At the mouth of Walnut creek was a log cabin known as Allison's (or Peacock's) ranch; there was also a U. S. mail station at this crossing of the Santa Fe trail.—O. Allen, *Guide Book . . . to the Gold Fields of Kansas & Nebraska* (Washington, 1859), p. 9.

58. At, or near, present Hutchinson, Kan.

distance of seven hundred and forty-three miles, the longest day's march being fifty miles, and the shortest two, making an average of eighteen miles per day. Our horses are in a poor condition. It is the calculation of the commanding officer, at present, to lay over five days, and then to either take up the march for Smoky Hill Fork of the Kaw River or for home. There are rumors afloat that the Kiowas are at the first mentioned place. All search for them thus far has been in vain.

Our command is daily decreasing, by the expiring of the term enlisted for. But few have re-enlisted.

ROVER.

CAMP ON PLATTE RIVER, TWO MILES WEST
OF FT. KEARNEY, Aug. 10, '60.

DEAR TIMES:—On the 28th ult., we left our camp on the Arkansas river ⁵⁹ for Smoky Hill Fork, taking with us all serviceable horses, and a train of thirty wagons, to carry provisions for the men, and forage for horses for a fifteen days' scout; the remainder of the train with a guard of twenty men, was left in camp to await our return. Marched more than a day over a broken prairie in a Northern direction, a distance of twenty-four miles, and camped on Walnut Creek.

JULY 29.—Left camp at 6 o'clock, marched over a high, dry and barren prairie for twenty miles and camped on Smoky Hill Fork. No traces of the Indians were found here.

JULY 30.—A heavy storm passed over camp last night, giving us a thorough wetting. Left camp at 7 o'clock, marched over a dry, hilly prairie a distance of twenty-eight miles and camped on Big Saline Fork. The country we passed over to-day has a wild, beautiful, picturesque appearance, and is better adapted to the haunts of Indians than any other we have passed this summer. Passed by several places showing signs where Indians recently were.

JULY 31.—Several Indian relics were bro't into camp, indicating the presence of Indians hereabouts. We moved camp down the stream about two miles to rest men and horses, as well as to give our trailers time to hunt up the trail. A heavy tornado passed over camp, blowing down tents, upsetting wagons, and committing great havoc in general. At 9 o'clock our trailers arrived and reported that they had discovered a trail leading up the stream, about seven days old.

AUGUST 1.—We followed the trail up the stream about ten miles,

59. Five miles southwest of Fort Larned (Camp Alert).

and camped for the third time on Big Saline Fork. The river bottom is a very rich soil, abundantly studded with wild plums. About fifteen miles from camp we came to an Indian camp, having the appearance of having been evacuated about six days. About two hours after encamping, our Indians set up a cry of Kiowa! Kiowa! and the sentinel giving signs of approaching Indians, directing the trailers to come in, and exhibited three scalps yet dripping with fresh blood. The tents were immediately struck, and horses saddled, after which we left camp at a rapid pace. When about ten miles on the way, another unfortunate Kiowa lost his scalp. By this time it was beginning to get dark; we charged upon a party of fifty Kiowas, but darkness prevented us from overtaking them; we marched twelve miles and camped on the open prairie without wood or water. The Little Saline was three miles off, and a large party went to get water to drink.

AUG. 2—[and 3?] Passed over a rough, hilly country for eighteen miles, and camped on Solomon's Fork;⁶⁰ here we came to an Indian camp only evacuated last night. The trail for three miles was literally strewn with dried meat, lodge poles, buffalo robes, moccasins and all sorts of cooking utensils; hides were yet pinned to the ground in their camp, but all were damaged; they must have left in great haste. After sunset,⁶¹ we resumed the march, following up the trail which passes along what is known as the great Pawnee trail; about five miles from camp we came to a place where a large quantity of goods had been dropped and guarded by a dog; five miles further we added a small pony to our command, which evidently could not keep up with the rapid pace of the Indians. Marched fifteen miles and camped on a tributary to Solomon's Fork.—Our camp was in the midst of an Indian camp but one day old; here were a number of saddles and various other equipments left behind.

AUG. 3.—[AUG. 4?] Marched over a rough, hilly country a distance of ten miles and camped on Wolf Creek. Six Indian trailers left camp to hunt up the trail, and when about six miles from camp fell into ambush ⁶² of the Kiowas, killing two, wounding three; the

60. Captain Sturgis' account stated ". . . we succeeded in arriving so close upon the rear of the enemy, at Solomon's fork, on the morning of the 3d, as to get possession of their camp, which they had abandoned during the previous night. Here we found large quantities of buffalo meat and hides, and a considerable number of lodge poles. . . ."—Report of Capt. S. D. Sturgis, dated "Fort Kearney, N. T., August 12, 1860," in *Secretary of War's Report*, 1860, pp. 19-22.

61. Sturgis' account: "As we had marched fifty miles within the last twenty-four hours . . . we remained in camp during the day, and marched again in a violent storm as soon as it was dark, striking directly for the north, by the compass."—*Ibid.* Rover makes no mention of the storm!

62. As Sturgis described this: "During the next day [the 4th], five of our Indian scouts fell in with a large party of the enemy, and two of them were killed and the others wounded," one fatally, and has since died; three of the enemy were killed, and several wounded."—*Ibid.*

others escaped and brought the news to camp. Two companies were immediately dispatched to pursue the Indians. About four miles from camp we found the three wounded Tonkows. Two miles further we found two dead but not scalped. An express was sent for the rest of the command. Several bloody blankets and one dead Kiowa were seen on the trail as we advanced. Marched twenty miles when the command hove in sight; we halted to await its arrival, after which we camped again on Wolf Creek.

AUG. 5.—Soon after leaving camp we came to the main trail; on Prairie Dog Creek we found a large encampment evacuated this morning. After following trail for 49 miles, we encamped on Supper [Sappa] Creek. A short time before camping, the trailers with ten men left to take the general direction of the trail. They soon returned and reported they had discovered a place where the Indians had left in great haste, leaving a great quantity of dried meat behind them. We crossed the old route from Leavenworth to Pike's Peak.

AUG. 6.—Left camp at sunrise. About two miles from camp, over a gentle rise, we came upon a party of thirty Indians. A detachment of thirty men, and the advance guard, immediately charged upon them. They ran them so close that they were compelled to drop lances, rifles, pistols, bows and arrows, and other Indian trinkets, as well as their saddles. The Indians soon gained level ground, and far outstripped us. We followed the trail for fifteen miles. While halting to rest our horses, a party of about fifty made their appearance about two miles in advance of us, and seemed very warlike. One Company of troops, and one hundred of our Indians, went towards them. The fifty, at first seen, soon numbered over five hundred. Our Indians were first in battle; two of their number were killed, and two wounded. The Kiowas left three dead on the field. There is no accurate idea to be formed of how many were killed of their number, as they are nearly all strapped to their saddles. When the main body of troops advanced towards them, they retreated at a rapid pace. The charge was sounded, the 1st and 3d squadrons took up the charge, while the second⁶³ was kept back as a reserve. The third came upon them just in time to pour

63. Since Rover's squadron was held in reserve he probably did not have a good view of the actual battle. Sturgis' account, though brief, is vivid: "In our front lay a level plain—say a mile in width—intersected by numerous ravines, and contained between a low ridge of hills on the north and a heavily-wooded stream on the south. As we advanced, the enemy poured in from every conceivable hiding place, until the plain and hill sides contained probably from 600 to 800 warriors, apparently determined to make a bold stand. . . ." But when a cavalry charge was ordered the Indians began to give way and "The whole scene now became one of flight and pursuit for fifteen miles, when they scattered on the north side of the Republican fork, rendering further pursuit impossible. . . ."—*Ibid.*

several volleys into them.—While crossing a deep ravine, I saw several drop off their ponies, and a large number reeling in their saddles. When we arrived at the spot, not an Indian was to be seen—both dead and living had disappeared amongst the timbers of the Republican. As we gained the last rise between us and the river, we could just see them emerging from the timber on the opposite side of the river. We followed after them for about eight miles north of the Republican, and found that we were losing ground, when we returned to where the fight first commenced.

After a ride of fifty miles, we camped on a branch of Supper [Sappa] creek. While we were following the main body of Indians, another party attacked the train, but were sorely disappointed. They lost four killed and five wounded; in return for which they got eight ponies belonging to our guides. One man, returning from the main body of troops with a broken down horse, was attacked by a party of eight Kiowas. He killed two, and wounded another. He broke three of their lances with his sabre. While engaged with the third Indian, aid arrived and dispersed the remainder. His horse was run through with a lance; the man himself received a slight wound in his legs. The prairie over which the Indians ran was literally covered with saddles, blankets, and various other Indian equipments. One of our Indians killed has twenty one arrows sticking in his body. While returning from the Republican to camp, several of the Kiowas kept galloping backwards and forwards upon the crest of a high hill, about three miles distant, probably to take observations of our camp for an attack to-night. Our camp is situated on the side of a gently rising hill, half a mile from the creek. Thus ended the skirmish with the Kiowas on Supper [Sappa] creek.⁶⁴

AUG. 7.—An alarm was raised last night which, however, proved false. It was caused by the discharge of a pistol in the hands of a drunken man; he was immediately put under the charge of the

64. Sturgis' report said 29 Indians had been killed, and probably many others wounded, in the several engagements between August 3 and 6. The running fight on the sixth, he said, took place "near the Republican fork" soon after the expedition left camp on Whelan's (Beaver) creek. He made no mention of Sappa creek. (Rover makes no mention of Beaver creek!) The casualties in Sturgis' command on August 6 were: two friendly Indians killed, three soldiers wounded (1st Sgt. John O'Connell, Co. B, slightly; Pvt. Michael Whelan, Co. B, severely; Pvt. Gerard M. Beech, Co. B, severely), and one soldier missing (Pvt. Matthew Green, Co. D).

The location of the 15-mile running battle of August 6 cannot be determined accurately, particularly since Sturgis and "Rover" were at variance on whether their camp on August 5 was on Beaver creek or Sappa creek. However, the locale was evidently in southern Nebraska, probably in Furnas county, but perhaps extending into Harlan county, also. (Furnas county borders on Norton county, Kansas, and Harlan county borders on Phillips county, Kansas.) John S. Kirwan, a cavalryman with the northern column of the Kiowa-Comanche expedition of 1860, later stated that ". . . Sturges caught up with their main body on the Republican River above where Concordia, Kansas, now stands. . . ."—*The Kansas Historical Quarterly*, v. 21, p. 586. But he was wrong by at least 100 miles in his location of the fight.

guard. A man of Company D turned up missing last night at roll call; it is thought he was taken by the Kiowas. We left camp at eight o'clock, marched twelve miles and camped on the Republican Fork. Here we found the horse belonging to the missing man, but no traces of the man could be found. The horse was still saddled and bridled, and quietly grazing in the bottom.—As we passed over the battle field we halted and buried the fallen Indians (two in number) belonging to our ranks. The Kiowas had covered over all their dead. On the top of the hill, near the river, we saw what appeared to be a large body of Kiowas, but after a close examination with telescopes, proved to be buffalo. Eight Kiowas were found dead upon the banks of the Republican, having been shot with poisoned arrows; they were swelled to twice their natural size. Their scalps were immediately torn off their heads.

AUG. 8.—Leave camp early, cross the Republican, and head towards Fort Kearney, for a supply of provisions. Marched over beautiful but waterless prairie a distance of thirty-five miles, and camped at water holes, which are of a stagnant nature. The prairie was literally covered with buffalo on their return to the south. The hills to the west of camp were so thickly covered with them that not a solitary spot of grass was visible. We pass over prairie which has been the scene of great havoc amongst the buffalo. All, apparently, were in great haste—rifles, bows and arrows, were fired in abundance. Buffalos, half skinned, and half cut up, were scattered over the prairie for miles.

AUG. 9.—Left camp at about half past six o'clock; marched over hilly country for ten miles, and came to Platte River about fourteen miles above Fort Kearney;⁶⁵ follow down the stream until within ten miles of the Fort, and pitch camp on the Platte River. The weather was tolerably cool. While crossing the last ridge of hills, several wagons, going leisurely along the road, as soon as they saw us took up a fast gallop, evidently taking us for Indians.

AUG. 10.—It is reported here that a body of 1,500 Indians crossed the Platte River about fourteen hours in advance of us. They must evidently have been the Kiowas. They had with them 1,000 head of extra ponies.—While waiting I heard several shots fired; after enquiring the cause, I found that a drunken man had fired two shots at a corporal, with the intention to kill. The corporal returned the fire, and killed him with the first shot.

ROVER.

65. Rover indicates the expedition traveled 45 miles from the site on the Republican river (where the August 6 battle ended) to the point where they struck the Platte river. This would indicate that the fight (whether on the Sappa, or on Beaver creek) probably took place in Furnas county, Nebraska.

FORT WASHITA, C. N., Oct. 22, 1860.

EDITOR TIMES—DEAR SIR: Since my last, changes have taken place, preventing me from presenting my usual *quota* of news to the many readers of the Times. I will, however, endeavor to make up for past negligence. My last, I believe, was dated at Fort Kearney, where we arrived after the engagement with the Kiowas. After remaining here four days, we took up the march for Fort Riley. During our march over the prairie between Fort Kearney and the Republican Fork, we suffered greatly for the want of water. A few holes containing water were now and then met with, but it was very filthy.

Millions of buffalo cover the prairie hereabouts. One day, after encamping, we were compelled to turn out, en masse, to protect our horses from being run down by them.—The following morning, the surrounding hills and ravines were covered with the dead and wounded buffaloes, unable to go farther. These, however, were the last buffaloes we saw, for this season.

The next day we came to the road leading from Fort Kearney to Fort Riley. By the way, this is the best road I have seen in my western travels; streams and bad ravines are all furnished with bridges.⁶⁶ After a twelve days march over the finest land the Territory of Kansas affords, we arrived at Fort Riley.

The Republican Valley is becoming to be the scene of great improvement. Settlements are found all along the river at intervals of from three to five miles, a distance of 12 miles west of Riley.

The heavy drouth that prevailed in Kansas the past summer, has caused a great many to abandon their homes on the frontier for homes farther east, where they could gain a livelihood during the coming winter. In a great many cases everything too cumbersome to carry away, was left behind; evidently, with the intention of returning in the spring, to try it again. A large number, however, yet remain, determined to stay through the winter. I was informed by them, that they were compelled to dispose of some of their stock, not having sufficient forage to keep them during the winter. As we advanced towards Riley, the crops became better, but were as yet insufficient to pay for the labor bestowed upon them. The streams we crossed were nearly all dry. The Republican was the only stream that afforded us camping places.

66. The military road between Forts Riley and Kearny was surveyed in the summer of 1856 under the direction of Lt. Francis T. Bryan. In 1857 some work was done to improve the road, and in 1858 the streams were bridged and the road put into excellent condition. The distance between the two posts by this route was 193 miles.—W. T. Jackson, "The Army Engineers as Road Surveyors and Builders in Kansas and Nebraska, 1854-1858," in *The Kansas Historical Quarterly*, v. 17, pp. 44-51.

After laying up at [Fort] Riley six days, we took up the march for Cottonwood Creek, where our commissary train had been ordered to await our arrival. The farmers along the route, between Riley and Cottonwood, were all complaining of the drouth, as having been more severe in that vicinity than in any other locality of the Territory. They are nearly all disposing of their stock, to enable them to winter it through.

While encamped on Clarke's Creek, a heavy thunder storm passed over camp, the lightning striking in all directions. At evening stable call, while Sergeant Perry was returning from the creek with his horse, the lightning struck the horse, killing him instantly, and knocking down Sergeant Perry, Priv't. Green, and six others, all of company "I"; doing, however, no serious injuries to any except Green, who was stunned so severely that he has not yet become entirely well. We arrived at Cottonwood in due time, where we soon erected our camp city, for the first time in thirty-five days. The following morning, we took up the march for Fort Cobb; and after having proceeded on our way as far as Eldorado, we received orders to proceed at once to Fort Smith, Ark. From Cottonwood to Eldorado, the country is well settled, and farmers have been more successful with their crops than those farther north, but still have raised scarcely sufficient to keep them during the winter. All the rivers and creeks we crossed, thus far, were dry, with the exception of a hole of water here and there.⁶⁷

On the morning of the 7th of September, we left our camp on Walnut Creek,⁶⁸ twelve miles south of Eldorado, to proceed to Fort Smith, Ark. Before leaving, a detachment of forty men, having in charge all the Indians, left for Fort Cobb, under the command of Lieut. R. H. Riddick. We marched about 150 miles over beautiful country, without seeing a house. I was surprised that such land as this was lying idle, but soon found out the cause—it being the Osage Indian Reserve.

When near the Southern boundary of Kansas, we met a large party of the Osage tribe on their return from the buffalo hunt, having laid in a large quantity of their favorite meat. Leaving the

67. The route followed from Fort Riley must have been almost due south to the camp on Clarke's creek in present Geary county, then through Morris county (crossing the Santa Fe trail probably a little west of Diamond Springs) and Chase county (crossing the Cottonwood river in the west central part of the county), to El Dorado in Butler county.

El Dorado had been founded in early June, 1857, by former Lawrence residents (and others) who had high hopes for its success as a town because it was on a highway variously referred to, in 1857, as the great Arkansas and California road, or the Southern California road from Austin, Tex. The Cherokee trail also passed through this place. But in 1860, apparently only one small frame building stood on the townsite.—*Lawrence Republican*, June 25 and July 30, 1857; A. T. Andreas and W. G. Cutler, *History of the State of Kansas* (Chicago, 1883), p. 1433.

68. The camp on the Walnut river must have been a little south of present Augusta.

Osage country, we came into the Cherokee Nation, where settlements are quite numerous. The crops (especially corn) look remarkably well, and are the best we have seen this summer. The drouth don't appear to have been so severe here as in Kansas.—We did not see a running stream of water after leaving Fort Riley, until we arrived at the Grand, or Neosho river, and this was very low, not having over twelve inches of water in its channel. Even the Verdigris was as dry as a bone. From Grand river to Fort Smith, we marched through one continual stretch of timber. When evening approached, we turned off the road and encamped by the side of some little mountain stream, tying our horses to trees, and giving them their four quarts of corn per day, on which they had to travel from twenty-five to thirty miles a day. We passed through Tallaquah [Tahlequah],⁶⁹ the Capitol of the Cherokee Nation, a beautiful little village of about three hundred inhabitants, and completely surrounded by woods. I have noticed that all villages built by Indians, whether civilized or not, are invariably located in some secluded, but generally romantic spot.

We arrived at Fort Smith on the 19th day of September, where we were disposed of as follows: Companies E and D, 3d Squadron, under command of Capt. Sturgis, to remain at Fort Smith, to assist the Cherokee Indian Agent in removing unlawful settlers upon the lands of the Cherokees, out of the Nation, should it require force to expel them therefrom. The remainder, companies B and A, 1st Squadron, under command of Capt. W. N. R. Beale, to proceed to Fort Arbuckle, where they were stationed last winter; and Companies C and I, 2nd Squadron, under command of Capt. E. A. Carr, to proceed to Fort Washita, where they were stationed last winter.

The Arkansas river is very low at present—only fourteen inches of water in the channel. Navigation to Fort Smith has been suspended since last May. Steamboats can now run up only as far as Little Rock, where all the government stores, to supply Forts Smith, Washita, Arbuckle and Cobb, are unloaded, and from thence transported, by government trains, to Fort Smith, to be again transported from there to the different forts above mentioned, as necessity requires them.

The 1st Squadron remained at Fort Smith eight days, and then proceeded homewards, where I learn they arrived after a journey of twelve days.

69. Compare with "Know Nothing's" comment on "(and spelling of) Tahlequah in his letter of January 7, 1859—an indication that "Know Nothing" and "Rover" were two different persons?

The 2nd Squadron remained fifteen days, to give the horses time to recruit up, they having been nearly used up in marching through the timbered country north of the Arkansas river. On the 3d of October, the 2nd Squadron took up the line of march for this place, where it arrived on the 11th inst., having been on the plains six months and two days, during which time we traveled 126 days, and laid over 47 days; traveling 2419 miles, making an average of 19 3/4 miles for each marching day, or 13 1/5 miles for each day on the plains. This is the longest trip the First Regiment of Cavalry has made since its organization in 1855.⁷⁰

The weather here is very pleasant, and the troops in good health.

ROVER.

FORT WASHITA, C. N., Nov. 23, 1860.

EDITOR TIMES:—Within the last two weeks there have been brought before Gen. Douglas H. Cooper, Choctaw and Chickasaw Indian Agent, five persons, charged with murder, theft and perjury, and were all committed to the jail at Van Buren, Ark., to await further action of the courts of justice. Two were charged with perjury, one with murder, arson, burglary and kidnapping and the other two have to answer the charge of stealing a wagon and two yoke of oxen. This latter crime was committed in the Chickasaw Nation, opposite Preston, Texas.⁷¹ Immediately upon missing his property, the owner, accompanied by a constable, started in pursuit, and succeeded in overtaking the rascals forty miles north of Perryville, C. N.⁷²

A general Court Martial was convened at Fort Arbuckle, C. N., last week, for the trial of all offenders that might be brought before it.

At a recent sale of five condemned horses, the highest bid for a horse was \$96; the lowest, \$40; total proceeds, \$321—an average of \$64 1/2 per head—a good price for unserviceable horses, but it is in fair proportion with everything else. Corn sells at \$2.21 per bushel; oats \$1.80; sweet potatoes, \$2; and apples at twenty-five cents per dozen; butter brings from 25 to 50 cents per pound, according to quality; eggs, 40 cents per dozen.

70. In 1858 Companies F and K, First cavalry, were part of an escort for supply trains from Fort Leavenworth to Fort Bridger. They marched over 2,000 miles before reaching Fort Leavenworth again in October of that year.—*The Kansas Historical Quarterly*, v. 1, pp. 196-198.

71. This would have been about 15 miles south of Fort Washita, close to the Red river.

72. Perryville was a trading post and stage station on the Texas road in the Choctaw Nation, about six miles south and west of present McAlester, Okla.—*Oklahoma a Guide* . . . , *op. cit.*, p. 340.

About ten days since, orders were received from Department Head Quarters, to cut off the allowance for the horses one half; ever since then our horses have been on the decline, and are rapidly going, going, like South Carolina, to destruction. To-day orders were received to suspend all grain contracts. This looks rather billious. The Buchanan Administration has commenced curtailing its expenses at rather too late a period.

A light snow covered the ground hereabouts early this morning, but had to give way to the influence of a hot Southern sun, towards twelve o'clock.

The post office, at Tishomingo City, capital of the Chickasaw Nation, has suspended, or, in other words, fizzled out, for want of sufficient patronage.

The election of Lincoln is hailed here with much joy. The most ignorant suppose that it will lead to a disbanding of the army, and thus they be set at liberty.

More anon.

ROVER.

FORT WASHITA, C. N., Dec. 11 [1860].

EDITOR TIMES:—Here are a few items that may be of some interest to the readers of the Times.

A few days since, a full-blooded Chickasaw Indian passed through Boggy Depot, with a wagon load of groceries, and by his singular behavior excited suspicion amongst the Light Horse (police) Fraternity. Two of the police followed him, and overtook him at Nail's bridge, where he had just finished unloading part of his load. They did not molest him there, but followed him back to Boggy Depot. Arriving at that place, they compelled him to halt, and searched his wagon; they found two ten gallon kegs of whiskey, nicely done up in square boxes, and marked "Green Corn." The police drew the bungs, and after satisfying themselves that it was whiskey, took an axe and broke in the head of each keg, and spilled the contents upon the ground. There were also two letters found, corresponding with the address upon the boxes. These were also taken charge of by the police. The whole affair will be properly inquired into by the courts of justice, and the offenders punished according to law. The laws in regard to smuggling whiskey into the Nation are very severe, the penalty for the third offence being death.

Lieut. Alfred Iverson,⁷³ accompanied by his family, returned to this place on the 8th inst.

73. Iverson was first lieutenant of Company C. (See, also, letter of March 31, 1861.)
27—6550

A Masonic Hall is being erected at Nail's Bridge, C. N.

Lieut. Edward Ingraham left here this morning, on leave of absence for sixty days.⁷⁴

In addition to the guard house, at this place, six cells have been erected for the further punishment of military offenders, and a string of orders as long as the Mississippi river has been issued.

ROVER.

FORT WASHITA, C. N., Jan. 1, 1861.

EDITOR TIMES:—I will open the New Year by presenting to the readers of the *Times* a portion of my diary for the past week.

DEC. 25th.—A shooting affray took place yesterday, at Tishomingo, between a white man and Indian. The result was, however, without bloodshed. Several shots were exchanged, but without effect. But for the timely interference of the Light Horse, an awful scene would have been the consequence. After the first shots, the natives began flocking to the assistance of the Indian, and would probably have suspended the white man to the nearest tree, had not the Light Horse came up at that moment.

DEC. 26th.—The Second Cavalry recruits departed this morning for Camp Cooper, Texas.

DEC. 28th.—Lieut. Burtwell⁷⁵ and detachment arrived here to-day, having in charge one prisoner, charged with stealing negroes.

DEC. 30TH.—Gen. D. H. Cooper, Chickasaw and Choctaw Indian agent, is at present paying to the Chickasaws their annuities, at Tishomingo City. The woods in the vicinity of the Capital affords a good camping place for those living at a distance. The town contains about 12 or 15 houses, and is not capable of furnishing quarters for the whole tribe.

JAN. 1ST.—The arrival of the Overland Mail was eagerly looked for this morning. It was supposed to contain the decision of the South Carolina Convention.⁷⁶ After its contents were made known, three cheers for a Southern Confederacy were given, and strong hopes expressed that all Southern States should follow the example set by the Palmetto State.

ROVER.

74. From April 9-October 11, 1860, Ingraham and some 30 to 40 troops had garrisoned Fort Washita while most of the Second squadron was taking part in the Kiowa-Comanche expedition. (See letter of April 5, 1860.)

75. Second Lt. John R. B. Burtwell, First U. S. cavalry.

76. The South Carolina Convention adopted an ordinance of secession on December 20, 1860.—*The War of the Rebellion* . . . (Washington, 1880), Ser. I, v. 1, p. 1.

FORT WASHITA, C. N., Jan. 22, '61.

We learn, from a reliable source, that the troops stationed at Fort Arbuckle, C. N., have received information from the Pay Master, that he had at present no money, and did not know when he would receive sufficient funds from the United States Government to pay them. This intelligence created quite a panic among those immediately concerned.

JAN. 16TH.—An express arrived here at 10 o'clock, from Boggy Depot, for a detachment of troops to assist in capturing one Fred McCully, a half breed, and an escaped murderer from the Van Buren, Ark., penitentiary; also, to take into custody one Wilson Adair, a white man, charged with disorderly conduct on Christmas day. The detachment, consisting of one non-commissioned officer and eight privates, left here at half-past 11 o'clock, P. M., and arrived at Boggy Depot at 5 o'clock, A. M., and at once proceeded in search of McCully, who, after a few unsuccessful visits at different houses in the vicinity of Boggy Depot, was found hidden under a bed in the house of his brother-in-law, two miles North of the village. Adair had escaped from his place of confinement, but was found at the residence of his employer. He was again arrested. Both prisoners were conducted to this place, and are now confined in the guard house. Adair will probably have his "permit" rescinded, and be ordered out of the Nation. No white man can reside in an Indian Nation without permission from the Governor or Indian agent. McCully will remain here until an opportunity affords to send him to Van Buren.

JAN. 17TH.—Adair was this morning examined, by Capt. Carr, and found guilty of the charge, and sentenced to forfeit his "permit," and to leave the Nation without delay.

Within the last ten days, two murders have been committed in this Nation, but as yet I have been unable to ascertain full particulars.

Our supply of provisions is getting low. If Uncle Sam does not soon reimburse us, we will have sufficient cause to secede.

More anon.

ROVER.

FORT WASHITA, C. N., Feb. 19th, 1861

EDITOR TIMES: On the 28th ult., a detachment of eight U. S. soldiers, having in charge three prisoners, Fred McCully, J. Connelly and E. Adair, left this place for Van Buren, Arkansas, to turn said

prisoners over to the civil authorities. White men are never tried by the authorities of the Indian Territory, neither are Indians committing crimes upon white settlers; but are taken to Van Buren, and there tried by men of their own color.

In my last I mentioned that Adair had been escorted out of the Nation. He, however, again returned to Boggy Depot, where he was re-arrested and brought to this place, just in time for a free ride to Van Buren jail, where he was released upon paying a small fine, after which he departed for Missouri.

If rumor can be credited, Forts Cobb, Arbuckle and Washita, are at present in danger of being attacked by a Texan mob, to get possession of the arms, horses, mules and stores, belonging to Uncle Sam. Should such be the case, the Texans will find it rather hot work to carry their threats into execution. There are sufficient troops at each of the forts above mentioned, to protect all Government property.

Last Saturday, Deputy Marshal Whiteside passed through here, en route for Fort Arbuckle, where he will take into custody Bill Hall, and take him to Van Buren jail.

J. Hort Smith,⁷⁷ formerly editor of the Bonham (Texas) Era, is about to establish a new paper at Boggy Depot, C. N., to be called the National Register.⁷⁸

Last week a train of five wagons arrived at this post with provisions for the troops.—Trains loaded with similar articles, are on their way for Forts Cobb and Arbuckle.

ROVER.

FORT WASHITA, C. N., March 31, 1861.

EDITOR TIMES: Since my last, I have not had an opportunity to inform you of the doings here, until to-day.

Deputy Marshal Whiteside, and an escort of six U. S. troops from Fort Arbuckle, arrived here after an absence of six days, having in charge of Bill Hall, the murderer, and departed the following day with an escort of five men from this place for Van Buren, Arkansas. The troops from Arbuckle returned to that place. The escort from this place accompanied the Marshall to Johnson's Station,⁷⁹ on the California Overland Route, and then returned.

Two weeks ago the overland coaches made the trip from Fort

77. Perhaps the Texas editor referred to in Rover's letter of March 6, 1860.

78. The *National Register* was probably short-lived. (See next letter.) No reference is made to it in the *Union List of Newspapers*; nor is the Bonham (Tex.) *Era* listed therein.

79. "Johnson's" (as shown on some later maps of the territory), was about half way between Forts Washita and Smith. (See map facing p. 272.)

Smith, Arkansas, to Nail's Bridge, C. N., a distance of one hundred and seventy miles in twenty hours.

First Lieut. Alfred Iverson, of the 1st Cavalry, and son of Ex-Senator Iverson, of Georgia, has tendered his resignation to the President, having received the appointment of 3d Captain in the Georgia army.

Dixon Ouchabby, a Chickasaw Indian, convicted of murder, was executed at Tishomingo City,⁸⁰ on the 20th inst. Levi Colbert, another Chickasaw, confined in the jail at Tishomingo City, awaits the same fate, for murdering an Indian on Blue river, sometime since. A few days since a Choctaw Indian was brought to this place and confined in the Guard House, being charged with murdering two white men, near Red river.—The prisoner acknowledges killing one man, but denies killing the second. There is, however, sufficient proof that he committed both crimes.

Grass is growing finely. It will soon be sufficiently large to afford good grazing.—Peach trees have been in blossom for nearly a month, but late heavy frosts have destroyed this fruit for this season. The trees of the forest are putting on their summer costume.

The first number of the National Register made its appearance on the 16th inst. In politics it is an uncompromising secession sheet, beneath the contempt of honorable men.

The object of the Choctaw and Chickasaw National Convention, which met at Boggy Depot, C. N., was the sectionalizing and individualizing of their country. Resolutions to that effect, after a discussion of several days, were adopted by a vote of fifteen yeas to eight nays, and are to be submitted to the people, on the 6th of August, 1861, for ratification or rejection.

The General Council of the Choctaw Nation, in general assembly, passed, among a number of resolutions, expressing their feelings and sentiments in reference to the political disagreement existing between the Northern and Southern States of the Union, the following resolution:

[“]Resolved, further, That in the event a permanent dissolution of the American Union takes place, our many relations with the General Government must cease, and we shall be left to follow the natural affections, the educations, institutions and interests of our property [people?], which indissolubly bind us in every way to the destiny of our neighbors and brethren of the Southern States,

80. In describing Tishomingo in his letter of May 2, 1859, “Cato” noted that the Chickasaw capital had “a calaboose, with a gallows in front, to remind the offender of his doom.”

upon whom we are confident we can rely for the preservation of our rights, of life, liberty and property, and the continuance of many acts of friendship, generous counsel and fraternal [material?] support.""]⁸¹

The garrison of this post was yesterday reinforced by the arrival of Company E, (Capt. Prince's,) 1st Infantry, from Fort Arbuckle,⁸² which has been ordered to take post here.—Capt. [William E.] Prince assumes the command of this fort.

The fort has not yet been taken by the Secessionists, as the Eastern papers have it. Some even go as far as to give an account of the surrender of the government property to the traitors by Capt. Carr. These and similar paragraphs going the rounds in the Eastern papers concerning this fort, are infamously false, and do great injustice to the brave and gallant commanding officer.

A few sympathizers with the Southern rabble, have deserted, taking with them horses, pistols, carbines, and everything they could lay hands upon; but as this was only following the example set by Floyd, Cobb and others, it will have no effect upon the morality of the community at large in the Rhett-ched Confederacy.

ROVER.

FORT WASHITA, C. N., April 28,⁸³ '61.

EDITOR OF TIMES: Since my last, affairs have assumed quite a different aspect. About a week since, Lieut. Col. Emory and staff arrived here, with the purpose of establishing the Head Quarters of the 1st Cavalry at this post.⁸⁴ Fort Smith has since been evacuated, and the troops are on the road for this place. Companies A and B arrived here from Fort Arbuckle yesterday. Company A returned to Arbuckle this morning. Everything at this post is being packed up to leave as soon as Capt. Sturgis and command arrive,⁸⁵

81. This was the third in a series of six resolutions passed on February 7, 1861, by the General Council of the Choctaw Nation. As published in *The War of the Rebellion*, Ser. I, v. 1, p. 682, the words "people" and "material" (as bracketed in above) were used instead of "property" and "fraternal."

82. "Rumors of a contemplated attack from Texas" on Fort Arbuckle caused an order to be issued on March 19, 1861, to move the infantry company to Fort Washita.—*Ibid.*, pp. 656, 660. Captain Prince outranked Captain Carr by seniority. Companies A and B, First cavalry, remained as Fort Arbuckle's garrison.

83. By the time this last letter of Rover's appeared in the *Times* (May 28), Rover and his comrades-in-arms were within three days march of Leavenworth.

84. Lt. Col. William H. Emory (last referred to in these letters as "Major" Emory, commanding at Fort Cobb in April, 1860—see Footnote 49), while in Washington, D. C., in March, 1861, had received the order to make Fort Washita his regimental headquarters, and to concentrate the Fort Arbuckle and Fort Cobb troops there, or near by, at his discretion. But while Emory was on his way to Fort Washita a countermanding order was issued on April 17. He was instructed, instead, to abandon the posts in Indian territory and march all the troops to Fort Leavenworth.—*Ibid.*, pp. 656, 667.

85. Capt. S. D. Sturgis and his men (Companies A and B, First cavalry) evacuated Fort Smith, Ark., on the night of April 23, and with some 20 wagons and teams arrived at Fort Washita, after a 160-mile journey, on April 30.—*Ibid.*, pp. 650, 651.

if not driven out of here before that time. The orders from the War Department are, I believe, not to fire on the rebels unless they follow us. Our horses have, for the last four nights been tied to a picket rope fastened around the quarters. There is great reluctance on the part of the troops, that they are to abandon the Fort without making the traitors smell powder. Ox wagons, and teams of all kinds, have been employed to carry provisions, ordnance, Quartermaster's property, and stores of all kinds. The families of the soldiers were all sent off yesterday. They are to proceed to Fort Arbuckle, and there await our coming.

I can't see into the policy of the Administration. The evacuation of the forts will certainly give the traitors more territory, as well as increase the numbers of adherents to Davis' creed. If the Government does not put a stop to these rebellious scoundrels, they will soon have the upper hand.

Yours in haste,
ROVER.

IV. EPILOGUE

Fort Washita was abandoned on April 30 or May 1, 1861, and occupied one day later by Captain Mayberry's Dead Shot Rangers, from Jefferson, Tex. John A. Peel of this ranger company reported they had captured 14 wagons left behind by the federal troops, and that Emory "finding the Texans in close pursuit of him, threw away guns, ammunition and Government stores, into the Ouachita, first destroying the guns by breaking the locks and taking them to pieces." Also abandoned, he said, were "a large quantity of clothing, some provisions and one field-piece."⁸⁶

Lieutenant Colonel Emory stated that nothing had been left behind but what would have been left in time of peace. On evacuating the post Emory led his command up the Washita where, he wrote, "the troops at Arbuckle and two companies from Cobb joined me five miles from Arbuckle, on the east bank of the Washita River, May 3. I then marched to relieve Cobb, taking the road which lies on the open prairie to the north of the Washita River, so as to render the cavalry available. . . . On the 9th, I found the command from Cobb (two companies of foot) thirty-five miles northeast of that post, and on the same day I took the most direct

86. *The Daily Times*, Leavenworth, June 21, 1861 (reprinted from the *New Orleans Crescent* of June 14[?], 1861).

course to Leavenworth that the nature of the ground would permit.

. . . " 87

Ten days later Emory reported "I am now in Kansas, on the north side of the Arkansas River,⁸⁸ with the whole command—eleven companies, 750 fighting men, 150 women, children, teamsters, and other non-combatants."

The journey from the Arkansas to Fort Leavenworth required 12 more days. This was the scene at Leavenworth on May 31 as described in the next day's issue of the *Times*:

About one o'clock yesterday afternoon, the troops from Forts Smith, Arbuckle, Cobb and Washita passed up Fifth Street, on their way to Fort Leavenworth. Several ambulances, containing officers' wives, and about eighty wagons containing army stores, with about six hundred horses and mules attached, followed the soldiers, the whole making quite an interesting spectacle. The men looked weary and jaded after their long and tedious march, but many of them seemed to be full of vigor and animation. As they moved along, they were greeted, at various points, by the cheers of the people who had assembled to witness the demonstration. The train was nearly a mile in length.

According to the *Times*, the six companies of cavalry and five companies of infantry totaled 820 men, and there were, in addition, "about 200 teamsters and other army *attaches*." The companies and their commanders were: *First U. S. cavalry*: Co. A, Lt. Eugene W. Crittenden (82 men); Co. B, Lt. Oliver H. Fish (82 men); Co. C, Capt. David S. Stanley (80 men); Co. D, 2d Lt. Charles S. Bowman (80 men); Co. E, Capt. Samuel D. Sturgis (82 men); Co. I, Capt. Eugene A. Carr (75 men); *First U. S. infantry*: Co. B, Capt. Charles C. Gilbert (66 men); Co. C, Capt. Joseph B. Plummer (67 men); Co. D, Capt. Daniel Huston, Jr. (70 men); Co. E, Capt. William E. Prince (62 men); Co. F, Capt. Seth M. Barton (64 men).

Lieutenant Colonel Emory said that his command arrived "in good condition; not a man, an animal, an arm, or wagon . . . lost except two deserters."⁸⁹ Lieutenants Fish and Barton resigned and joined the Confederate army. The other officers and most of their men remained loyal to the North. One writer has said: "The troops thus saved from capture were of great importance beyond the consideration of numbers, as their timely arrival restored the

87. *The War of the Rebellion*, Ser. I, v. 1, pp. 648, 649. The "most direct course to Leavenworth" referred to above was charted by Emory's Delaware Indian guides (Black Beaver and Possum). According to Muriel H. Wright in her "A History of Fort Cobb" the troops evacuating Fort Cobb met Emory's command, on May 9, near the present town of Minco, Okla. Here they turned north and the route they followed up into Kansas later became a part of the Chisholm trail.—*Chronicles of Oklahoma*, v. 34, pp. 58, 59.

88. The Arkansas river crossing was probably at, or near, present Wichita.

89. *The War of the Rebellion*, Ser. I, v. 1, p. 649.

confidence of the friends of the government in that section, formed the nucleus of General Lyon's army, and probably prevented the secessionists from forcing Missouri into rebellion."⁹⁰

Of the First cavalry, Companies B, C and D soon saw action in the engagements at Forsyth, Mo. (July 27), and Dug Springs, Mo. (August 2). Companies D and I took part in the famous battle of Wilson creek on August 10, 1861. On August 3, 1861, the First cavalry was officially redesignated the Fourth U. S. cavalry. But "Rover's" fate will never be known unless his identity can be learned.

90. Charles F. Carey in his biographical sketch of William H. Emory in the *Dictionary of American Biography* (New York, 1931), v. 6, p. 153.

William Sutton White, Swedenborgian Publicist

JAMES C. MALIN

PART ONE—EDITOR OF THE WICHITA BEACON, 1875-1887, AND PHILOSOPHER EXTRAORDINARY

I. THE FUNERAL

ON April 1, 1887, the *Wichita Beacon* changed hands after almost exactly 11 years under the editorship of William Sutton White. On the following May 27, Captain White was dead—just past the 52d anniversary of his birth. The cause of his passing was described as “inflammation of the bowels,” or “gastric fever,” preceded, but unknown to most of his friends, by three years of “stomach trouble.” Although White’s relinquishment of editorship and his death occurred close together, they must be considered separately. The first was an act of personal choice, the latter was not. But in other respects, the two events must necessarily emphasize that they represented not “continuous” but “discrete degrees” of difference.

Political and social differences are often difficult enough to bridge, but cultural conventions being what they are, the rites associated with the death of a religious “heretic” place a community under peculiar strain. And Captain White was so highly regarded in the city and county that no one could have considered any alternative to some accommodation of the religious conventions to what was appropriate to the particular case. The funeral arrangements specified that in case of inclement weather at 4 P. M. Sunday afternoon, May 29, the services would be held in Crawford’s Opera House, otherwise in the grove adjoining his, White’s, residence on North Market street.

The funeral services were conducted by the Rev. Charles J. Adams, rector of St. John’s, according to the ritual of the Protestant Episcopal church. The Episcopal quartet sang the “Gloriat.” The Bible reading was the 15th chapter of St. Paul’s Epistle to the Corinthians. The rector explained his position. The wording which is quoted is selected from the summary notes of the *Beacon* and *Eagle* reporters:

I come not this afternoon to speak as a minister, but as a friend. I see a lesson has been taught the community. I left the robe behind me at the

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church. I feel like coming out under the trees and talk[ing] as one man would talk to another. [*Eagle.*] We may have and most likely have differed on many things but under the wings of death we forget our differences. Death! What does it mean? I remember once my departed friend said to me, "there is no such thing as death," and went on to explain to me how he considered it but transition from one life to another. [*Beacon.*] . . . the deceased said when near death, "Now on earth, but soon in eternity. Time is only a section of eternity." [*Eagle.*]

I see around me many who knew Captain White longer than I did but I knew him intimately during the past year and I knew more of his internal man than you did. He may have passed with many of you as an unbeliever, but I tell you that on God's green earth there lives no more of a believer than our departed friend. The Trinity was as mighty to him as any of you. Captain White once said to me: "I believe that when I was endowed with the power of thought and action and when I acted with all sincerity God is obliged to respect my individuality." Intellectually he was one of the profoundest minds. He had a tremendous individuality and showed it on one occasion during the war when, in spite of the objections of his superior officer, he charged with his men and took a battery and so saved the army. He was brave to the core both physically and intellectually.

You may say that the dead man was not orthodox. In the name of the Almighty Father what is orthodoxy? Every individual member of a church has a right to his own opinions [*sic*] and God is bound to respect it if it be sincere. You nor I have the right to get up and say such and such is the only right belief. We may make mistakes and do make them, but there is always ready the mighty arm of God, outstretched in love, to bring us back into the right way and make us grander men and women. [*Beacon.*]

Remember what Captain White said of St. Paul. He said: "I consider St. Paul an honest man under all circumstances. Just as honest persecuting Christians as when a Christian himself." He said there were two great things in the universe to be considered, truth and good. If a man loves you no matter how many mistakes, there shall be a righting in eternity. Our departed friend always said and did what he thought he ought to do. . . . [*Eagle.*] He may at times have shown a disposition to combat, but I ask you, what is the good of a man who never feels his manliness to urge him to enter the lists for truth? He may have been wrong in some of his arguments but I tell you he was at any rate always honest and no one was more ready to admit himself in the wrong if he was so convinced. [*Beacon.*]

Now, to glance at the spiritual. There is a mighty seen universe all around us, that is the material, but there is also a mighty unseen or spiritual universe. There are great heights and profundities and breadths of the unseen. I can picture this unseen world very vividly in my imagination and this proves the internal greater than the external man.¹ Our departed friend was . . . a staunch believer in God the Father, His son Jesus Christ and God the Holy Ghost. Shortly before his death he said to me, "We have re-

1. The *Daily Journal* version of Adams' remarks varied in detail, and was shorter than the others. One paragraph was so different, however, as to require notice, if for no other reason, because, according to the reporter, Adams presented the thought as White's, but not necessarily as his own:

"There is a seen and an unseen universe. The outside man is nothing in comparison with the inside man; the eternal man is greater than the whole eternal universe. The natural universe is but the garment, the embodiment of the spiritual. When I say this, I have but given [the] idea of our departed friend."—*Daily Journal*, May 30, 1887.

versed things in this world. We think first of material things, corner lots and buildings, then when we get sick we send for the priest. We should seek spiritual things at first."

It seems to me very appropriate that these services should be held out here under the trees, where we can hear the song of birds and the chirps of insects; because of all the men I have known—and I have known many—I have never known one so completely a child of nature as our departed friend. Captain White, though he was sometimes sarcastic on the subject, believed thoroughly in organizations for the building up of and improving of humanity.

Now, when we say earth to earth, dust to dust and ashes to ashes, we must remember we are only saying it over the cast off garment of our friend. His spirit still lives and has moved [not to that new home he has built on Riverside, but] to that home prepared for him in the beginning by God the Father. I say emphatically that in the mighty ranks of the redeemed our friend will not take a second place because he did not believe exactly as you and I do. He believed in the gospel of love. God is everywhere, and wherever God is He is representative of infinite love. . . . You ask how you are to be saved. I say to you as our friend was saved, by righteousness. Our friend is gone, and we are now going out to the cemetery to lay away his form, but he lives in spirit. During many years he had devoted the greater part of his time to the building up of our city. Work for its upbuilding and you will be raising a mighty monument to the memory of him who lived grandly and died nobly. [*Beacon.*]

The service closed with the singing by the quartet of "Nearer My God to Thee." The reporters agreed that this was the largest funeral to date in Wichita and by count, friends in 167 carriages proceeded to the completion of the last rites at the cemetery.²

II. CHARLES J. ADAMS, RECTOR OF ST. JOHN'S

A circumstance that made this funeral and Rector Adams' discourse more dramatic than it could have been otherwise was a fact well known to everyone in the audience. The speaker himself was in difficulties about his own unorthodoxy.

On April 15 he began a series of three Sunday evening lectures on the general Easter theme: "Are We Immortal?" Three answers were to be given on three successive Sundays: that of reason, of modern Spiritualism, and of Christianity. The series grew, however, a fourth answer being that of materialism, and then followed three on the theme of Heaven and Hell, or a total of seven lectures. The sixth, or second on Heaven and Hell, May 22, had stirred up sharp controversy. The unexpected crisis of White's funeral came the afternoon of May 29. The time scheduled left little margin between

2. Wichita *Daily Beacon*, May 30, 1887; *Daily Eagle*, May 31, 1887. The reports of Adams' remarks being written by separate hands, the wording differed. On most points probably the *Beacon* reporter's version was the more adequate as he was more familiar with White's philosophy upon which the rector was commenting.

Details about the funeral arrangements and resolutions of sympathy are to be found in the *Daily Beacon*, May 28, 29, 1887; *Daily Eagle*, May 29, 31, 1887.

those rites, being at 4 P. M., and 7:45 P. M., when Adams must face a crowded church from his own pulpit, largely the same people he had talked to the preceding Sunday and that same afternoon. For all concerned it was an evening of acute emotional tension and expectancy.

Following still the format set up by White, the new owners of the *Beacon* gave reports on important sermons a front-page position on Monday evenings. And besides, these controversial subjects were now given conspicuous headlines. Thus the report on the lecture of May 15: "What Are Heaven and Hell?" was headlined: "Have We a Heretic?"

[The lecture] created something of a sensation in theological circles. . . . In the course of his remarks he stated distinctly, in almost so many words, that the love of God is so infinite that every soul, no matter how debased in this world, would have a chance for salvation in the future . . . that punishment was not eternal, and that the sentence to eternal torment was not irrevocable.

. . . He stated his belief to be that "Heaven" and "Hell" express no idea of location; they represent conditions, not localities . . . amplifications of Happiness and Misery in this [world]. . . .

Either the reporter himself, or his editorial chief, or both, were not sure that the rector had been correctly understood, and hesitated to print this summary without confirmation. The reporter sought out Adams and questioned him. As the lecture had not been reduced to writing, Adams could only restate the meaning he had intended to convey; in other words, he confirmed the substance of the report. To the question whether or not he believed that there was a chance for man hereafter, Adams replied: "I had rather say that I hope so. But wait, I conclud my sermon by saying that the way to win heaven and escape hell is by being righteous—by being a man. That is more important than any theories I, or you, or anybody, may have about the future."

The report of the lecture of May 22: "Heaven and Hell; the Orthodox and Heterodox Views," followed conspicuously a technique often emphasized in journalism; that of telling the story three times; first in sensational headlines; next, in a short summary of the main points thought to be especially newsworthy, stated in striking language; and finally, the narrative of events in proper sequence as straight reporting. Some readers go no further than the headlines; others go on through the summary; but only the persistent continue the story to the end, often finding that in proper context the material was not as sensational as the first two versions appeared to

represent it. In this case the headlines were: "Lucifer Knocked Out"; "Rev. Adams Demolishes the Hell Fire Theory"; "He Declares There Is No Hell But Conscience"; "A Sensational Sermon a la Bob Ingersoll"; "The Old Testament God Ridiculed and Reviled."

The fact that Adams was expected to present radical ideas had brought out an audience that filled the church to capacity, but the reporter insisted that they were not prepared for the fervor and violence of expression employed by the rector: "the Rev. Adams surprised his hearers and quite shocked some of the more orthodox and strictly ritualistic members of his flock. . . ." The report said that Adams "even denied the divine inspiration and sacred authenticity of the Scriptures themselves by declaring that the ancient Hebrews made a god of their own liking. That God was not up to the requirements of this civilized age and he cried 'if there was such a cruel god I for one would say away with him!'" What Adams had done was to approach the question historically pointing out that the basis of the social organization of Israel was paternalistic and that the father was the head of the family, and that law, justice, and punishment were administered by the father. The concept of justice was objective, cold, and rigid. Thus the God of Israel was represented in the Old Testament as this type of God the Father. Next, Adams emphasized that the modern concept of family had come to emphasize the position of the mother as of an importance equal to the father, and the mother principle was love and sympathy which tempered justice.

Next the rector had emphasized three views of Christianity; orthodoxy (right faith), heterodoxy (other's faith), and rationalism. He endorsed the rational view. He accused the modern orthodox Christian view of distorting the Hebrew concept of a just God into a false representation, a cruel and vainglorious God. It was this concept of God which he denounced and said "away with him." Instead: "God is love." Calvin provided for the election of only few to be saved; Universalism went to the opposite extreme, providing for the election of all; Unitarianism insisted man was essentially good. Although he insisted that there was a great truth underlying each of these views, he could not accept any one of them. Universalism and Unitarianism had eliminated hell, which was necessary. Heaven and Hell were not locations or places, but conditions: "His hell was the hell of a guilty man's conscience, both here and hereafter." Also, he continued: ". . . A merciful God

could forgive at any time. . . .”—he would continue to forgive “throughout eternity,” in other words, “Judgment” was not final. At one point in this context the rector was reported as saying: “The protestants lost a great truth when we lost the doctrine of an intermediate state taught us by our Roman Catholic brethern.” It was when such sentiments were being stated that the censor at the reporter’s elbow whispered: “our liberal friend will have the bishop after him. . . .”

According to Adams’ rational view: “True orthodoxy conceived of man as coming into existence a free moral agent. A man could and must choose his own course and that choice even the Omnipotence cannot override.” In the conclusion the reporter attributed to the rector the emphasis, however, that: “Unrighteousness means hell. Righteousness is happiness, not only for eternity, but temporarily. . . . God is love.”

The *Eagle* reporter varied the concluding remarks: “When the day of judgment is past is there hope for the lost then? I hope so, and sometimes the hope amounts to belief. I do not say so. To you I would say repent now; delay not. Yet anyone can repent in the future. God must accept the one returning. God is love.” But the rector interposed an emphasis that might be interpreted as being intended to rectify an apparent inconsistency; that belief alone is not enough; “They must be like him.”

The reporters of these lectures did not make any attempt to label the rector’s theology. Neither did they raise any question about the sources of any of the theological ideas expressed. Nevertheless, the identity of some of the ideas, even to the wording is inescapable. Whether derived from his friend, Editor White, during their year of friendship, or acquired prior to his coming to Wichita, Rector Adams had adopted into his own thinking a substantial body of the ideas of Emanuel Swedenborg.³

After the week’s budget of argument and gossip about the lecture of May 22 and what might happen to the rector in consequence of it, the White funeral under the trees and outside any church, and Adams’ discourse brought the whole theoretical discussion down

3. Adams’ predecessor, the Rev. Mr. E. H. Edson, had conducted his farewell service March 7, 1886, explaining candidly the reasons for his leaving: interference with his freedom of expression. He had refused to submit or to resign. His funds were cut off; he proposed to collect by judicial process, but friends in Rochester, N. Y., persuaded him to desist and resign. Adams was then at St. Mark’s church in Denver; was invited to Wichita April 4, and again May 23, and was appointed rector of St. John’s as of June 20, 1886. The *Beacon* reports on church services explicitly indicate that White attended services at St. John’s, August 22. The friendship between the two men ripened, apparently during the ensuing winter. Not until the series at Eastertime services, however, did the reports indicate clearly the Swedenborgian flavor in Adams’ discourses.—*Daily Beacon*, March 8, April 3, May 22, 24, June 19, 21, August 23, 1886.

to earth in terms of a concrete case. Many who had attended the late afternoon funeral and had completed the final tribute to White at the graveside, were now at St. John's—almost as though participating in the last act of a three-act drama. The rector had made his choice and had made it in freedom. On that premise, would the fate formula of Greek tragedy complete its relentless course? How would or could Adams release the tensions and resolve the conflict? By defiance which might have explosive consequences, or by a retreat that would leave his hearers with a sense of betrayal, or by a convincing reconciliation of opposing positions?

The report of this critical lecture of May 29 was given a front-page position in Monday evening's *Beacon* with the sensational headline "Whipped into Line"; "Rev. Adams Preaches a Strictly Orthodox Sermon"; "Varied With More Heaven and Hell Theories"; "He Still Says the Unitarians May Be Saved,"—the subject: "Pentacostal Tongues; Understood and Misunderstood." Prepared of course prior to the events of the afternoon, Adams called attention to the church calendar and the fact that it was Whitsunday. He described the preaching of the apostles on the day of Pentacost, the day of the birth of the church, and suggested that it was an appropriate occasion to consider the work that had been accomplished by the church. He traced the birth of the church direct to the apostles and while not claiming it as the only true church did insist that it should and would be some day, when the offshoots returned. Many, he insisted, were anxious to do so; an awakening was taking place in England and in the United States too. He took a high-church position:

He thought the time would come when all the world would return to Catholicism. The preacher said that the duty of preaching this second great reformation devolved upon the ministers of the Episcopal and ritualistic churches. He even declared that with this church rested the safety and salvation of the Republic, its rescue from atheism and infidelity, although he did not go so far as to propose union of church and state.

Here the reporter revealed his personal position by the remark: "This part of the sermon was very fine. . . ." But the reporter insisted at two points in his story that there was a dichotomy in the lecture and that Adams had yielded to pressure: ". . . the impression prevailed among Dr. Adams's somewhat mixed audience, mixed as to creeds and religions that is to say, that the pastor had been called to account and perhaps regretted some of the rather

broad . . . expressions to which he had given utterance on the previous Sunday."

Later the reporter returned to this conviction insisting, with the aid of typographical emphasis, that the strictly orthodox, high-church exposition

gave the impression that Rev. Adams, despite his pronounced liberalistic views on the existence of an orthodox heaven and hell, had been spoken with and easily

WHIPPED INTO LINE

But before the close of the sermon, the preacher's natural impulsiveness, noticeable in spite of his almost painful deliberation of expression, forced him into the old line of argument. He could not refrain from alluding to the subject so near his heart and the sensation caused by his previous utterances, though wholly foreign to the present subject. He prefaced his remarks by saying that it was easy for a man to be misunderstood. He did not care so far [as] he was concerned whether his auditor was a Calvinist, an Arminian or even a Unitarian. All might be saved and most of them would yet return to the holy church apostolic. The preacher did not believe in a selfish heaven which was made for a few alone. . . . The audience smiled when the preacher declared with ingenious candor that hell was a dangerous subject to undertake the discussion of.

He did discuss it: "The honest man, the righteous man has heaven within him and is in heaven."

The speaker reiterated his former statement that all men might be saved regardless of creed. He believed that the Calvinist might be saved, that Armenians might be saved; yes, even the Unitarians—here the preacher hesitated for a moment—and then declared that they too might go to heaven.

If what he was saying was correct, along with what he had said during the afternoon, what was the role of the church? Was the church necessary? The closing paragraph of the *Beacon's* story was short but whether or not a fully adequate report of what was said is not subject to verification:

The church was the instrument left on earth by Christ for the salvation of men and the uplifting of humanity. Men must go to church. We must have the external as well as the internal peace of religion.⁴

Two weeks later, at the evening service at St. John's, Adams spoke about "Individuality, Here and Hereafter." As reported, he persisted in stating views that would have been approved by his departed friend, Mr. White:

Mr. Adams is a thorough believer in individuality. He thinks the individuals have been the movers in the world. He distinguished between individuality and personality—saying that the personality is the mask through which individuality looks. Hereafter it is the individual who is to live, as it is the

4. *Ibid.*, April 16, 18, May 2, 16, 23, 30, 1887; *Daily Eagle*, May 24, 1887.

individual who lives here. It is the I, the me that wants immortality, this is immortal.⁵

III. APPRAISALS OF WHITE

Born January 2, 1835, at Johnstown, Pa., William Sutton White was just past 52 years of age when he died, May 27, 1887. His father, James P. White, a canal and railroad contractor, died in 1840 when William was a child of five, leaving Caroline White to raise her three boys, the other two being Norman P., and Oscar. William learned the printer's trade at Gallipolis, Ohio, and moved about as journeyman printer. In 1853-1854 he attended the Swedenborg College at Urbana, Ohio, and became a thoroughgoing convert to the New Church, or Church of the New Jerusalem. While engaged in typesetting in Cincinnati, in 1854, he became, for a short time, the private tutor to the children of Nicholas Longworth. Soon, however, he moved to Covington, Ky., where he remained until 1861. Declining a commission in the Confederate army, he returned to Ohio, where he enlisted in the Guthrie Greys, and later in the Fourth regiment of Ohio cavalry, which participated in operations under John A. Logan, in Tennessee and Georgia, and under Kilpatrick, at Atlanta. During the winter of 1863-1864, Lieutenant White was prisoner of war, and after release from prison was discharged from the army, on account of health, with rank of captain. After a business venture with his brother Norman, and George Warren, as army sutlers in Texas, he returned to Cincinnati, thence to the lead mines of Missouri, and in 1869 arrived in Kansas. With his brother Oscar, he worked at grading the roadbed of the Santa Fe railroad. Apparently he made Topeka his home, his mother joining him there in 1870. In 1871, he moved to Sedgwick county, pre-empting a claim on the Ninnescah, in Viola township, which he still owned at the time of his death. During his first two winters in Kansas apparently he taught school, but in Sedgwick county he supplemented his farm operations by working at the printer's trade in Wichita, as employment was available on the *Beacon* and the *Eagle*.

In 1872 the *Beacon* had been established in Wichita by D. G. Millison, and Fred A. Sowers. It was said that White worked off his subscription setting type, and he worked occasionally during the winter of 1872-1873, but in 1874, the grasshopper year, he moved to Wichita and worked at the printer's trade during the winter of 1874-1875. During these early years the *Beacon* had been var-

5. *Daily Beacon*, June 13, 1887.

iously owned and edited, but July 7, 1875, came into the hands of Frank Fisher and Frank B. Smith. In November, 1875, White accepted the editorship. Although a printer of proven competence, he had no editorial experience, and in that sense was launching upon a new profession at the age of 40. In March, 1876, White bought an interest in the paper, Fisher dropping out, and White assumed editorial control—this arrangement continuing until the *Beacon* was sold, April 1, 1887, less than two months prior to White's death.

Some facts about White's private as differentiated from his public life are necessary to this story. His mother had joined him at Topeka in 1870, and the little house that was built on his "plantation" on the Ninnescah was designed for the two of them. Whatever the private reasons that may have been involved, White did not marry. About 1877 Mrs. White's health failed and for the next ten years she was nearly helpless. In 1878 Susan (or Susana) Sebastian joined the White household as companion to Mrs. White. During the early months of 1887 a new home was being built on Riverside and upon its completion in midsummer, Captain White and Susan were to have been married. The crisis in White's illness intervened and his will was made to leave the North Market home to his mother, with financial provision for her comfort—she was 80 years of age. Also, Susan was to receive \$2,000 per year for life. But doubts developed about the certainties of this arrangement, and within an hour of his death, Captain White and Miss Sebastian were married, aged respectively 52 and 47 years.⁶

The *Beacon* obituary of White was unsigned, but probably was written by his former partner, Frank Smith, or under his supervision. Corroborative evidence indicates that the eulogy contained in it was more than merely conventional:

As an editor Captain White proved himself one of the ablest writers in the

6. *Ibid.*, May 27, 30, 1887; *Daily Eagle*, May 28, 31, 1887; *Wichita Daily Call*, May 27, 30, 1887; *Wichita Daily Journal*, May 27, 30, 1887; *New Republic*, Wichita, May 28, June 4, 1887; *Union Labor Press*, Wichita, June 4, 1887; *Sunday Grouler*, Wichita, May 29, June 5, 1887; *Herold* (German language), Wichita, June 1, 1887.

The *Journal* obituary, and papers which followed the *Journal* account, differed in some particulars from the *Beacon* and the *Eagle*, but the latter are accepted as correct.

United States census, 1880, Wichita, Sedgwick county, Kansas, Fourth ward: W. S. White, 54 [45]; Caroline White, 73; Susanna Sebastian, 42, born in Illinois;

Kansas state census, 1885, Wichita, Sedgwick county, Kansas, Fourth Ward, p. 13: ages respectively, 50, 78, 45.

Susan Sebastian's sister Emily, wife of J. Whitfield Bell, died March 24, 1885, residents of Sedgwick county since 1871, from Edwardsville, Ill. Upon that occasion, White wrote the obituary and funeral notices from the Swedenborgian point of view: "Happily relieved from bodily pain she enters upon the real spiritual life." Also: "She had no fear of the death of the body. She knew that *she would not die*—that what seemed like death and annihilation this side was the birth and resurrection on the other side, and that, too, not as a soul without a body, but a soul in the real body—the spiritual. She knew she was passing from the shadow into the sunshine, from the phenomenal into the real, from the transitory into the permanent and substantial life. She is more alive in essential substance, and in essential form than ever before. *She is not buried, for the human is not a subject for interment.* . . ."—*Daily Beacon*, March 25, 26, 1885.

state. He proved himself amply competent to cope with all questions of interest and his articles were at all times those of a man who had delved deeply . . . and had pondered much over his reading and drawn his own conclusions.

Though never a boomer in the accepted sense of the word, the *Beacon* . . . always took a leading part in advocating that which he considered to the best interests of Wichita. Captain White it was who first advocated an east and west railroad . . ., and the result of his agitation and hard work was the St. Louis and San Francisco railroad.

During the Ohio flood of 1883, White suggested sending a car or two of corn to the sufferers—the result was a special train load of corn.

His life was without reproach, his friends say of him that they never knew a more honest man, and while to many he may have seemed harsh and unjust in his criticisms of what he deemed hypocrisy or pride of authority, he was yet gentle and tender hearted as a woman, and in all his criticisms of errors he always classed himself among the erring ones.

The late Captain White devoted his life to his aged and infirm mother and she in turn was wrapped up in him. The shock of his death has completely prostrated the old lady and a few short days will probably find them joined in death as they were in life.

As the new editor of the *Beacon* had not known White more than a few weeks, the leading editorial was likewise by another hand, but had a similar emphasis:

Captain White is dead, and in his death the people of Wichita have sustained an irreparable loss. Broad-minded, liberal, far-seeing, yet so conservative as to be able to adjust a careful balance between right and wrong; gifted with a keen-sightedness which pointed out to him the dangers which lurked behind apparently plausible exteriors, he was a man eminently fitted for the work which he undertook with modest willingness, of aiding in the building up of this great city. . . .

As an editor and as a citizen Captain White closely approached the ideal. . . .

In private life Captain White was one of the most companionable of men, not opinionated, not egotistic, a good listener and a good talker when occasion required, he naturally had friends without number and of enemies as few as could be expected for a man of his sturdy character and outspoken views.

Again and again the reference recurred to White's contribution to the greatness of Wichita. He was "sturdy as an oak, modestly self-reliant, . . . with an unselfish ambition to see the city of his home prosper . . . even to his own personal detriment. . . ." And the editorial closed with what may be recognized as the writer's, not White's, unfulfilled prophecy: "and so thoroughly is this appreciated that evermore will the memory of Captain White be kept green in the minds and hearts of the people of Wichita and Sedgwick county."

White's major journalistic rival, Marshall Marcellus Murdock (1837-1908), was one of the pallbearers at his funeral and wrote a moving editorial "In Memoriam." As a Republican in politics, Murdock had disagreed with White on most public questions of a political character, but death is a private matter, and men of their caliber did not carry political differences into private relations:

So frequently are we called upon to make a record of things, which, it seems, ought never to have occurred, that at times we are ready to be persuaded that this world has to offer only disappointment, disaster and death. Our entire city was startled yesterday morning by the sad news of the death of Capt. W. S. White. . . .

Of Captain White's life in this county since the early settlement . . . no words are called for. No encomiums which we could offer would add to the value of that record. . . .

Murdock gave extended attention to Susan Sebastian, widow within an hour of marriage, she who "had been a daughter in the truest sense to the aged mother" for nine years. When the subject of marriage had been referred to in conversation with Murdock, he quoted White as saying "that the frosts of his head, mayhap, were too numerous for such a happy consummation. And now . . . before that home itself could be made ready . . ." for mother and wife—

"And now, like God's great pity, the same blue sky still hangs over us this morning, but of our number, one is missing. . . ."

White was not a joiner, the reasons for which must be dealt with elsewhere, so other than press resolutions upon the passing of Captain White, no organizations, not even a church had been a participant in the final tributes.⁷ The Hypatia club and the Piano club prepared elaborate floral tributes, but the former went somewhat further. Nevertheless, the action of the Hypatia club, a woman's literary organization, is really no exception to this generalization. It had been organized in January, 1886, under the presidency of Mrs. Mary Elizabeth Lease. Early in 1887 she had relinquished office on account of ill-health. The club was named in honor of Hypatia, a woman mathematician and philosopher, leader of the Neoplatonic school of Alexandria, Egypt. She, a pagan, had been murdered by a fanatical Christian mob. Charles Kingsley had made Hypatia the heroine of a novel (1853) of that name. Two implications were obvious in the choice of the name for a woman's club in 1886: a plea for woman's rights, and a protest against in-

7. Captain White did not join the Wichita Garfield Post of the G. A. R. The proposal that the post conduct the funeral was dropped, yet informally many members attended. On Memorial day, G. A. R. services were conducted at White's grave.—Wichita Arrow, June 4, 1887.

tolerance.⁸ The *Beacon*, although not in sympathy with the woman's rights movement in all its features, had been unusually generous in giving publicity to the club's activities. The Hypatia club had good reason therefore to meet in special session, and to adopt resolutions honoring Captain White, Mrs. Lease being a member of the resolutions committee. Furthermore, Mrs. Lease, a frequent contributor of poetry to the *Eagle*, wrote:

IN MEMORIAM—CAPT. W. S. WHITE

We mourn no blighted hope, nor broken plan;
The burden of his life-work was well done.
He stood among his fellowmen a man,
The ripened grain beneath a mellow sun.

Oh! bells toll not a funeral chime
For one whose life was rounded well,
In Sun and shade of manhood's prime,
With deeds of worth that all men tell.

From solemn hush of silent tomb
He ne'er again shall walk among us here,
But in a land of deathless bloom
Our steps shall greet his quickened ear.

And here where he hath labored long;
Low mingling with the funeral tread,
Ring out glad bursts of triumph song
And tell the good deeds of the dead.

A faith sublime, a stainless life,
Shall guide us o'er life's stormy sea,
And 'mid the calm, and 'mid the strife,
Our hearts repeat, 'Tis well with thee.⁹

Irrespective of Mrs. Lease's merits as a poet, one aspect of her rationalization is of some significance. White was just past 52 years of age at the time of his passing, and she expressed the verdict that "The burden of his life's work was well done," and likened it to "The ripened grain beneath a mellow sun." For perspective it may be pointed out that the death of John A. Martin, two years later, at

8. Whether or not known to any, part, or all of the participating parties, Hypatia meant much more than these more obvious interpretations. Swedenborg had incorporated into his science and Christian theology much of Neoplatonic philosophy. White knew his way around in philosophy and theology sufficiently to realize, probably, the implications of that fact in the history of thought. Mrs. Lease, a prime mover in the Hypatia club, probably did not. She was still, outwardly at least, a Roman Catholic in the strictest Irish tradition, and her children (1885) were being educated in the Catholic parochial school of Wichita.—*Wichita Daily Eagle*, June 18, 1885. How and when she broke with her religious inheritance has not yet been determined.

Early in 1886, when the Hypatia club was being organized, the *Eagle* had referred to it as the "Soros Club."—*Ibid.*, March 30, 31, 1886.

9. *Ibid.*, May 31, 1887. The Wichita piano club also prepared a special floral tribute.—*Sunday Growler*, Wichita, June 5, 1887.

the age of 50, was similarly rationalized by his friends. Although, in that era, many lived out their span of three score and ten, yet the 50's were widely accepted as affording a reasonable life expectancy, especially for those whose accomplishments by that age were substantial. According to Murdock, however, White must have looked forward to a retirement from the grind of getting out a daily paper as an opportunity to devote himself to study and possibly to writing on his favorite fields of philosophy.¹⁰ But Murdock's reference to future plans were vague.

Although there was a certain sameness to the eulogies of White, Leo L. Redding, editor of the *Daily Journal*, May 27, varied the emphasis, after admitting to no more than a "passing acquaintance":

It has been said that to know a man "you must see him in his home," and it was in his home that Captain White was to be seen as he really was. On the streets or in his office he was a gruff and out-spoken man. . . . But at his home he was a dutiful son, striving in every way to make the declining years of his mother the happiest of her life. . . .

J. S. Jennings, editor of the *New Republic*, Wichita, May 28, wrote:

Yet Captain White was not only "our friend," but he was the friend of Wichita and humanity. . . . May his spirit realize the destiny which his great mind pictured, in progress, in worlds unknown to us; for great minds never die, and his was great in his belief, and we can not condemn that belief when we know he was honest in it. He was a Swedenborgian, and a great admirer of his writings.

Although other commentators had made clear the fact that White was not orthodox, for some reason they were reticent about identifying his religious beliefs. The *Union Labor Press*, June 4, followed the pattern, "more than an ordinary writer," "a deep thinker," "considerably in advance of his time," "always fearless in expressing" his views which "may not have agreed with popular demands and customs; yet, withal, they contained the elements of some great truth which the future will develop. As a friend of the people against despotism and wrong, he was always ready to defend the weak against the strong. . . ."

The writer of "In Memoriam" in the *Sunday Growler*, May 29, probably the editor R. E. Ryan, who had been a *Beacon* reporter under White, agreed:

Capt. White was a strong man in every particular. A warm, devoted, earnest friend, not what might be called a popular man, yet one who, when he made a friend held him to the last. Honest, straightforward, outspoken in his likes and dislikes, sturdy as an old oak. He was a man who had the

10. *Ibid.*, May 29, and the *Daily Journal*, May 27, 1887, likewise referred to White's plans for study and writing.

regard and esteem of all who knew him, no matter how one might differ with him on any subject. To him was awarded by one and all, the palm of honesty and integrity in his beliefs and notions.

Referring to his reportorial days under White, the writer mentioned especially the generous treatment received: "In such close personal and social relations many little incidents occurred clearly showing the innate nobility of the deceased."

An unidentified writer of the "Old Settlers" column (Wichita was less than the legal age of 18, therefore still a female minor at law) in the *Sunday Growler*, June 5, admitted having collected some notes about White, at the time of his retirement from the *Beacon*, but had procrastinated in writing them for publication and now it was too late. But assuming the reader's knowledge of White's religious views, that in the spiritual world thoughts might be communicated from person to person without the medium of words, the "Old Settler" consoled himself:

It may be, as he believed, that after putting off the earthly tabernacle, he can know what was in my thoughts, and if so, he can feel that great measure of respect he enjoyed, perhaps unawares, from one whom he thought, while living, misjudged him. It was given to but few to know the interior man, to know his filial devotion, his strong friendships, the innate nobleness of his character. But of this, enough. Living, he was not to be flattered, though he loved appreciative praise for well-doing. Dead, merited to his praise nor flattery cannot add one jot of happiness. . . .

IV. THE SALE OF THE BEACON

The eulogies of White may appear to some readers to be too much in the nature of a routine compliance with the conventions and too emotional to be taken seriously. The sale of the *Beacon* had occurred two months earlier and the commentary upon that event as historical evidence would be less subject to such adverse criticism. In "A Last Word" White reviewed the history of the *Beacon*, and the Smith and White tenure of nearly 12 years: "The history of this section cannot be written and the *Beacon* ignored." It had its ups and downs as did everybody else: "In 1875 it looked as if its light were to go out forever. When Fisher & Smith took hold of it, it was a dying ember instead of a blazing torch and a flamboyant beacon light. The paper then began a career which has not been excelled by any journal in Kansas." It had been continuously prosperous financially also, and never missed a Saturday night payroll.

White admitted his inexperience at the start as an editor, and that in nearly 12 years: "The *Beacon* may not have always been right.

It may never have been exactly right, but if we know ourselves, it never has been wilfully and maliciously wrong or dishonest. It has never been the tool or instrument of any man, clique or party"—not even of the owners or their personal interests. The paper was always for Wichita. At the moment the *Beacon* had four rival daily papers in the city, but only one counted—Murdock's *Eagle*, nesting in its eyrie on East Douglas:

It is especially gratifying to us, at this time, that while we have had many hot set-tos with our able contemporary, the *Eagle*, we have never carried any bitterness or venom out of the office, and our personal relations with our friend—the enemy—on Douglas avenue, have always been of a most friendly and fraternal character.

It is impossible for us to be much of a partisan. By nature we are anti-partisan.

That insistence about the impossibility of being partisan was not a vain boast. And in business and in social relations party had no place.

Under stress of deep feeling, rather generally, Americans are noted for their reticence in verbal expression. The measure of the depth of feeling is often to be found in what is not said, or in exaggerated pretense intended to appear as merely facetious: In referring to the transfer of ownership of the *Beacon*, Murdock wrote:

In welcoming these strangers to our midst, and we do so most cordially, it is not so pleasant to part company with our old friend and standing critic, Capt. White, whom we have in all these years simply astonished and astounded a thousand times over and over until at times, in very despair, he has laid down his faber and resorted to the borders of profanity as close as he dare and not violate his religious convictions. And still he has loved us, loved us on and still cussed on. And, now our old self abnegator steps down, forever, and out, without so much as "by your leave" to a contemporary who has a thousand times held up his hands to his back [in private] only to sit down on him to the public. In these years proprietors of the *Beacon* have come and gone, and newspapers have come and gone, mighty nigh on to a score of them; come in with a flourish, gone out variously, some with a curse, others with a silence that smacked of the sneak, but none leaving the void, and the kind of void left by our sturdy old critic and friend who said good bye last night. . . .¹¹

That was about as near as Marsh Murdock could come to being sentimental in public. Indeed, newspapers had come and gone, even daily papers; the *Herald*, the *Republican*, and the *Times*, but what of it! In Wichita there had always been the *Eagle* and the *Beacon*. And for most of that time that meant Marsh Murdock, Republican, and Captain White, Democrat—that is, when the latter

11. *Weekly Eagle*, April 8, 1887; the *Daily Eagle* for April 2 is missing from the Kansas State Historical Society's file.

succeeded in coercing himself into a more or less orthodox partisanship just a few weeks prior to election days. But after their own individualistic fashion, neither was orthodox in party politics or in anything else. They appeared to disagree on most everything, but underneath, they agreed upon fundamentals. Systems of popular government are usually assumed to function best when operating under conditions where two parties of about equal strength oppose each other. Similarly, in the newspaper business, a good journalistic adversary is a precious possession, and no one knew that better than Murdock. For his own good he needed "the old self abnegator." But this was merely Murdock's way of chronicling the sale of a worthy rival's paper to an unknown quantity. Captain White was still to be a citizen of Wichita, and his neighbor whom he could no doubt meet and argue with most every day.

Murdock's facetious reference to the old abnegator and his trials in attempting to reform or to educate the *Beacon* editor, recall an earlier episode when the *Daily Eagle*, April 1, 1885, a morning paper, featured a news item:

SURPRISE—CONGRATULATORY

Probably our society people will never be treated to a more genuine surprise, and yet one which will call forth numerous pleasant comments and unnumbered congratulations, is the announcement of the marriage this morning, at his own home, at 6 o'clock, of Capt. W. S. White, the worthy and erudite editor of our evening contemporary. The charming young lady, Miss A. Prilist, who arrived from the east last night at midnight, is represented as a child of youth and beauty, a warm worshipper of buds and birds, spring-time flowers and April showers, who, as she clasps our old incorrigible friend to her bosom, promises with her sunshiny nature to thaw him out in a way that will make him forget the long cold nights of the past winter when he curled up in his bed alone to freeze his toes off while in broken slumbers he dreamed of what this day was to bring him. The thought of the then and the now gets away with us, and we have no doubt it will get away with our friend. But, dear Captain, while we can only be with you in imagination, there is nothing envious about us, and with our entire people, including a thousand disappointed fair ones who but dared hope, we unite in not only well wishes, but the sentiment,

"If it were now to die,
Twere now to be most happy; for I fear
My soul hath her content so absolutely
That not another comfort like to this
Succeeds in unknown fate."

The same evening Captain White replied:

The *Eagle's* announcement this morning was premature. The prospective bride arrived in time, coming not by rail nor palace car. She came in a vision of the night, in the heart of a hope long deferred, an answer to a silent prayer

that never troubled lip. We welcomed her as May, and not as December. In the golden vision, we stood beside the river whose water is the elixir of life. Youth was not returned, but recreated, spring had not come again, but had followed the winter of our discontent. Age and decrepitude were only the nightmare that fled with the coming of the beautiful dawn. With outstretched arms we bade her welcome, and urged her to hasten her quick-gliding footsteps, all too tardy for our eager desire. Ardent and impatient we sprang to meet—her? Nol the stolid present! We awoke! It was a dream—that may find its fruition in the Isles of the Blest.

Murdock closed out the fun the following morning:

Of course our many readers in this city enjoyed their laughs and made no end of comments over the Eagle's April fool of yesterday morning. The comments would no doubt fill a volume which would interest our innocent victim's descendants to the third generation. His own ears must have tingled. Some did not "catch on" till they got down town. Captain White not only very gracefully replies in his last evening's issue, but utters sentiment which may be but a faintly disguised disclosure of a bygone dream of his happy youth, and which may not have been all a dream, but which in truth shall find its ideal and full fruition in an exalted life whose pure atmosphere no earthly passions can ever reach or mar. Begging the Captain's pardon for the innocent fun had at his expense we quote his reply. . . .

An understanding of such an episode requires the recognition of the widely accepted but unwritten code of the day which differentiated things public from things private. To be sure, the bride hoax dealt with things private, and in a public manner, but it was not malicious, and after all was really impersonal. This April fool pleasantry was perpetrated as the bitter city election canvass was reaching its climax. Both Murdock and White were engaged in campaign abuse which reached, if it did not exceed, the broad limits usually considered permissible for the political journalism of that generation. On one page of the paper was this friendly spoofing, while in the political editorial column was outrageous vilification which certainly both men knew was untrue. Yet the two types of exchanges were carried on simultaneously, without becoming confused. The editors as political "enemies" were figuratively different men from the friends who enjoyed the private joke regardless of which was the victim. Wichita had four dailies, and a flock of weekly newspapers at this time, but no comparable relationship existed between any two of them. The generalization is probably safe that nothing similar existed anywhere else in the Kansas area.

But only two days after the bride evaporated in April fool sunshine, White took the public into his confidence about a truly serious personal loss:

It is with much regret and a dull pencil that we announce the loss of that historical pocket-knife again—the one with ivory handle and ventilated jaws.

It is not a very pretty knife, nor is it very valuable, but by long association it has crawled into our affections, and we'd rejoice to have it nestling once more in the tobacco crumbs at our right flank.

Except for the *Daily Journal*, the other papers in Wichita, whose files have survived, scarcely mentioned the sale of the *Beacon*. The *Journal* editor, Silas Robinson, was most offensive, April 1, boasting that he "must be an artist in the 'change' business," other paper changing hands when competing with his. "People want to read a paper published for men of the Nineteenth Century. Fossils don't do in these days of go ahead." Robinson referred to the attempts to bring a soap factory to Wichita: "if ever there was a gentleman who had all the qualifications to make a president of a soap factory, it is the ex-editor of the *Beacon*. . . ."

In the next issue Robinson addressed

THE EX-BEACON, or rather the ex-editors and proprietors of the *Beacon*, the *JOURNAL* addresses you. It did not see your issue last evening, but it hears you had a nice article. Be that as it may the *JOURNAL* recognized the fact that Capt. White, as editor of the *Beacon*, has held a prominent position in the city. The courtesy which ought to have existed between all papers of a town, whose duty ought to be to pull together for the interests of the town, have not been very prominent between the *Beacon* and the *Resident-JOURNAL*. We suppose we have been equally at fault in the matter hence shall drop this subject and let the *Beacon* editor be in the past tense. Cap. White, since you have lain down the pencil, after years of its association, and resumed a private life, the *JOURNAL* forgets all it may have had cause to say or think and it wishes you that success, as a civilian, crowned with health and happiness, due to every man who has worked for or been identified with the advancement of Wichita. Frank Smith, you are in this too.

The "change" business caught up with the *Journal*, however, Robinson leaving the paper May 16, 1887. The surviving partner, Leo Redding, felt relief, apparently at the departure of his associate, and observed the courtesies of profession. Upon the occasion of White's death, besides writing the "passing acquaintance" editorial already noticed, made amends by emphasizing that: "There is not one in Wichita who will today speak of the dead, except with profound respect."

The sale of the *Beacon*, followed so closely by the death of its veteran editor, calls attention to an important fact of Kansas journalism—its localism. No newspaper edited in Kansas (including the Kansas City metropolitan press) covered effectively the area news. Neither the sale of the *Beacon* nor the death of White caused more than a faint ripple on the surface. No paper has been found outside Wichita that undertook in any substantial manner to evaluate White, the man and editor. Even the local tributes fell short

on the evaluation of White as a thinker, on indicating the major sources and features of his thought, and on the controlling principle which had guided his 12-year journalistic career. At the time of the *Beacon* sale the Topeka *Commonwealth*, 1887, recognized Smith, but only because he had learned the printing business in the editor's office. Only the *Commonwealth*, May 29, 1887, paid White even a modest tribute:

Captain White was one of the most vigorous and voluminous writers on the press of Kansas. His theory of government was in advance of the times. They might answer when the millineum arrives, if it ever does. He wanted but little law, but desired that the people in the main should be a law unto themselves. He believed in the utmost personal liberty for every individual. While being in principle and practice a temperance man, his concern for personal liberty made him a strenuous opponent of the prohibition policy. He was as erratic in his religious as in his political views. Captain White was an honest, conscientious man. . . .¹²

The Lawrence *Journal* had nothing to say about White's death, and upon the occasion of the sale of the *Beacon* was bluntly materialistic. The sale price was rumored to have been \$50,000. The *Journal* estimated that the *Eagle* could not be bought for less than \$75,000: "Is there another instance of so marvelous a growth in all the country?"—in 15 years.¹³ Admitting for the sake of interpretation the values assigned, how had it happened? Remarkable as had been the rise of Wichita, what gave the *Eagle* and the *Beacon* value; Wichita, or Murdock and White? How long would the *Beacon's* value survive without White?

V. WHITE'S EARLY YEARS IN WICHITA

At the age of 40, White had entered upon a profession of journalism. The traditional explanation of how that came about was a convenient rationalization after the event, but not exactly correct factually or an adequate explanation. The allegation was that he had contributed some articles over the pen name "Sartoris" that "caused a stir," and in consequence Fisher and Smith induced him to assume the editorship of the *Beacon* in November, 1875.¹⁴ But for some time prior to that, however, White had been setting type for the *Beacon* and was well acquainted with the proprietors.

White had first made an impression upon Sedgwick county in his writing on agricultural questions over the pen name "Agricola," the identification for the historian being made in the *Weekly Bea-*

12. This editorial was copied into the Fort Scott *Daily Monitor*, May 31, 1887, but credited erroneously to the *Capital*, and was correctly credited and printed in the *Beacon*, May 30, 1887.

13. Lawrence *Daily Journal*, April 5, 1887.

14. Wichita *Daily Beacon*, May 27, 1887.

con, September 8, 1875. Contemporaries already knew the identity of "Agricola." The first "Agricola" letter was printed October 14, 1874, and argued vigorously against the Texas cattle trade; not only was it a dead loss to Kansas, but it prevented the development of a home livestock industry.¹⁵ Next "Agricola" condemned the relief measures proposed by the state and county; humiliating, impoverishing, costly, and did not reach the many who were in need. He advocated state loans through the counties so that intermediaries could not absorb the funds on the way—cheap money was the only method:

To come down to the hard pan of true legislative function, the state has no right to go into the benevolent business at all, no right to build anything but a penitentiary: I mean in the charitable or educational line. But since the State *is* in this kind of business let it be done in some manner that will preserve the manly independence of its citizens, and not in the way that has a great tendency to make chronic beggars of us.

The following week "Agricola" proposed an enlarged plan, county-state-federal; loans not to exceed \$200, secured by real estate or chattel mortgages, for one to two years, at four percent interest. One class could not be reached by this plan; those who could offer no security. For these city or county public works programs were suggested. The following week additional provisions were proposed that would cover—in the Osage lands settlers—time extensions etc., on lands.¹⁶

Upon the approach of another Texas cattle season the regulation of the trade was again raised. "Agricola" agreed to the new dead line proposed in western Sedgwick county, defiantly defending himself for this particular year on the ground of expediency in the face of the agricultural disaster of the preceding year.¹⁷

Possibly the most significant "Agricola" explosion was that of May 26, 1875, on the same day that, in another letter, he protested the useless office of city attorney.¹⁸ In "France vs. the United States" "Agricola" focused on the general theme of waste: The Frenchman's prosperity depended upon what he saved rather than what he made, but the citizen of the United States wasted almost everything he touched—natural resources in a broad sense being emphasized first—springs drying up, and with them the streams, climate changing for the worse, soil being impoverished, criminal waste of forests—

15. A reply was printed October 21, and "Agricola" rebutted November 4, 1874.

16. *Wichita Weekly Beacon*, January 27, February 3, 10, 1875.

17. *Ibid.*, February 10, 17, 1875.

18. Still another "Agricola" letter which dealt with the unwise "economy" of the county in not providing adequate court accommodations and its relation to an adequate administration of justice, was printed in the *Eagle*, August 19, 1875. This was the only "Agricola" letter found in the *Eagle*.

and then turning to finance he pointed to the failure to reduce public debt, the seeming impossibility of constructing railroads or opening mines without first mortgage bonds, protective tariff to breed monopolies and paralyze business, rings, frauds, and special legislation to favor special groups and localities. With all this the people, he insisted, were discontented.

Beginning January 27, 1875, the *Beacon* printed an article of more than one column: "Time and its importance: A Philosophical Essay," which was labeled "Written for the Beacon" and was signed "Omega." No identification has been discovered, but in the perspective of other articles that are identified, this one was probably White's first venture, at Wichita, into philosophy.

It has been the study of great philosophers and of wise men in every age to give an adequate definition of Time; but so far, all have failed to accomplish this object. Time is a gift of God, that particular period of duration given to man to prepare himself, for that high and noble end of his creation—the enjoyment of an endless eternity, when time shall be no more. Time had its beginning with the creation of the world, and will likewise have its end with the destruction of same. It is the most cunning and yet the most insatiable of depredators, apparently taking nothing, but in reality taking all; for it is not satisfied with stealing from us all that we possess, or all that the world can afford, but continues in its course until finally it steals us from the world. . . .

The next philosophical contribution was headed "Sartor Resartus," and is the first of a series of nine extending over a period from February 10, 1875, to May 1, 1878. In addition, an unidentified editorial article of December 29, 1875, was entitled "Idol Worship" which appeared about one month after White had become editor of the *Beacon*. Almost certainly this was his also. The name of the articles, "Sartor Resartus," was borrowed from Thomas Carlyle's book of that name—literally the "tailor patched"; metaphorically, the philosophy of clothes.

Carlyle's *Sartor Resartus* was one of the great books of the middle of the 19th century. Although first printed in England serially, 1833-1834, and in an American book edition in 1836, it gained popularity slowly. In the mid-19th century, a victim, along with much 19th century literature, it is all but forgotten in the United States, under the relativist-presentist educational theory that what was relevant to the 19th century is irrelevant to the 20th century.¹⁹

In Carlyle's philosophy of clothes:

Time is but the clothing of the Eternal and what is Man himself . . . but

19. *Sartor Resartus* has not been reprinted in any paperback series, which are leftist in their slant, and is available in only one low-priced edition, the English Everyman's Library, No. 278, printed originally in 1908, last reprinted in 1956, and available in the United States through the American representative of the English publisher.

an Emblem; a Clothing or visible Garment for that divine ME of his, cast hither, like a light-particle, down from Heaven. . . .

. . . Whatsoever sensibly exists, whatsoever represents Spirit to Spirit, is properly a Clothing, a suit of Raiment, put on for a season, and to be laid off. Thus in this one pregnant subject of CLOTHES, rightly understood, is included all that men have thought, dreamed, done, and been: the whole Eternal Universe and what it holds is but Clothing; and the essence of all Science lies in the PHILOSOPHY OF CLOTHES.²⁰

The issues involved are peculiarly private, although they possess a public aspect in the aggregate, and are persistent. Most every individual becomes concerned sometime about the mystery of life and death, and their meaning—probably no one escapes. Each must sometime experience a period of doubt about the validity of prevailing conceptions. Regardless of the personal outcome the ordeal is more serious for some than for others. Preceding Carlyle, the age of excesses committed in the name of science and rationalism, and often miscalled the 18th-century enlightenment, had emphasized the "Everlasting No" of materialism. For many living under that influence, the personal ordeal of philosophical and religious orientation was peculiarly painful and often personally disastrous. For Carlyle, the experience led through a period of despair to an eventual illumination in which both the original orthodoxy and the negation were left behind, and a new spiritual certainty emerged. Against the "Everlasting No," he wrote in the name of his hero, "my whole ME stood up, in native-God-created majesty, and with emphasis recorded a Protest. . . . I directly thereupon began to be a Man." The "Everlasting NO" gave way to the "Everlasting Yea."²¹

Although Carlyle cultivated the impression that he had not read Swedenborg prior to the writing of *Sartor Resartus*, the present writer is convinced that he had; but, if not, the resemblance between Swedenborg's and Carlyle's thought is one of the truly remarkable coincidences of literary history.²² This Swedenborg interpretation of *Sartor Resartus* was reinforced by a later comment White made about a popular lecturer on science and theology, who had visited Wichita in 1881 for the third time: "Wendling is a Sartor Resartus, a mender of old clothes. We doubt if he has a Sunday-go-to-meeting suit in his intellectual wardrobe." But that was not all. White proceeded to compare him with Carlyle, and thereby transferred the focus of judgment to Carlyle and his book *Sartor Re-*

20. *Sartor Resartus* (Everyman's Edition), pp. 54, 55.

21. *Ibid.*, p. 127.

22. This question has been examined in some detail in another essay, as yet, not published.

sartus: "He [Wendling] has the Carlyle idiosyncrasy of presenting an old truth, or a truth well known among reading and observing people, as a fresh discovery of his own." First, this reflects back on White's *Beacon* column as having been intended primarily as commentary on subjects of current interest that would apply the ideas of Swedenborg. Clearly, he was making no pretense of originality. On the contrary, however, as related to the question of Carlyle's indebtedness to Swedenborg for the philosophy of clothes, White was quite explicitly implying his own conviction that Carlyle had done nothing more in his *Sartor Resartus* than to rehash Swedenborg's philosophy but had presented it as though it were his own invention.

But should White's and the present writer's view be in error, and should Carlyle not have consciously borrowed from Swedenborg without credit, then the remarkable philosophical and literary coincidence of resemblance still demonstrated that, in his literary masterpiece, Carlyle was but a mender of old clothes whose owner-identity had become lost to most people, and was patching them together nearly a century after the original garments had been tailored by the Great Swede. In either case, therefore, Carlyle's *Sartor Resartus* was in the Swedenborgian tradition. In recognizing this fact, Editor White, in the pioneer town of Wichita, was more discerning than any of the leading critics operating for more than a century in the recognized literary and academic centers.

After this diversion for the purpose of clarifying antecedents, the story is returned to Wichita, and to the *Beacon* of February 10, 1875, containing the first installment of White's *Sartor Resartus* column—two short items:

A hypocrite is a first, second and third class liar. He lies to his God, to his neighbor and to himself.

We love our neighbor, not for what he *has* done, but for what he is *going* to do for us.

The second installment of a week later contained six paragraphs, three of moderate length; on doubt, waste of resources, and the crucifixion:

"Doubt" is the pregnant mother of discovery in science, reform in politics, and truth in religion; without it there is scarcely a basis for the regeneration of the world. The "doubters" are the hope and inspiration of the future.

Taking into consideration our immense resources, developed and undeveloped, extent of territory, fertility of soil, varieties of climate, etc., we are the poorest of the civilized nations. Born the heir to all the centuries, yet we are like children in a toy shop, we scatter with the lavish hand of waste and build not.

The awful agony of the cross was spiritual, not physical. It is barely possible that Christ was conscious of the slightest bodily pang. Thousands of persons have suffered physical pain beyond all comparison greater. It is a well-known psychological fact that the soul, when in an ecstasy of joy or sorrow, fear or pain, is utterly unconscious of the sympathy of the body. The physical view of this great event is the lowest possible conception of it.

The third in the "Sartorian Series" contained nine independent paragraphs: six of them being pertinent to this story: dreams, truth telling, reform, action versus thought, the true church, and doubt versus revivals:

Dreams, frequently, in flashes, reveal to a man his true character. Analyze them, they are intuitions of truth, sometimes.

If we were sworn to tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, we would find it difficult to keep up an ordinary conversation.

Reform in high places must be the consequent [*sic*] of reform in low places. We cannot expect integrity in Congress unless it has its well-spring in the cabin. The mountain side is apt to be the unhealthiest of places if there is a mephitic pool at its base.

The men of action are like the storm, the tornado, the raging fire, the earthquake, the pestilence; the men of thought are like the silent forces of nature, whose universality and power no man is fully conscious of. The actor is essentially a man of faith; the thinker is essentially a doubter.

You must not look for the true church of God in visible organizations, nor creeds, nor sects. It is not catholic, it is not protestant. It is the marriage of good and truth in the soul, which is the temple of the living God. Unless the church is in the man by no physical or spiritual possibility can man be in the church. It is this invisible church that is the bride of God; and it is as universal as humanity.

The formula of the day is, "I don't believe." The most hopeful sign of the present is the general scepticism diffused through all ranks and conditions of life; and nowhere does it exist to a greater extent than in the churches. The frequency of the so-called revivals of religion furnishes an incontrovertible proof that the leaven of doubt is causing a fermentation in the whole mass, and they are but vain protests against the inevitable. There must be fermentation before we can have the pure wine of truth.

The fourth of the "Sartor Resartus Series" was in six paragraphs, in the first of which White indulged in puns, which was rare for him in a generation hopelessly addicted to the habit: "Never say 'can't'. Avoid cant. Carefully read Kant." Three of the paragraphs were long and are essential to this mirror of White's mind as of 1875; life in outer space, mental slavery, and the Devil:

According to the accepted theory of modern astronomy, the earth is perhaps the only planet of our system that is inhabited, those within the earth's o[r]bit having too high a temperature, while those outside have too low a temperature to admit of animal life. Might it not be that distance has no appreciable effect upon the temperature of the planet, that being regulated entirely by the extent of the radiating surface[?] What is there of absorbing or refracting

power in space that would cause a ray of heat to lose anything of its potency? If there is nothing, Jupiter and Saturn may be of as high a temperature as Mercury, and Mercury may be of as low a temperature as earth.

The slavery of body is fast disappearing from the face of the earth, but that of the mind broods with sable wings over the intellect of the age. With what abjectness, what unquestioning servitude, do we bow before our creeds, our dogmas, and our spiritual tyrants. Freedom is the very life of the soul, and thought its most beautiful form. Liberty and rationality are the man; destroy them and you annihilate him. No truth of God can be received and become a part of the spiritual man if it is not received by the free will through the calm, deliberate judgment of the intellectual faculties. To call a man a free thinker, is not to reproach him, but to crown him with the laurel and the amaranthe. For without the utmost freedom of thought there cannot be the fullest moral or intellectual growth.

Who the devil is the "Devil?" is a pertinent inquiry, and one that is increasing in frequency of repetition. It is of the utmost importance that it should be definitely settled. . . . If we gift him with personality, . . . [the orthodox view], we must concede him almost divine powers, relieve the human family from nearly all moral responsibility, and must look upon man as a mere foot-ball between God and the devil. We must deny personal existence, or else admit that the devil is equal to God, or that God is the author of evil. There is such an entity as good, and its form is truth. There is no such thing as a spiritual entity called evil. Evil is simply a perversion of good—that and nothing more. There is no good that cannot be perverted, even the highest. . . . Good is objectively and subjectively alive, and its form, in the concrete, is God. Evil is not objectively or subjectively alive, and has no form, because it is not an entity and has no substantial existence. The transmutation of good into evil by perversion or misuse, takes place in the will through the understandings, or as otherwise expressed, through man's freedom and rationality, consequently there can be no use for an objective, personal devil. From the above postulates, it may be seen that every man is his own devil. . . .

In the *Beacon*, July 7, 1875, came the announcement that Fisher and Smith had taken possession of the paper, and in this issue was printed White's fifth in the "Sartorian Series." After quoting from Draper's *Conflict Between Science and Religion* to the effect that in relation to the magnitude of the universe, man is only a tiny particle: "Of what consequence is man, his pleasures or his pains?" White replied that the difference lay in the value or worth of one object over another, quality not quantity, and that this is an absolute truth—

though but one man in a million is ever heard of, or leaves a visible trace, yet the meanest of his kind leaves an indelible impress on the world. And those whose names are indelibly impressed on the memory of the ages, were but the exponents of the spirit of their age and molded by it. We, to-day, are the sum of the efforts of the past.

This is the last of the "Sartor Resartus Series" until February 28,

1877, a full year after White had become part owner and controlling editor of the *Beacon*. There would not appear to be anything in these philosophical paragraphs to recommend him as editor of the paper as of November, 1875. The basis of that choice must be found elsewhere, tradition to the contrary notwithstanding. The "Agricola" letters were much more to the point of what concerned Sedgwick county. The things discussed there were the Texas cattle business as against the local agricultural interests, drouth relief, city and county government, and most important of all, the comprehensive political program of May 26. In fact, some might look upon this particular letter as a politician's "trial balloon."

White's candidacy for the Republican nomination to the state legislature appeared in the *Beacon* and the *Eagle* for September 1 and 2 respectively. The following week both papers contained "An Open Letter to the People," dated Ninnescah township, September 6, 1875—one of the most remarkable documents in Kansas political history:

I am told frequently, that if I desire the nomination as representative, I must work for it; yes, work like the devil. What more could I say to any man than to tell him that I am a candidate, and probably say, in addition, that I have been living in this county for the last four years, the most on my farm, on the Ninnescah. I can as effectively say the same through the papers.

White pointed out that worthy citizens condemned the customary methods of canvass, promising, trading, etc., which went far toward giving politics its bad name. And then, he put his finger on the theme that, as it turned out, he was to repeat again, again, and again; the fundamental character of the individual citizen in his own locality—the state or the nation was no better than the localities of which it was composed:

If the people desire honest reform they must commence the work at home.
. . . The primary meeting is the very bed-rock of our political system.
. . . It should be a question alone of integrity and capacity. . . .

If a candidate is not willing to leave the people to their cool, sober, untrammelled judgment, but feels that he must labor with them as the exhorter does with the sinner at the mourner's bench, he surely must think that they are not capable of making a proper choice, and need his instruction.

In conclusion, I beg leave to say that I cannot visit a township or devote a day to the working up of influence or securing delegates pledged to my support. I have strongly condemned such procedure when not expecting an office, and now . . . I see no reason to change my views. I shall leave the matter to the good and honest judgment of the people. . . .

In the *Beacon*, September 8, a letter to the editor from a "Ninnescah Republican" was printed, expressing pleasure at the an-

nouncement of White's candidacy, commenting that he was generally known about the county because of his many ably written articles under the pen name "Agricola":

Indeed we doubt if there is a man in Sedgwick county who possesses the same acquirements, is so practical withal, and who would come as near filling the position with honor to himself and credit to the community as would Mr. White. He is a good Republican, is modest and unassuming, and will not stoop to huckstering, log-rolling or button-holing for an office.

So far as White's candidacy is concerned it is not necessary to complete the record of the campaign—the outcome is self-evident. Other considerations were involved, however, which require a brief explanation in terms of campaign facts. In the county Republican primary convention, October 5, Kelley won the nomination on the second ballot from a field of four. Dissatisfaction, even prior to the primary convention, led to a call, dated August 28, for an independent or opposition ticket, which materialized with Judge B. H. Fisher as candidate for the legislature. In the vote of November, John Kelley received 1,056 Republican votes, Fisher 520 independent votes, and Jay Kempinsky 69 Democratic votes, although the Democrats had no party organization in the county.²³

Party-wise, this campaign of 1875 was critical for Sedgwick county. It was doubly an off year in Kansas with its annual elections, but 1876 was portentous in possibilities—national, state, and county. Many thought that the political party disorganization and realignment consequent upon the American Civil War had about run its course—new issues, new men, and new orientations, freed from the captivity to the old war-and-slavery issues, seemed to some about to crystallize.

When Fisher and Smith employed W. S. White as editor of the *Beacon* in November, 1875—after the election excitement was over—they were not hiring an unknown man. Conversely, White was not unaware of the views of Fisher and Smith when he accepted the position. His inexperience in the newspaper business extended only to the editorial function. Certainly, no one, not even "Ninnescah Republican," could have been really surprised when the *Beacon*, December 8, 1875, with White as editor, announced that henceforth it was a Democratic paper. On January 19, 1876, the *Beacon* carried the banner: "Leading Democratic Journal of the Southwest." To be sure there was some occasion to wonder how the writer of the "Open Letter" of September 6, declining to canvass

23. *Beacon*, September 1, October 6, 13, November 10, 1875; *Eagle*, November 4, 11, 1875. Different reports of numbers disagree slightly.

for the office for which he was a candidate, would perform as a partisan political editor. In that capacity he was expected to promote the Democratic party according to the prevailing code of political party warfare.²⁴ Certainly, White himself was aware of the fact that he was incapable of being partisan in that literal sense. When he said as much 11 years later, upon the occasion of the sale of the *Beacon*, no reader of that paper would have disagreed. He must have tried the patience of the Sedgwick county Democratic committee, but on the other hand, in the task of building a Democratic party out of virtually nothing, there was something to be said in favor of the White type of journalism.

The reception by contemporaries given the *Beacon's* political confession of faith was cordial. The *Winfield Courier* said: "There is not a square-toed Democratic paper in Southwest Kansas. One is needed. . . . Success to the *Beacon*. . . ." The Democratic Kansas City (Mo.) *Times* welcomed the *Beacon* repeating apparently from the missing number of the *Beacon* that: "The delay in the avowal, they declare, was entirely owing to" the lack of a Democratic county organization. Murdock's *Eagle* was partly facetious—the *Beacon* "becomes a Democratic headlight, not only for Wichita but Southwestern Kansas, we judge. . . . If the *Beacon* but maintains its present literary excellence and local enterprise it will not only hold the same relation to the Democratic party in Southwestern Kansas that the *EAGLE* has held to the Republican party." The *Eagle* emphasized the prospects and the logic of Democratic ambitions in justification of the announcement: "One half of Congress—the popular half—over one half of the State Governors is of that stamp, and the impending great National fight will be maintained on the one side by that party."²⁵

The letter of "An Anxious Democrat" urged Democratic organization pointing to the next presidential campaign, the need of reform, the Republican devices for smothering it, and the Democratic obligation and opportunity. Incidentally, the author revealed an important aspect of his positive program—money and banking—repeal of the national banking law and the substitute therefor of a national paper currency issued by the United States treasury, and interchangeable for registered United States bonds bearing 3.65%

24. The critical number of the *Beacon* in which the announcement was made, v. 4, No. 1, December 8, 1875, is missing from the file, so the full story of the announcement is not available. Contemporaries, in their commentary on the "new departure," supply the dating and some of the content.—*Eagle*, December 9, 1875; *Beacon*, December 22, 1875.

25. *Ibid.*, December 22, 1875; *Wichita Weekly Eagle*, December 9, 1875.

interest: "it is worth something to be conscious of working in a good cause, though the chances of defeat obstruct the progress."²⁶

In the same issue the *Beacon* seconded the plea to organize the Democratic party in Sedgwick county. Without a party, what had Democrats been doing—some had "fallen into the ranks of the Republican party"; and others had not participated in politics at all and did not vote. "Democrats or men of whatever political faith or creed that discern the portentous storm gathering in the political sky, should at once consent to a day, and fall in line," to organize the Democratic party. The call was issued for February 22, 1876, and was supported by a long editorial in the name of reform and good government, challenging centralization tendencies in contrast with "the simple republic of a Jeffersonian administration. . . ."²⁷ But two weeks later the *Beacon* comment is a reminder about the meaning of terms. Replying to the Cincinnati (Ohio) *Gazette's* diagnosis that the Democratic party in the West was in a rather bad way, the *Beacon* observed that: "It is rather in the way of a Radical party, but we don't look upon that as being particularly bad." Illumination on the meaning of the term "radical" may well await White's own exposition of editorial policy. Early in February, 1876, his trial period as editor, if it was indeed to have been intended as such, was over, and he bought Fisher's interest in the paper, becoming editor in control of the *Beacon's* policies, Smith serving as business manager.²⁸

During his first year as editor and his first political campaign White followed a course that was conventional for the most part. Corruption in politics was attributed, not to a debased moral tone of the people, but to "the almost universal neglect on the part of the so-called best citizens to perform faithfully their civil duties." Private business was put first, he insisted, to the neglect of public duties of good citizens, and more extensively in cities than in smaller towns.²⁹ To end corruption and other objectives, the *Beacon* urged Kansas Democrats to fuse with the Greenback party, but with the substitution of C. W. Blair, or E. G. Ross, Democrats, to head the ticket instead of J. K. Hudson, the Greenback candidate.³⁰ In the final appeal before going to the polls, White spoke for the principles

26. *Wichita Weekly Beacon*, December 22, 1875.

27. *Ibid.*, January 12, 1876. The issue of January 5, 1876, is missing from the file. It might have contained the call, but at any rate it was printed in the issue of January 12.

28. The *Beacon* file is incomplete for this period, v. 4, numbers 11-17 inclusive, February 16 to March 30, 1876, are also missing.

29. *Wichita Weekly Beacon*, April 26, 1876.

30. *Ibid.*, August 16, 1876.

of "constitutional liberty," purity of administration, and civil service reform—Samuel J. Tilden for president, and John Martin for governor.³¹ When the disputed Hayes-Tilden election was finally decided late in February, 1877, White answered his own question: "What Will the Democracy Do?" by declaring:

Just what it did when by a coalition that outraged public decency, Gen. Jackson was defeated in the electoral college [1824] that disregarded the admonition of the popular vote—. . . . The Democratic party is the only party that has existed in this country not held together "by the cohesive power of public plunder."³²

The record of 1876 as partisan Democratic editor was anything but distinguished,—as dull as dishwater—and might have been duplicated by most any other "reform" paper. The factors that were to make White a distinguished Kansas journalist, or more comprehensively, publicist, were of quite a different order of magnitude. Already the reader has been introduced to White's major source of inspiration, Emanuel Swedenborg. To a lesser degree he was indebted to Herbert Spencer, a materialist. White's originality lay in effecting a substantial syntheses of the philosophical-theological system of the Great Swede, with an admixture from the secular philosophy of Spencer.

In 1882 Kansas elected its first Democratic state governor, George W. Glick. When a call was issued for a convention of Democratic editors to meet in Topeka at the time of the inauguration, some Republican editors took occasion to ridicule the Democratic press. This procedure angered Col. D. R. Anthony, editor of the *Leavenworth Times*, whose Republicanism no one could doubt. Anthony reminded his Republican colleagues that there were about 40 Democratic newspapers in the state, that some of them were edited with conspicuous ability, and the *Wichita Beacon* "has few equals anywhere for clear-cut vigorous expression."³³

At the convention of the Democratic editors, January 8, 1883, White's stubborn individualism received conspicuous notice. Flushed with victory, of course, these editors proposed to create a permanent organization. White refused to be organized and opposed organization of any kind: "He would not 'belong' to anything. The word 'belong' was one for a dog or a slave. He withdrew."³⁴ White's Democratic party colleagues could not understand or control such stubborn individualism. But whether right

31. *Ibid.*, November 1, 1876.

32. *Ibid.*, February 28, 1877.

33. *Leavenworth Daily Times*, December 21, 1882.

34. *Topeka Daily Capital*, January 9, 1883.

or wrong, his 11 years editorship of the *Beacon* was grounded in a well articulated and remarkably consistent philosophy; an intellectual commodity that was conspicuously absent from the party councils and the party press of either political organization. An editor who lived his philosophy and religion without fear or favor, and applied his singular system of thought with rigorous consistency, was a rare phenomenon, was indeed an uncomfortable colleague and a dangerous opponent. Evidently, Anthony read White's "clear-cut vigorous expression" with a certain apprehension.

(This Article Will Be Continued in a Later Issue of the Quarterly.)

Letters of Daniel R. Anthony, 1857-1862— Concluded

Edited by EDGAR LANGSDORF and R. W. RICHMOND

PART FOUR, JUNE 20-SEPTEMBER 14, 1862

INTRODUCTION

LITTLE more than three months after the Seventh Kansas arrived in the South D. R. Anthony's connection with it came to an end. He was strongly opposed to the official policy which limited the objective of the war to the preservation of the Union. This policy was interpreted by men like Anthony as in effect protecting slave property. He was further embittered at being passed over for promotion to the colonelcy of the regiment and for these reasons submitted his resignation from the military service.

Anthony's tempestuous personality is nowhere better displayed than in the incident of his brigade general order number 26. Issued on June 18, 1862, while he was commanding in the temporary absence of Brig. Gen. Robert B. Mitchell, the order read as follows:

HEAD QRS ADVANCE COLUMN, 1ST BRIGADE
1ST DIVISION CENTRAL ARMY OF THE MISS
CAMP ETHERIDGE, TENN., June 18th, 1862

GENERAL ORDERS

No. 26

I. The impudence and impertinence of the open and avowed Rebels, Traitors, Secessionists and Southern Rights men of this section of the State of Tennessee in arrogantly demanding the right to search our camp for their fugitive slaves has become a nuisance and will no longer be tolerated. Officers will see that this class of men who visit our camp for this purpose are excluded from our lines.

II. Should any such parties be found within the lines, they will be arrested and sent to Hd. Qrs.

III. Any officer or soldier of this command who shall arrest and deliver to his master a fugitive slave shall be summarily and severely punished according to the laws relative to such crimes.

IV. The strong Union sentiment in this section is most gratifying and all officers and soldiers in their intercourse with the loyal and those favorably dis-

EDGAR LANGSDORF is assistant secretary and ROBERT W. RICHMOND is the state archivist of the Kansas State Historical Society.

posed are requested to act in their usual kind and courteous manner and protect them to the fullest extent.

By Order of
LT. COL. D. R. ANTHONY 7th K. V.¹
Command'g

W. W. H. LAWRENCE
Capt. & A. A. G.

This was in direct violation of General Orders No. 16, issued on the same date by Brig. Gen. I. F. Quinby, commanding the District of the Mississippi, and was also interpreted as being in violation of an earlier order of Maj. Gen. Henry W. Halleck, General Orders No. 3, Headquarters, Department of the Missouri, St. Louis, November 20, 1861. Anthony presumably was aware of Quinby's order at the time he released his own, and certainly was familiar with Halleck's. The pertinent section of the latter was the first paragraph:

It has been represented that important information respecting the numbers and condition of our forces is conveyed to the enemy by means of fugitive slaves who are admitted within our lines. In order to remedy this evil, it is directed that no such persons be hereafter permitted to enter the lines of any camp or of any forces on the march, and that any now within such lines be immediately excluded therefrom.²

Quinby's directive prohibited the admission of

any colored person within the lines of any post or encampment of this District who are not free—or who by the acts or consent of their masters have not become clearly contraband. . . . All commandants of Brigades Regiments, detachments & companies are called upon to see that this order is rigidly enforced, and all persons who permit or countenance a violation of it shall if a commissioned officer be reported for mustering out of the service and if an enlisted man be tried and punished by a court martial.³

According to subsequent accounts, when he returned to duty and learned of Anthony's attempt to protect fugitive slaves General Mitchell became angry and excited. However, knowing that public sentiment supported Anthony, he did not want to countermand the order himself. Instead he directed Anthony to do so. The following conversation was then said to have taken place:

Anthony: As a subordinate officer it is my duty to obey your orders, but you will remember, General, that "Order No. 26" is a brigade order; and I am not now in command of the brigade. Of course you are aware the lieutenant-colonel of a regiment cannot countermand a brigade order?

Mitchell: Oh, that need not stand in the way, Colonel Anthony. I can put you in command long enough for that.

1. From a manuscript in Anthony's hand, dated Humboldt, Tenn., June 30, 1862, included among the Anthony papers in the State Historical Society. It was printed in full in the Rochester (N. Y.) *Evening Express*, July 11, 1862.

2. *War of the Rebellion*, Ser. I, v. 8 (Washington, 1883), p. 370.

3. Anthony Mss., *loc. cit.*

Anthony: Do you put me in command of the brigade?

Mitchell: Yes, sir.

Anthony: You say, General Mitchell, I am now the commanding officer of this brigade?

Mitchell: Yes, sir; you are in command.

Anthony: Then, sir, as commanding officer of the brigade I am not subject to your orders; and as to your request that "Order No. 26" be countermanded, I respectfully decline to grant it. "Brigade order No. 26" shall not be countermanded while I remain in command! ⁴

Shortly thereafter Mitchell placed Anthony under arrest and preferred charges against him. The first charge, disobedience of orders, contained five specifications; the second, conduct unbecoming an officer and a gentleman, contained four. No court martial was ever held, however, and Anthony was soon returned to duty. From that time on, both because of this incident and the fact that Major Lee was promoted over him, he lost interest in the regiment, and as the letters indicate submitted his resignation. He was released from service September 3, 1862, and returned to Leavenworth to resume his civilian pursuits.

THE LETTERS

HEAD QUARTERS 7th Regt Kan Vol
CAMP "ETHERIDGE"

WAKLY CO NEAR DRESDEN

June 20th 1862

DEAR SISTER

Here we are in the Land of Dixie with the most God forsaken community I ever saw—

For two days I was in command of the Brigade consisting of the 7th Kan Vol Cavalry 8th Kansas Vol Infantry, 2ond Kan Battery 8th Wisconsin Battery—6 guns each—and I took occasion to issue an order prohibiting Rebels from hunting our camp for Slaves.

Genl Quinby is in command of this district and had just ordered us to return to Mr Sims 8 negroes or rather to turn the negroes out [of] our lines—the same thing—⁵ I also issued an order prohibiting any officer or soldier from arresting and delivering a Fugitive Slave to his master This in the Army of Genl Halleck seems strange to

4. *The United States Biographical Dictionary, Kansas Volume* (Chicago, 1879), p. 57.

5. Brig. Gen. I. F. Quinby, commanding the District of the Mississippi, issued this order in the form of a letter dated June 13 and addressed to Brig. Gen. R. B. Mitchell, commanding the 1st Brigade, 1st Division, Central Army of the Mississippi. It read as follows: "General Mr A. G. Sims who lives near Clinton Hickman Co Ky reported to me that there are now within your lines eight of his colored servants who were taken from him by some portion of your command in passing his house— These persons must be placed without your lines and the parties that brought them in or allowed them to pass in punished. This disregard of positive orders from the HdQs of the Dept of the Miss and from the HdQs of this Dist cannot be permitted— If there is within this district a Regiment or Detachment in which the sentiment is such that these orders and instructions cannot be enforced without riot and mutiny, such regiment or detachment will be reported for mustering out of the service."—Anthony Mss., *loc. cit.*

Officers & soldiers and many are waiting for orders from ranking officers countermanding mine—

I doubt whether any such action will take place—

Most of our B. G.s & M. Gs are of the old conservative school—but the Regimental, Company & other officers are true and will stand by me—

It was most fortunate that this opportunity occurred—And you will see the importance and strength of the order when I say to you that the order was made by my order by W W H Lawrence Capt & Asst Adj't Genl—

When the order was read our boys yelled— Both Batteries and the 8th Kansas did also—

Genl Quinby has ordered us to be reported for mustering out—our boys all say if we are to catch Negroes—muster us out—

I have to take the lead—but I have the 2nd Kan & 8th Wis Battery the 1st 7th & 8th Kan the 2nd Illinois and the 12th 13th & 15th Wisconsin volunteers to back me— The Col of the 13th excepted—so you see I have little or nothing to fear in fighting Brigaders—

Merritt is at Trenton 20 miles south with 3 cos our regiment & 6 cos Ill Cavalry—

We expect to go south on the 23rd

The people here are largely Union

Have had no papers since the 13th 7 days without news—

The ladies here all “dip” that is they broom up the end of a small stick 2 inches long and $\frac{1}{8}$ inch in diameter by chewing one end in their mouth—and then take it out and rub it in a box of Snuff and the broom end filled with snuff in their mouth to suck and pass the Snuff to the next one— the same box goes round—

The best of them they say do this secretly—

D R ANTHONY

“TISHOMINGO” HOTEL

CORINTH MISS July 8 1862

DEAR FATHER

I arrived here on Sunday the 6th from Columbus Ky. 145 miles by the Mobile & Ohio Rail Road with orders to report to Genl Halleck in arrest. What they will make out of the “niggers” I don't know. I think the matter will be kept under advisement for a time, and then I will be discharged I have demanded an immediate trial as all the witnesses against me are now here. The most that can be done will be a court martial—and cashiered—in that case I

shall go to Washington for redress and will get it too— They well know their weakness They know the whole country would side with me and do not care to bring the issue before the country to prominently—

I shall let the matter rest a week or so and then if nothing is done I shall bring the whole matter to the attention of our Senators Prest Lincoln & Secy Stanton for redress—

The Regiment will be here to day they come by marches with all the transportation The Infantry coming by Rail— Have not seen or heard from Merritt since the 1st at Humboldt Tenn— He was then well and continues to enjoy the life of a soldier— And the company likes him also—

The main points at issue with Genls Halleck—Quinby & Mitchell and myself are—

1st I issued Brigade Genl orders No 26 which they interpret in direct contradiction to Genl Hallecks order No 3 and Quinby's order No 16—

2ond In Quinby's General orders No 16 it say[s] if "any one permits or countenances a violation of it they shall if a commissioned officer be reported for mustering out of the service"— I reported to Genl Mitchell that "I had countenanced a violation of said order"— Now the question comes—Have they the power and if they have dare they muster me out for that cause— I reported myself for the purpose of being mustered out of the service, as with the present policy I do not care to remain in—

To me it seems that the presence [of] our army here is doing more to strengthen the rebel cause than to suppress it— No matter how outrageous and damning may have been the course of the rebels here—if they only take the oath they are indemnified for past & present losses of Hay oats corn and even rent for lands and Houses occupied by our troops— In one case Genl Mitchell paid a rebel \$35.00 for 70 horses & mules grazing on *one acre* of clover— at first he said he'd be damned if he'd take the oath— but the \$35.00 was to great a temptation— Another old rebel was paid \$470. Our men are employed in watching rebel's onions, Green Peas & Potatoes And if a poor soldier chances to allow his appetite to wander from the Hard Bread & Side Meat so far as to appropriate a rebel onion to his Stomach— woe unto him—

The Union people stand by the road side and with pails of water quench the thirst of the weary soldier as he marches through the suffocating dust under a burning sun— and if they have an onion

it is offered gratis—but to them our soldiers insist on paying— A soldier is the most generous man in the world— he dont care for money— He hates meanness— It is not necessary to guard the Union mans house or property— No Soldier will harm him a dime—he will go hungry first— But the soldiers think that where the Government might take from Secesh onions Beans Peas Potatoes Beets &c and give them saving 25 *per* cent of their lives—and they cannot see why they should suffer and die while guarding the property of their enemies— The soldiers are right—

Any amount of provisions are given to the families here in want whose sons brothers & fathers are in the Secesh army— why is this indifference as to the health and comfort of our own men and such sensitiveness about our enemies who are shooting our men while on picket duty guarding rebel property A case of the last kind ocured only a few days ago—so I was informed by Col Morton 84th Ohio—

Under all these circumstances I think the army is better of off without me than with me— and I shall have no heart to work until the policy of this department changes. Four fifths of the army are of the same opinion—

Am expecting the Regmt every moment will write again—

The weather is hot, the whole country filled with transportation waggons— causing the air to be filled with dust— and the air very impure from the immense amount of filth accumulated by such immense massing of people— and using [im?]proper police regulations—

Truly D R ANTHONY

PRIVATE

TISHOMINGO HOTEL

CORINTH MISS July 9th 1862

DEAR FATHER

I wish you would see the Democrat and Express and request them to publish letters in the New York Tribune from their regular Corinth correspondence or any other articles from Conservative St Louis Democrat Chicago Tribune or other papers which may contain favorable notices of the cause of my arrest—

Of course they will not want to publish more than the public may wish to know— But from the fact that Rochester was my home and is your home I desire to have the matter as fully ventilated in that vicinity as is consistent. I would like to pay them for setting the type—and would like two hundred copies of each paper containing anything as to the case—

From present appearances the case may go to Washington—

They are very sensitive here in regard to the arrest and a general desire not to meddle much with it.

Two aids of General Mitchell (of Kansas) R. B) called on me to day we had a splendid time chatting on various subjects— No mention was made of the arrest—(The two aids are the principal witnesses against me) And the interview [ended] by their inviting me to partake of Sparkling Catawba at their rooms with their “earnest” & “sincere” assurances of friendship for me—

Well every [one] evades the order here more or less— the obeying of Order No 3 is in form only—but the army is opposed to it—and wont stand it long—

Direct letters or papers to me Lt Col D R Anthony 7th Regmt Kan Vol Mitchells Kansas Brigade in the field via Cairo Ill—

I wrote Lane and Pomeroy to day and ended by “Hopeing the time would soon come when a *rebel onion* would *not* be considered more sacred than the life of a Union Soldier”—

Everything seems to work well— Maj Lee has recd orders from the War department to take command of the regiment as Col— which I suppose settles that matter— I never had so many friends in the regiment as now—

Truly

D R ANTHONY

CAMP SHERIDEN

JACINTO TISHOMINGO Co MISS

July 22 - 1862

DEAR AARON

I send you two extracts from Conservative & Champion I would like to have them copied in the Express or Democrat and have a few copies sent me—Direct to

Leut Col D R Anthony

7th Kansas Cavalry

in the field

Granger's Brigade

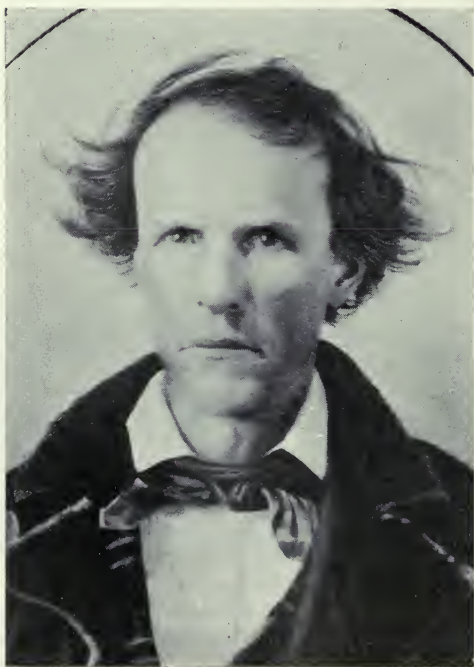
via Corinth

We are now the advance regiment— No enemy stationed nearer than Bay Springs 18 miles S. E. Scouting parties come much nearer— I go tomorrow with a large force to reconnoitre in that vicinity— 50 mile[s] south there are 60,000 of the enemy— My health has been poor is now better— Have offered my resigna-



Portion of a military map of 1865. Several towns in Tennessee and Mississippi, mentioned by Colonel Anthony, are marked by arrows.

Charles R. Jennison
(1834-1884)
From a photograph taken
about 1861.



James H. Lane
(1814-1866)
As he appeared about 1855.



tion in consequence of Lee appointment as Col over me— It was refused— I hope for an appointment as Col soon— and if I had a good friend of the Gov of Ill Ind or N. Y. who would secure it, I would like it— or who would give me a letter of authority to raise a regmt—

Truly

D R ANTHONY

No letters from you during the past month

CAMP 2 MILES SOUTH WEST OF
RIENZA MISS July 27, 1862⁶

DEAR FATHER

Yours of the 17th inst recd—but no papers— I wish you would cut out all notices and send me the slips in a letter— they will come safer—

In consequence of my release from arrest so unexpectedly The history of my matters will not require so much ink— However I desire such a number of any papers containing notices affecting me favorably as you may deem best— of any thing important send 100— Keep an account of the expense and I will pay it if not over \$200 or \$300.—

Would the papers like to have letters from here occasionally if so—send me word and I will write or get some one to write— 9 companies of our regiment leave this afternoon for Ripley 30 miles west to catch a few Secesh who are recruiting in that town— I do not go— Merritt is going—

I have lost much of the interest I had in the regiment— To see a Col over me is too much— particularly when he knows so little and has not got the confidence of the men. I never was so popular with them as now— on my return to camp after my release from arrest the Band Seranaded me and nearly this whole regiment came out and gave 3 cheers for me 3 for Jennison & 3 for Lane & Pomeroy— Lee is ignorant of the tactics & the men have not confidence in his capacity to lead—

Well I have been at work all the day and until now 11 Am did not know it was Sunday—

If I can resign honorably or get promoted to a colonelcy in another regmt all OK—but I do detest serving under a man who has

6. Rienzi, Miss., at this time was the extreme outpost of the Army of the Mississippi. The Seventh arrived there on July 23 and was assigned to the First Cavalry brigade commanded by Col. Philip H. Sheridan. It remained at this post until its evacuation on September 30.—*Report of the Adjutant General of the State of Kansas, 1861-1865, Military History of Kansas Regiments* . . . (Topeka, 1896), p. 93.

is so much dissatisfaction in the regiment— the men are clamorous for me to remain they dont have confidence in Lee—

Genl Rosecrans has written to the Gazette over his own signature denying that he authorized the article—but I dont care for that I have other reasons for getting into a better place—

Merritt continues well— and my health is better— The weather hot sultry— No air stirring— hot until Midnight—and by morning you have to have a woolen blanket over you to keep warm—

I shall know by the close of the month whether my resignation is accepted—

If Father you can get away I trust you will go Leavenworth for a few months say until Jany—

Write often

D R ANTHONY

RIENZA MISS Aug 19th 1862

DEAR MOTHER

Your short note was recieved a few days ago—

Aaron writes me you are again troubled with the asthma, but thinks it is caused principally by your attention to the Peaches— I dont think you need work so very hard, now that all danger of your having to go to the Poor House is passed— If there is any *real* danger of such a catastrophe happening I pledge myself to furnish a few dimes to save you from such a sad fate—

I just come from Merritt's tent, found him sound asleep along side of his 1st Lieutenant A. M. Pitts— their bed is made by driving stakes in the ground and placing poles across it and on that is a Husk Mattrass stolen or I would rather say Jayhawked from a Secesh— All in a tent about 8 feet square— They with their company—the finest Co in the command were out yesterday and last night on Picket duty on the main road leading south and towards the enemy— they make their Picket about four miles out and then send out squads of ten and twenty men from five to ten miles around to feel of the enemy—if enemy there be within feeling distance— they saw none last night—

Have heard nothing from my resignation yet— Trouble seems to be brewing in Kansas or on the Missouri borders— I want to be there—

Efforts have again been made but without success to get the Post Office away from me—

I am in favor more and more every day of arming the negroes—

creating Slave insurrections—taking all Secesh property and of paying Bounty money to Soldiers—

For the past two nights the weather has been so cold as to require a blanket over us— to day is cool and slight rain which is quite welcome— from 1 to 6 P. M. it is terribly hot—

My man Griff is with me— cant do without him—

Our camp here is in a very pretty grove— water scarce—

With love to you and all I am as Ever Your Son

D R ANTHONY

RIENZA MISS Aug 31, 1862

DEAR FATHER

Your letter of the 18th and Aarons of the 21st came yesterday I get the Express very regularly— I never get a Democrat— Have them enclosed in a separate wrapper and directed Lt Col D R Anthony—7th Kansas via Cairo & Corinth— and they will come straight—

No news from my resignation yet— have doubts of its acceptance—

We were alarmed on the 26th at 2 P. M. by the cry of “the Secesh are right on us.— I was in command of the camp at the time— I at once ordered to Chief Bugler to sound the call “*To Arms*” and went myself to the north side of our camp and saw some 30 Secesh driving in our picket right past our camp and firing at them— they returned the shots—It did not seem possible that they had approached our camp so closely without giving us more notice—but the Secesh evidently were closer upon our camp than they intended for they suddenly halted drew up in line facing our camp. I sent out a few men to learn who they were and report forthwith— they did so—Killing one man & taking one a prisoner with his horse— by this time they begun a quick retreat— “*To Horse*” was sounded— Soon my scouts returned saying 400 or 500 were drawn up in line of battle just over the hill one fourth mile from Camp— In less than three minutes our boys had saddled and we were after them— but they broke and ran— Our boys—the 2ond Iowa & 2ond Mich—Cavalry chased them some 15 miles to the Hatchie river and swamp— Capturing many guns— some prisoners & other traps—

Of course when I saw our pickets driven upon our camp without notice I had reason to think our camp was attacked by them in force— It seems however they made a blunder—

They heard we had deserted the town and only left out a picket for deception and to cover our retreat—

As it was they made a los[s] You may rest assured it wa[s a] surprise to be fired into at mid[day] when all was quiet—

To day Merritt is out in com[mand] with his Company on the main So[uth] road as picket with orders to move south some ten miles— Merritt has done well so far—and [has] had command of the advance of the advance guard twice—

It is the impression here that both the armies now here are mere shells of outposts— At any rate our army is— we have merely a chain of out posts—with no troops to back them— most of our army has gone to Chattanooga to help Buell—

This is mere surmise on my part—

We have 13,500 men in the front and very few at Corinth—

Our position is the extreme right and front and makes a point— a kind of feeler—We like to hear often—

As Ever

D R ANTHONY

I have been afflicted with any number of bites— and breaking out of the heat— so has nearly our whole camp—

RIENZA MISS Aug 31, 1862

MOTHER

Would you like a description of my house— Well say you see a square tent (Wall tent with fly over it) 8 feet square— 4 feet high at the low edge—ridge 8 ft high— the stumps cut smooth with the ground— a fine nice crumb cloth for a carpet—

On the right as you enter the tent from the west is my saddle, Bridle & blanket placed on a pole resting on two crotched sticks drove in the ground— Next my trunk placed on 4 sticks drove in the ground 12 inches high to keep it dry— Next in corner is a hole in the ground 18 inches square & deep which I use for cellar to keep my fruit vegetables Wine &c in— it is very cool and neat— across the east end & back end of my tent is my Cot which keeps about 15 inches from the ground—with Mattrass 2 double dark blue blankets two sheets and my overcoat with large cape for a pillow— Next on the north in middle is a fine table made by driving two poles in the ground and nailing a box on the top with my Rubber water proof blanket for a table spread—in the north west corner is a small stand 18 inches high with a water pail & Basin on it and a crash towel Hung on a pin stuck in the side of the tent close by— My mirror, a small round hung up in a similar manner close by—

During this weather the front of the tent is always open and the sides raised or looped up so that air has free access in and through

the tent— I seldom let the tent sides down unless in a gale of wind or storm— Sleep with it up nights— I keep two servants who sleep in a tent close by and a mess chest under the shade of some trees near by— Maj Herrick & myself mess together My dinner to day was Ham mashed potatoes—good light cold bread—dried apple sauce—Butter Salt Pepper and Coffee with Sugar We some times have Beef Mutton Pork fresh & Salt Beef & Pork—and then we have tea— Peach stews & dumplings and sundry other dishes got up in good style— Yesterday we had Claret wine for dinner— I keep whisky and we often have good whiskey punches Lemons costing about ten cents apiece Whisky only 50 ct gallon— The whisky we have it is said will kill a “regular” in three years— On an average it kills many more than the leaden bullets— and from my observation I am inclined to think our army is in more danger from it— Next to idleness and consequent ennui and tedium it is the most fatal—

“Biles” are getting better. Take Salts Epsom three times a day— They say its good for the itch and I surely have it and so has the whole army for that matter— they call it “heat”—

Merritt went yesterday with Maj Herrick and three companies to Kossuth 12 or 15 [miles] north west—where our boys had the fight on the 27th and lost 5 men Killed and 7 wounded— Heard from them this noon they will be back in the night some time—

Merritt makes a dashing officer in a fight— the boys have confidence in him— It is funny to see old men put their trust in young but they do— And they all admire boldness and prefer such a leader—

My horses I keep just south 5 rods from the tent under a bower of oak and Sassafrass limbs I have a good fine appearing black Stallion—heavy built—one of the best in our 600 horses— I want to keep him and take him to Kansas again—

Last night we had a fine shower which cooled the earth— the dust was perfectly awful before—filling the whole heavens— Similar to Sophia Street during the State Fair years ago—

To day the weather is cool and vigorous—

My tent opens on a cleared field to the South west 1500 yards to a heavy wooded low land swamp through [which] a stream ought to run but which is now filled with pools of Tadpole Water which is not over healthy for our horses The manage to do a little better but not much—

With love I am as Ever

D R ANTHONY

7 P. M.

Well just as I had finished writing the foregoing at 4 o'clock P. M. in comes one of our pickets on the Boonville road south saying 400 mounted rebels had made their appearance within half a mile of them— "Boots and Saddles" was sounded at once by our Chief Bugler. Soon our command was in line every man with his arms and his right hand holding the reins of his horse— 2 companies of infantry were sent on each road in that direction and 2 squadrons of Cavalry to strengthen the pickets and we waiting orders in our camp— Soon down came a strong force of Cavalry from the north upon us they come charging upon us at a Gallop— It proved to be our Squadrons sent out to Kossuth yesterday under Maj Herrick (Merritt was with him) they heard at the northern picket that we were going out and come galloping in to join us— we remained saddled for two or three hours and then news came that the Secesh gone off again they only came up to look at us—and off again— So you see we are now quiet again— Merritt was out 30 hours during which time their horses were not unsaddled they saw only a picket of 6 men of the enemy— To night is dark and cloudy—looks like rain again— the day has been a magnificent one—

The little black boys are now singing and dancing in camp for amusement to *our* boys— during the alarm and while we were waiting orders any number of remarks and smart jokes were made— one saying there sits Brandy on a white horse— another says you begin to look natural again— Another says pull off[f] that No 7—or you will be taken for a Jayhawker"

Some ones says to Dan Williams the Blacksmith who appears mounted on his mule are you going out— "You bet I am" A few have cramps—belly ache and Biles among the latter myself— but I had my horse saddled so as to get away. Changes do occur— Susan write this day and says she begins to think we may come back alive— well I havent thought of coming back unless I was.

At any rate Maj Herrick Merritt & myself suppered together on same as our dinner except tea for coffee and all ate heartily—

D R A

HEAD QUARTERS 7TH KANSAS
RIENZA MISS Sept 2ond 1862

DEAR SISTER

Your letter of the 21st from Easton came yesterday, which we may call a day of alarms. Although your letter was not looked

upon in that light as no one read it but Merritt and I— Our *pickets* were troubled very much and as late as 10 P. M. last night in come one of them at top of his speed saying our pickets were skirmishing— “*To horse*” was sounded and in less than five minutes every man including lame halt and blind were drawn in line of battle awaiting orders from the General or the attack—but instead thereof came a picket informing us it was a false alarm— It seems an old horse was prowling along towards our lines. And when halted by our vidette refused to halt, but moved right upon our vidette— Of course he (our man not the horse) did not know whether the horse was friendly or not— So the horse paid the penalty for his daring and thus ended the 2ond *Alarm*—

Hannah might name the female child as you or she suggest providing it is a fool— if the child is bright just await orders and I’ll find a name for it within six months—

I dont hear anything further from my resignation— It has been approved by all here and has now gone to Washington three weeks since for Hallecks name I do not desire to serve in a regiment where every thing I do will glory the name of *Col Lee*— A man who lied himself into the colonelcy by the warmest professions of friendship toward me— He has a place that belongs by right to me— I earned it— The men want me— he knows it— and I hate him— I look upon him as a liar a dishorable man—a coward & poltroon and so told him to his face— but he intends to intrigue himself through—

Of course there is nothing pleasant or agreeable in remaining when the relations are so unpleasant— He does nothing offensive towards me openly— he dare not do it— but he has the power to do many things which are disagreeable to me— and with which I can have no tangible hold on him— So I am bound to get out— I will go into the service again in any other state than Kansas in almost any capacity— but if in Kansas I must be a Colonel or nothing—

My men know and appreciate my position and respect me for taking the stand— The other day when the regmt was ordered out to Ripley I stood in front of the line in my shirt sleeves unarmed as they formed They asked me if I was going— I said no— They all said we want you along— and as the Column Counter-marched by me they all swung their hats and hurrahed for Col Anthony— this was mortifying to Lee— He knows full well the sentiment among the men now—

Reports reached us yesterday that Genl Armstrong— Genl

Price's Chief of Cavalry had a fight near Bolivar and was killed to day we hear again that he captured two of our regiments so goes the war—⁷

Our boys are having plenty of work scouting— very hard for our horses— but our comd'g officers make no bold moves, they ought to imitate the enemy a bold dashing and prudent [?] move will win— In military movements a prudent move must necessarily be bold & dashing— If you wish to win— Our men go out this morning to fire off their Revolvers and Sharps Carbins so we will soon have noise enough—

This is a delightfull morning. Now 8½ Oclock A. M. in my tent— at the table—in my shirt sleeves—with the sides of tent looped up— so that the tent is only a shade—a cool breeze— but by noon and from that time till 5 or 6 tis hot Sometimes the heat here is great until midnight—

We remained in line last night about one hour— The men were dismounted lying down on the grass or standing & holding their horses— ready to move at a moments warning— The guns are popping and I will go and discharge my Revolver Write often

Truly

D R ANTHONY

ABOVE ALTON

MISSISSIPPI STEAMER

"HENRY VON PASEL"

Sunday Sept 14th 1862

DEAR AARON

On the 11th inst I recd acceptance of my resignation by Genl Halleck— and on the 12th I left camp at Rienza—

Merritt and Capt Malone come with me to Corinth—

At 9 A M on 13th I took cars at Corinth— arrived at Columbus at 6 Oclock P. M. and then took Steamer "David Latum" arriving at Cairo same day at 10 o clock P. M.

This morning at 7 A. M. came on board this Steamer and expect sand bars permitting to be in St Louis to morrow the 15th at noon— thence to Leavenworth— I have with me my servant Griff and the Blk Stallion—

I dont think I could travel without Griff— he introduces me every where— to every body making inquiries— telling them wondrous feats & exploits performed by the Colonel— I have

7. Brig. Gen. Frank Armstrong, C. S. A., was in command of Gen. Sterling Price's cavalry during the summer and fall of 1862 and was the leader of several successful forays against Union troops. He was not killed in action.

always found he never when on this subject fails to tell the truth— and generally adds very largely to the truth—

He has had several down to see “Bully Boy” (my horse) showing them his wondrous qualities In fact “Bully Boy” is a very fair Canadian horse—

I hated to leave the regiment and yet I could not be hired to return for a Brigadiers pay Although a Colonels or Brigadier Generals *rank* would be a great inducement— in fact I should then be glad to go—

Our Boys assembled impromptu I made a few parting words Three times three went up for Col Anthony— the band played and Col Anthony—Capt Malone & Lieut Anthony galloped off— with an occasional “God Bless you” from the boys—

I think the boys hated to have me go— and yet all my friends who thought how I was situated appreciated my spunk in resigning— and they hate Lee the more— the men have less confidence in him now than heretofore— He was on spree the night before I left— and goes in for Style more than tactics discipline and inspiring his men—

Decatur Tuscumbia & Iuka are being evacuated (on the R R east of Corinth)— Jacinto—Rienza & Danville on the south 15 miles will or are now evacuated— They are having a big scare on in Corinth— a senseless one I think— Our Generals are afraid to make war— they wait for the attack— The morale of the Army of the Miss is somewhat injured by our late reverses and want of confidence in our Generals—

I go direct to Leavenworth— may and may not go east this Fall—

By the Bye I brought two more contrabands through— had to tell all the Provost Marshals at Corinth—Columbus & Cairo they were free— I told them so— Although I knew they had been claimed— one in Tenn and one in Miss—

Write me at Leavenworth soon

As Ever yours
D R ANTHONY

Bypaths of Kansas History

STYLES HAVE ALWAYS BEEN CHANGING

From the Quindaro (Wyandotte county) *Chindowan*, February 20, 1858.

THE RED PETTICOAT IN KANZAS.—We noticed recently the advent of this new-fangled style of dress in our vicinity. A lady of the Delaware nation of Indians rode into town the other day having on the veritable article which is creating quite a sensation in the fashionable world at the present time. Long let it wave.

WHICH DO YOU CHOOSE?

From the *Kansas News*, Emporia, January 22, 1859.

MATRIMONY.—Hot buckwheat cakes; warm bed; comfortable slippers; smoking coffee; round arms, &c; shirts exulting in buttons; redeemed stockings, boot-jacks; happiness, &c. *Single-Blessedness*.—Sheet-iron quilts; blue noses; frosty rooms; ice in the pitcher; unregenerated linen; heel-less socks; coffee sweetened with icicles; gutta serena biscuits; flabby beef steaks; dull razors; corns, coughs, and colics; rhubarb, aloes, misery, &c.

SUCH SHOOTING, SHADES OF DAVY CROCKETT!

From the *Kansas National Democrat*, Lecompton, April 14, 1859.

GOOD NEWS FOR THE EMIGRANTS.—A letter received by a gentleman in this place, from Beach Valley, K. T. [west of present Lyons], dated April 1st, 1859, says that, "There are plenty of Buffalo here, and we shall be most happy to have you make us a visit and will promise you all the Buffalo meat you wish. There has been some good shooting done here—one man killed two Antelope at one shot, and another killed four wild Geese at one shot. Game is plenty."

This is good news for emigrants to Pike's Peak who may be short of provision.—

Beach Valley is at the crossing of the Arkansas River, some two hundred miles west of this, in a rich and beautiful country, on the Santa Fe mail route. A Post Office has been recently established there. O. M. Beach appointed Post Master.

Kansas History as Published in the Press

Heinie Schmidt's historical column in the *High Plains Journal*, Dodge City, July 24 through September 18, 1958, included the story of the old Mudge ranch of Hodgeman county, by Mrs. Margaret Evans Caldwell. Among other articles in the column recently were: "Kansas Pioneers Settling the Early West Came With Varied Experiences," October 2; "Garden City Man [Ralph T. Kersey] Writes Book on Buffalo Jones," October 9; "Last of Great Peace Officers [Bill Tilghman] Died With His Boots on, Hand on His Gun," October 23; "George Morehouse Traces the Old Santa Fe Trail," October 30; "Because of Frontier Hardships, Few Pioneers Stayed on," November 13; "Many Pioneers Bettered the Records of Their Fathers," November 20; "Some Early Kansas Settlers Were Well Educated," November 27; and "Pioneers Remained Undaunted in Face of Hardships," December 4.

Historical articles appearing in the Hays *Daily News* in recent months included: "P. T. Barnum Becomes Sucker [at Poker], Too, on Visit to Lure Wild Bill Hickok From Hays City," August 24, 1958; "Carry Nation Beat Creation, Caused Lot of Consternation," September 28; "Greatest Known Prairie Fire in Kansas Started Near Hays," October 5; and a summary of James Reedy's story on Victoria's Cathedral of the Plains which appeared in the November issue of *Catholic Home Journal*, Pittsburgh, Pa., November 7.

A history of Uniontown, Bourbon county, by Mrs. Arch Ramsey and Mrs. Grace Griffith, was published in the Fort Scott *Tribune*, September 1, 1958. The *Tribune* printed a review of Samuel Tucker's *Price Raid Through Linn County, Kansas, October 24, 25, 1864*, by Vic Lindsey, September 4.

"Hero of the Indians," by Jim Watts, a biographical sketch of Maj. Gordon W. "Pawnee Bill" Lillie, was published in the *Wichita Eagle Magazine*, September 7, 1958. On November 16 the *Eagle Magazine* printed "Luke Short—Undertaker's Friend," by Lily B. Rozar, and on November 23 "Black Flag [of Quantrill] Terrorized Kansans," by George W. Viele.

A history of the Hiawatha *Daily World* appeared in the September 23, 1958, issue of the *World* in observance of its 50th anniversary. The first issue of the daily newspaper was published September 12, 1908, by Ewing Herbert, Sr.

Kansas historic sites and other features as observed by Edward Collier were reviewed in the Athens (Ga.) *Banner-Herald*, and reprinted in the Junction City *Weekly Union*, September 25, 1958. The story was titled "Wonders of 'Sunflower State' Many and Varied."

Edwin C. Manning was the grantee in the original deed to the townsite of Winfield. Manning's story of the early settlement of this land appeared in the Winfield *Daily Courier*, October 17, 1958. The deed, dated May 1, 1872, is now in the Cowley County Historical Museum.

Miltonvale, founded by Milton Tootle, was platted November 21, 1881, according to a history of the town in the Miltonvale *Recorder*, October 23, 1958, the Clay Center *Dispatch*, October 24, and the Clay Center *Times*, October 30.

The history of the Wakarusa-Auburn-Dover area is featured in the December, 1958, *Bulletin of the Shawnee County Historical Society*. The issue was prepared by Lena Baxter Schenck. Among the articles were: "Auburn," by Lilian Stone Johnson; "Stahl's Picnic," by Margaret Whittemore; "Lewis Lindsey Dyche," by Paul Lovewell; "Bishop William Alfred Quayle," by Zula Bennington Greene; "Davis-Dickey-Brobst Families," by Mary Davis Sander; "History of Dover," by Mrs. Schenck; "The Tomsons of Dover and Wakarusa," by Lois Johnson Cone; "Saga of the Old Stone Wall [Near Dover]," by Audrey McMillan Chaney; "Hattie Eugenia Bassett-Aldrich, M. D.," "On the Wakarusa," by Lois Johnson Cone; "The Battle of the Big Blue," by Nancy Veale Galloway; a biographical sketch of Rebecca Heberling Foltz; "Newspapers of Auburn and Dover," by Earl Ives; and "Industries of Auburn, Dover, and Wakarusa," by Grace Gaines Menninger.

Kansas Historical Notes

C. F. Kuhlmann was in charge of the program at the September 13, 1958, meeting of the Ottawa County Historical Society in Minneapolis. The history of the Bennington area was featured. An election of officers was held at the October 11 meeting. The officers are: Mrs. Louis Ballou, president; Ray Halberstadt, vice-president; Mrs. Ray Halberstadt, secretary; Mrs. Ethel Jagger, treasurer; Mrs. Zella Heald, reporter; and Louis Ballou, Glenn Adey, and Rolla Geisen, directors. A. R. Miller was the retiring president. The history of the Pipe Creek-Grover community, presented by Mrs. Edith Stilwell, was the topic at the society's November 8 meeting.

Lee Rich, Junction City, was re-elected president of the Fort Riley Historical Society at the annual meeting September 18, 1958, at the Fort Riley museum. Robert J. Fegan was elected vice-president; Robert K. Weary, secretary; and Warrant Officer Lester J. Whitman, treasurer. Elected to the board of directors were: Rich, Fegan, Weary, Carl H. Deppish, Mrs. J. V. Humphrey, Jr., Edna Rizer, the Rev. Harris Collingwood, George Clark, Mrs. J. W. Wofford, Col. Frank Sackton, and Maj. Thomas Constant. Maj. Raymond Harvey was chosen executive secretary.

An election of officers was held at the September 22, 1958, meeting of the Shawnee Mission Indian Historical Society in Mission. Mrs. G. W. McAbee was chosen president; Mrs. Robert F. Withers, first vice-president; Mrs. Eugene Kotterman, second vice-president; Mrs. John L. Smith, recording secretary; Mrs. J. Lester Brown, corresponding secretary; Mrs. Edwin G. Provost, treasurer; Mrs. Tom Davis, historian; and Mrs. Joseph E. Lieberman, curator. The officers were installed on October 27.

Dedication of the Decatur County Historical Society's museum and sod house was one of the featured events of a two-day celebration in Oberlin, September 26 and 27, 1958. Elwood Brooks, Denver bank official, gave the dedicatory address.

Ralph E. Graber was elected president of the Douglas County Old Settlers' Association at the 59th annual meeting September 27, 1958, in Lawrence. Other new officers are: Mary Clarke, vice-president; Mrs. Ralph Colman, secretary; Helen Clarke, necrologist; and Mrs. Nellie Bigsby, treasurer. Mrs. Lena Owen was the retir-

ing president. Dr. Solon G. Ayers, superintendent of Haskell Institute, addressed the group on "Fallacies About Indians."

Walter Herndon was chosen president of the Lane County Historical Society at a meeting in Dighton October 13, 1958. Other officers are: William Pike, vice-president; Mrs. Arle Boltz, secretary; Mrs. Fred Hyames, treasurer; and F. W. Prose, Dale Jewett, and Mrs. J. E. Mowery, board members. Henry Hall, Garden City, was guest speaker at the gathering.

The Dickinson County Historical Society held its annual meeting at the Alida Evangelical United Brethren church near Chapman, October 16, 1958. During the business session Mrs. Ray Livingston, Abilene, was re-elected second vice-president, and Mrs. Walter Wilkins, Chapman, treasurer. Other officers are: B. H. Oesterreich, Woodbine, president; Mrs. Viola Ehrsam, Enterprise, first vice-president; Mrs. Ellen Peterson, Enterprise, secretary; and Marion Seelye, Abilene, historian.

Mrs. Sam Cravens was elected president and Roy S. Shupe vice-president of the Clark County Historical Society at the society's annual meeting and pioneer mixer, October 18, 1958, in Ashland. Mrs. John Vallentine is first honorary vice-president, and Sidney Dorsey second honorary vice-president. Mrs. Vallentine was the retiring president.

Members of the new board of directors of the Coffeyville Historical Museum elected at a stockholders meeting October 28, 1958, are: Jack Brooks, Charles Clough, Joe Cramer, William Kistler, J. B. Kloehr, Dale Misch, R. M. Seaton, Lawrence Smith, and Roy Swanson. At a meeting of the board, November 3, Clough was elected president, replacing Seaton who has served since the start of the museum.

Pawnee county's pioneers held their 11th annual reunion in Larned, November 1, 1958, and with members of the Pawnee County Historical Society, dedicated a historical room in the Cummins Memorial Library building in Larned. Displays of historical documents, relics, and pictures will be featured in the room.

Rolla Clymer, El Dorado publisher, spoke at a meeting of the Lyon County Historical Society November 17, 1958, in Emporia. After reviewing the history of the state, Clymer outlined plans for Kansas' centennial observance.

The Comanche County Historical Society celebrated its annual Pioneer Day in Coldwater November 8, 1958. Benjamin O. Weaver, Mullinville, the principal speaker, reviewed early Comanche county history. Officers re-elected at the business session include: Mrs. Donald Booth, president; Mrs. George Deewall, vice-president; Mrs. D. E. Crowe, recording secretary; and Fay Moberley, treasurer.

Organization of the Smith County Historical Society was completed November 22, 1958, in Smith Center with the election of officers. Emmet Womer is the president; W. E. Lee, vice-president; Mrs. Perry Nelson, secretary; and Mrs. Claude Diehl, treasurer. The group plans to collect and organize information on the early history of the county.

The Barber County Historical Society was organized at a meeting in Medicine Lodge, December 14, 1958, with an initial group of 23 charter members. Mrs. Alice MacGregor, Medicine Lodge, was elected president. Other officers are: Mrs. Bertie Parker, Kiowa, Mrs. Mart Roessler, Isabel, and W. Luke Chapin, Medicine Lodge, vice-presidents; I. N. "Jibo" Hewitt, co-ordinator; Mrs. Tonkajo McElyea, secretary; Harry Nixon, treasurer; Mrs. Elizabeth Simpson, corresponding secretary; Art Carruth, III, publicity director; and Mrs. Tom Stranathan, historian. The county commissioners were designated honorary vice-presidents. The society is sponsored by the Medicine Lodge and Kiowa Lions clubs.

Faith of Our Fathers—A Centennial History of the First Congregational Church of Sabetha, Kansas, 1858-1958, is a 118-page booklet recently printed in observance of the church's centennial. The congregation was organized September 25 and 26, 1858, under the leadership of the Rev. R. D. Parker and the Rev. J. H. Byrd. It was first located at Albany but moved to Sabetha with the rest of Albany in 1870.

Price Raid Through Linn County, Kansas, October 24, 25, 1864, is the title of a recently published 17-page pamphlet by Samuel Tucker. Tucker's family settled in Linn county in 1876 giving him an opportunity to hear the story of Price's raid from those who lived through it.

Errata and Addenda, Volume XXIV

Page 8, line 26, Anna E. Osborn should be Anna E. Osborne.

Page 58, line 26, Maj. C. T. Robbins should be Maj. C. P. Robbins.

Page 84, lines 4 and 5, George Jelenik should be George Jelinek.

Page 87, second and third lines from bottom, Mrs. C. H. Strieby should be Mrs. A. H. Strieby.

Page 190, line 6, O. A. Millington should be D. A. Millington.

Page 253, paragraph 3, line 4, H. C. Cleaver should be C. H. Cleaver.

Page 381, paragraph 2, line 2, "a portrait of Crawford" should read "a portrait of Gov. Samuel J. Crawford."

Page 384, paragraph 3, lines 3 and 4, Col. George Groghan should be Col. George Croghan.

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